

The **Woman Citizen**

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy

June 5, 1920

**The Port of Missing
Matrimonial Happiness**

New Women for Old

**Your Home and Your
Town**

**Continuing the
Carrie Chapman Catt
Citizenship Course**

**The Prices You Pay
A Message to the
League of Women Voters
from Its**

**Committee on Food Supply
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

FOUNDED JUNE 2, 1917

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

TEN CENTS A COPY

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing **THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL** (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the **WOMAN CITIZEN** maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. L Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JUNE 5, 1920

No. 1

The constructive program of the National League of Women Voters is divided among six committees:

They are:

American Citizenship Committee

Women in Industry

Child Welfare Committee

Social Hygiene Committee

Uniformity of Laws Concerning Civil Status of
Women

Food Supply and Demand Committee

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From issue to issue the *Woman Citizen* has been loaned to the different committees so that each could have a chance to keep our readers in immediate touch with the latest developments in Committee work all along the line.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JUNE 5, 1920

NUMBER 1

The Supreme Court Rules!

EVER since the eighteenth amendment was ratified the nineteenth has been in danger. It was with the ratification of the 18th that the liquor interests projected their intensive program whose objective was to invalidate that ratification. With this end in view it was planned to submit enough ratifications to referenda, in those states that have the referendum, to reduce the number of ratifications below the necessary 36, with the hope that the voters in these referenda could be swayed into rejection of ratification.

The question was a grave one, being the question, indeed, of which was to be the supreme law of the land, the federal constitution or a state constitution. It was carried to the United States Supreme Court. On the decision has been hanging the fate of the nineteenth amendment, along with the eighteenth, as referenda on the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment had been invoked or could be invoked in certain states.

No one save those in inner suffrage circles knows the tension under which suffrage leaders have had to carry forward the last details of the suffrage ratification program while waiting for that decision. It has hung over their heads in ominous sword-like potentiality, likely to drop at any moment and cut off the whole record of past achievement. It has moved remorselessly with them while they pressed forward from one state ratification to another.

And on June 1 it was settled. Settled that it is unconstitutional for a state to hold a referendum on a federal amendment duly ratified by its Legislature in the manner prescribed by the federal constitution.

The framers of the constitution, says the decision, might have adopted a different method. Ratification might have been left to the vote of the people, or to some authority of government other than that selected. The language of the article is plain and admits of no doubt in its interpretation. It is not the function of courts or legislative bodies, national or state, to alter the method which the constitution has fixed.

And now one wonders where this leaves the antis who have been trying to tear down the federal constitution in order to place the Federal Suffrage Amendment in jeopardy.

It leaves the suffrage struggle wonderfully strengthened and the ultimate victory unchallengeable.

Whose Governor Is He?

THE action of Connecticut Democrats in naming three women as delegates to the national convention in San Francisco may easily be construed as signifying that the party would like to make Connecticut the 36th ratifying state, if only it were in power.

As the Republican party has already expressed its willingness to ratify, there seems to be no one left in Connecticut to uphold Governor Holcomb in his attitude. Since both parties and many thousands of women have shown that the Governor is not expressing their minds, whose mind does he express?

Finish the Job

WHEN in the ratification program of the Federal Suffrage Amendment 35 states had stood up to be counted for the amendment there came a deadlock. Twenty-nine of those 35 states had Republican Legislatures, so undue a proportion as to leave the Democrats out of the running if the relative proportion between Republicans and Democrats were the essential thing. But it isn't. The essential thing is the 36th state. What good does it do for Republicans to give 29 states, what good for them to give 35, without the 36th? Without the 36th and with three Republican Legislatures, any one of which might be that 36th, the Republican party is just as essentially the stumbling block in the way of women's enfranchisement as if it had made no contribution at all to the ratification program.

Apparently the cogency of this argument is now deeply stirring in the minds of Republican leaders. The National Republican Committee meeting in Chicago on June 1 virtually demanded that the governors of Connecticut and Vermont call special sessions so that their Legislatures may ratify and that the Delaware Legislature, then in session, complete ratification. The vote on the resolution was unanimous. The resolution itself read:

"Whereas, The Republican National Committee at its regular meeting has repeatedly endorsed woman suffrage and the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and has called upon the Congress to pass and the states to ratify such amendment; and

"Whereas, Such amendment still lacks ratification by a sufficient number of states to become a law, therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Republican National Committee, that the Nineteenth Constitutional Amendment be, and the same is hereby again endorsed by this committee, and such Republican states as have not already done so are now urged to take such action by their Governors and their legislators as will assure the ratification of such amendment and establish the right of equal suffrage at the earliest possible time."

Women have taken small stock in the insistence that the Republican leaders were "doing all in their power," etc. Republican women who are going to vote the Republican ticket anyhow, anyway, anywhere, may have been impressed, but they are not the women whose vote is important to the Republican party. The important vote is the unsure vote, the vote of the undecided woman who would just as soon be a Democrat as a Republican. That woman has not been convinced by the final Republican showing on ratification. She has been quite frankly calling it four-flushing. The action of the Republican National Executive Committee is reassuring. Ratification by Delaware, Connecticut, or Vermont, or all three, will be more so. Should it come this week, there is not a suffragist but that can bear it.

Such a resolution of the situation will make actual and alive what is so far a merely potential claim on the woman vote by the Republican party.

Miss Hay Chooses

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY, chairman of the Republican Women's Executive Committee, in casting up the balance at the conclusion of her committee work, has some valuable things to say, things that it would be well for all party women to weigh and ponder as they reach the parting of the ways between being a party woman and being a rubber stamp. There is no woman in the country as much of a party woman as Miss Hay is. There is no woman to whom the choice Miss Hay has made would be so costly as it is to Miss Hay; no other for whom party affiliation has so strong an urge. Miss Hay has chosen. Let other women choose.

"When I took the chairmanship Mr. Hays offered me, it was with the understanding on both our parts that the Committee was to be temporary in its character, while we sought the permanent model of organization by means of which to relate the woman voter to the Republican party in the manner most satisfying to herself and most advantageous to the party. In the recommendations which I am submitting for my committee is embodied that model so far as we have been able to work it out.

"All my life I have been an ardent Republican and so I have been delighted to serve both my party and the women on the committee at the head of which I was placed. Although it was understood to be only a temporary arrangement, until the next Republican Convention, it gave as much recognition to the women as was within Mr. Hays's power to give as National Chairman. The women have well understood this fact and appreciated that he was the first National Chairman who had such a vision.

"Now that the Convention is here we leave it to Mr. Hays to do all in his power to insure that the work done by the thousands of loyal Republican women throughout the country this year is properly recognized by representation on committees.

"When I took the chairmanship it was also expected that the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment would have been completed long before this. It is not completed, and it is paradoxical for me to try to get women to vote the Republican ticket while so many women remain unenfranchised and therefore unavailable as party assets. Like many other women, I conceive that one must have a vote before one can have a party. My first duty now is, therefore, toward the completion of ratification. New York women can vote in the presidential elections of 1920, let come what will, but Pennsylvania women, Connecticut women, New Hampshire women, Florida women, Virginia women, New Mexico women, the women of 18 states in all—will not be able to vote at those elections unless the 36th state ratifies the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"Not only is the final ratification of the Amendment still to be secured, but its security and inviolability are to be assured against undermining by those so-called representatives of the people who have opposed it in the face of an overwhelming popular demand for it and who now seek re-election in order, if the signs read right, to bring about its abrogation."

In commenting on the present political situation as it touches the woman voter, Miss Hay makes the following points:

"If the woman voter is to be of any value in the electorate, to herself or to society, she must be given full recognition in the party council. She must not be kept out on the fringes of party organization. She must not be used merely for decorative purposes. Women have not waged their seventy-year-long fight for suffrage in this country to be satisfied now with a political policy that seeks merely to placate where it does not actually exploit. Women must be taken into the parties in full faith and be given their full share of inside organization responsibility and authority.

"It is not fair to exclude women from the inner circle and the

secret council and still expect of them the efficiency expected of men.

"As political leaders try to engage women on the side of any political party, they are going to have to keep in mind that women are not swayed by party tradition to the extent that men are. I myself am a strong party woman, but I know from the contacts of my work that the women generally who are entering the electorate this year are not as yet solidified in party moulds. They are watching and waiting, hospitable to the idea of party affiliation, but quick to resent any four-flushing by the party or candidate that comes seeking their votes."

In Vermont

THE Vermont Republican State Convention last week passed a resolution calling on Governor Clement for a special session. Representative Porter S. Dale was in the chair when the resolution was put and passed, amid great excitement and prolonged cheering. Of the eight hundred delegates there was an overwhelming majority vote for the resolution. Senator Dillingham, General Leonard Wood and Governor Clement himself were on the platform.

The text of the resolution was as follows:

"WHEREAS, the proposed Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving the right of suffrage to women, now needs ratification by only one more state in order to become a part of the organic law of the land, and

"WHEREAS, we have full faith and confidence that the voters of the state of Vermont, regardless of party affiliation, would cordially approve and endorse such ratification, Therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the Republican party of the state of Vermont, in convention assembled, do respectfully request and urge His Excellency, the Governor of the state of Vermont, to call, at an early date, a special session of the legislature to consider the ratification of the said amendment, and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Convention deliver to His Excellency the Governor a copy of this resolution."

What added drama to the occasion was the fact that Governor Clement was seated on the platform when the resolution was brought in, put and passed. Of the 800 present at the convention an estimated 700 stood up to be counted as "requesting and urging" the gentleman facing them on the platform.

Atrocities Against Women

WOMEN throughout the world are full of sorrow that the great war has fallen so far short of bringing the results for which the people hoped. It has not only failed to make the world safe for democracy; it has failed to make women safe in their most elementary personal rights.

In Armenia, Christian women are being violated and massacred by Moslems, and so-called Christian nations let it go on. In Hungary, amid all sorts of other atrocities, men have to look on and see their wives outraged by officers. France has sent armies of half-savage blacks, conscripted from Africa, to occupy various German cities; and not only are the authorities required to maintain brothels of German women for the invaders, but the women of the civilian population are said to be suffering terrible things at the hands of these semi-barbarians.

The authorities of both France and Germany believe in the necessity of vice for men, and have been in the habit of sanctioning brothels for their own soldiers, and for civilians as well; but, bad as that is, this goes far beyond it.

When women secure not only a nominal but a real share in the government of nations, we may hope that such things will become impossible.

Labor and Other Things

THE shortage of houses is acute. The housing problem is one of the burning questions of the day. Various theories are advanced as to the reasons for the present distressing situation. An interesting side light is thrown upon this matter in a circular lately sent out by a Boston insurance firm (Hollis, Perrin & Co.). It says:

IMPORTANT

Have you enough insurance to repair or replace your property in case of fire?

From the following list you can readily see that costs have doubled.

The following is the comparative cost of material and labor for building construction compiled by the American Institute of Architects Oct. 1, 1919:

	Cost 1914	Cost 1919	Increase
LUMBER			
Spruce per M	\$30.00	\$70.00	133%
Hard Pine per M	30.00	45.00	50%
Oak per M	90.00	250.00	178%
NAILS per C	2.40	6.10	154%
BRICK, Common, per M	8.50	19.00	123%
CEMENT per bbl.	1.62	3.04	87%
PAINT			
Lead per lb.	.08	.14	75%
Linseed oil per gal.	.60	2.60	333%
Shellac per gal.	1.75	8.00	357%
Turpentine per gal.	.65	1.90	192%
PLUMBING			
Pottery			75% to 100%
Soil Pipe			125% to 150%
Brass Pipe and Fittings			100% to 125%
Enameled Goods			100%
HEATING and STEEL WORK			
Structural Steel, per ton	45.00	90.00	100%
Erection of Steel per ton	10.00	25.00	150%
ROOFING MATERIALS			
			100%
FREIGHT RATES			
			40% to 50%
Wages in Building Trades average increase of 57% from October 1, 1914, to October 1, 1919.			
Household Furniture has increased at least 100%.			
Better be safe than sorry.			
Let your Broker protect you with additional insurance.			

The business firm that sent out this circular was not trying to prove any point, except the wisdom of increasing one's amount of insurance. But incidentally it shows that the main item in the higher cost of building is not the higher wages of labor. Almost every one of the materials used in putting up a house has risen more than wages have. There is systematic effort going on in the press, inspired by the profiteers, to make the public believe that the main cause of high prices is high wages. Here is a case where that evidently is not so; and this case is typical.

The Unemotional Male

WHEN Senator Maurice Hervey ascended the tribune in the French Senate and began to refute the arguments of Senator Dominique Delahaye, the latter left his seat and, joined by his brother Jules, took his position immediately under the tribune and prevented Senator Hervey from proceeding.

Whereupon there arose such a din that Senator Alexandre Berard, who, in the absence of Mr. Leon Bourgeois, was presiding, was forced to suspend the Senate session.

Afterwards Senator Hervey tried to get hold of Senator Dominique Delahaye and challenge him to a duel; but Secretary of State Bonet-Maury intervened.

What was it all about?

Oh, it was about a tax on bachelors.

The Congress of the I. W. S. A. Opens

IN the air of Geneva, Switzerland, one senses World interests. Switzerland is too surrounded to be self-centered. Here, if one speaks above a whisper, he must speak of the larger tolerances.

Of all places, traditionally and, in effect, cosmopolitan, no other so completely fulfills this ideal. Geneva is a magic City in this respect, since its very pavements cry out that the feet of every race have trodden them.

"Walking down the streets and discussing world problems—as one always does in Geneva"—writes Miss Annie Christitch, one of the Serbian delegates to the International Woman Suffrage Congress, "one raises one's eyes to view that famous monarch of mountains, Mont Blanc. The Alpine chain guards protectively the magic city at its base, home of philanthropic endeavor, of scientific research, of intense musical and artistic culture and also of sound human logic. Every new departure tending to the progress and welfare of the world is met with sympathy and encouragement by the Genevese. In the atmosphere of Geneva, dissensions do not thrive, prejudice fades away, and one strong bond of common humanity reigns paramount."

Such is the spirit of the place where the International Congress opens tomorrow. This is the environment in which women of Allied Countries, of the Central Powers, of the New-born republics, of nations which maintained neutrality, are about to meet.

No people endured more to carry succor during the War to the wounded and helpless of all nations than did Switzerland; her tuberculosis work alone standing forth as monumental. Her attitude was continually that among the helpless, the indigent, the sick and the wounded, no enmities were possible.

One of the latest Congresses in Geneva, City of Conferences, was the "Save the Children Congress," to which were drawn people from every land, from Russia to Spain, from Scandinavia to Armenia. "I have no enemies, six years of age" was the saying of a well-known Englishman during the war. That is what delegates from every country, hostile or neutral, said when they came together to talk about starving children.

That is what the women of the thirty nations, now meeting in historic Geneva, are saying as they meet to talk over child welfare, woman's progress, moral, social and political. Where great human injustices need righting, we are enemies of wrong, not of each other.

L'esprit-Genevois is the spirit of human solidarity, opposed to class prejudice, to sex prejudice. It is in this spirit that Maude Royden of England will preach the gospel of love tomorrow morning at the Cathedral of Geneva; in this spirit that women of many nations will be welcomed by Mlle. Emilie Gourde of the Swiss Suffrage Association, in this spirit that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, will send forth her call to continued effort to the women of the whole world.

All of the questions to be discussed by the International Congress are of universal importance, questions worthy of the best memories of Geneva, and the best efforts of women. Out of them will surely grow a permanent cure for some of the world's ills.

A. L. A. in Colorado

LIBRARIANS of the United States assembled in Colorado Springs for the Forty-second Annual Conference of the American Library Association, the first week in June.

Arrangements made for them include everything from hob-nailed shoes for mountain-climbing to a bibliography of Colorado history. Among the things this library conference will make possible are sights of the Garden of the Gods, the Cave of the Winds, Pike's Peak. Sessions are to be held in the ballroom of the Antlers.

The Port of Missing Matrimonial Happiness

CLEO ANAPOULES is a Greek. She lives—or she did live—with her husband, Achilles, along the East River, in the Gas House district.

Achilles Anapoulos sells merchandise. His shop is the last word in mercantile styles—that last word being itineracy. It is not exactly a Parnassus on wheels, since it carries fruits, not books. But why cavil? On Parnassus surely one ate fruit. Let the crassminded dub Achilles's shop, a push-cart, if they will.

Cleo's way through the labyrinths of life and the United States has been as devious as the ways of the push-cart. It has now brought her to the inside of the Court of Domestic Relations as presided over by Judge Jean Norris, New York's one woman magistrate who sits in the Woman's Court as well as in the Court where marital derelicts come to port.

Cleo is not only pretty, she is also so intelligent looking, so neat, so deft as to draw eyes her way. She is also the mother of a perfect Greek baby which like the body of Patroclus is now being wrangled over. The wrangling is in pure Attic, if that is the brand of Greek Cleo and Achilles fling at each other. Certainly between the two of them they haven't enough English to fling at anything and what passes for English with them, the New Yorkese of the river front, is mostly unintelligible even to themselves.

According to Cleo, aged nineteen, Achilles's idea of matrimony is that the husband should belong to a strong-arm squad and rule by virtue of it. Achilles is thirty-five, and presumably sage as to women's behavior. He has up to now enforced his principles with fists; but when he put his wife out of doors, she stayed out, and found her way to Judge Norris and the port of missing matrimonial felicity.

By rule of might, Achilles now has the family funds, the family goods and the family scion. It is the last that Mrs. Achilles wants. At present Cleo has nothing, not even a shelter, except such as is furnished by a large-hearted neighbor—no Greek but true Irish.

Achilles has his story, too. It does not deny, it seeks to justify, the charge of beating.

THE ancient and honorable practice of beating your wife into surrender is one which is so common among frequenters of Judge Norris's court as to occasion small surprise. The question raised among themselves is scarcely at all "Does he bate her?" but, "Has she a right to be bate?"

"Your wife tells me you beat her?" queried Judge Norris a few days ago, as she sat back in her chair and sent her steady blue-eyed gaze right through and out at the back of Salvatore Angelli, a worn-looking Italian, home from four years in the Alpine army.

"Yes, I beat her," he answered with just the face and voice one would expect on the stage from an injured husband. "Ask her why."

He flung down before the judge a paper, the proof that in 1917, when he had been two years out of the country, his wife had borne a child.

"I didn't believe it, at first," said Salvatore—"I didn't want to believe it, but you can't get away from this." And you couldn't. It was documentary and final.

On the whole, Salvatore Angelli's face and voice were the only good "copy" furnished by a morning's session in Judge Norris's court. It was not that he was playing to his audience. There is no audience in this informal Court; no one is there but the Court officers, the probation officers, the necessary clerks—and every one of them so absorbed in his or her immediate task as to push histrionics off the map.

Salvatore's tragedy was written on his face, a bitter and haggard face. The fact that the little shrew-like wife scarcely seemed to suffer at all counts for nothing. Salvatore had suffered, suffered all the pangs of betrayed lovers since time began.

"Did you have this child?" Judge Norris's eyes went like blue steel from the betrayed young husband's face to that of the callous little wife, Julia, who up to that convincing moment had been leading lady in this sordid drama. In the witness box, she had shown an astonishing efficiency in assembling facts, had been a prodigy of glib accuracy as to dates—but had hurdled that episode of 1917, as if, after all, 1917 were a mere negligible year not worth anyone's attention.

Before Judge Norris, her defences crumpled. Yet one saw that she took the other man and his child, which Salvatore resented with such passionate intensity, quite casually even after she was confronted with them. "But I'm going straight now. I'm working in" these two years," was to her apparently sufficient apology.

Significantly she didn't try to lie. One guesses that lying isn't popular in this Court. It isn't done. It wastes time, and the Judge, who seems patient and humanly indulgent of every phase of all these ugly tragedies, senses subterfuge with unerring swiftness.

AT such junctures tears are worse than useless. "They don't get you anywhere," one girl shrewdly sized it up. "Don't try that here," said Judge Norris with just a touch of low-voiced scorn to one girl who attempted to "put over" a selfish demand on the strength of an obviously manufactured sob story of maternal suffering. She didn't try it long. She and her case were dismissed with crisp finality before her tears were dry.

The grafting type of wife, the brutal type of husband, get short shrift at Judge Norris's hands.

Take, for instance, that leech's daughter, Rebekah Frensteen, suing her mild little unsuccessful husband for more alimony, to whose longing to have his child to himself for one hour a week she was as hard as brass.

"You earn twenty dollars, and he earns fifteen—you've got \$5.50 of his money already and you want more"—the Judge summed her up. If the tones of her voice, which is never raised, failed to chill Rebekah it was because nothing could. "You'll take his \$5.50 and no more. You'll let him see his child at the time specified each week without molesting him. If you fail to do your part, you'll get no money. You understand?"

One gets an idea of this court as a sort of nursery where spoiled grown-up children who have failed to learn the elementary lessons of fair play are gathered—those who have wrecked their own or others' lives out of heedlessness or ignorance or selfishness, with the Judge, like a wise, just nurse, dealing out discipline.

Her verdicts and rules are on such elementary principles of justice as if she said: "Johnnie, you mustn't take Susie's blocks away from her"—or "Jennie, if you hurt Bobbie again, you'll go to bed without your supper."

In the house of life, there must be one room for its big undisciplined children, and the Domestic Relations Court seems to furnish it. What more natural than that a vastly human, vastly tolerant, specially trained woman should preside over it?

JUDGE JEAN NORRIS seems to be all three of these things. Her judgments reflect no more sex prejudice for or against than would the judgments of a kind mother. What this woman magistrate seems to be making of her job is something bigger than a place—even a decent place—for the adjustment of alimonies and divorces. Behind the flood of unhappy lives sweeping through this

and the Woman's Court, where profligates and delinquents are tried, there are causes, and Judge Norris has in her short period as City Magistrate begun to look for them.

She finds one cause in the alien quality of these unhappy souls. About ninety per cent of those that come before her in the Domestic Relations Court Judge Norris has found to be foreigners. Instead of merely analyzing this as a possible contributing cause and then dropping it, Judge Norris has set out to establish an Americanization center in her court building. There will be a room where the unnaturalized can be made citizens, where those who know no English can be encouraged to learn it, where those who are out of touch with the meaning of American ideals can be educated therein. Wife beating, for example, is out of harmony with sex equality. Better teach Achilles and Salvo what American civilization demands of them than punish them for running true to the type from which they have not yet emerged. Better teach the grafting wife that a parasite is contemptible whether she lives on Riverside, west or east.

Out of the general misery an outstanding one is the deserted wife whose child is about to come. What the law can do for her Judge Norris does. Beyond the law of the land, this woman judge has invoked the law of kindness. She keeps a little store of layettes on hand for those new citizens, who will be born into the purple of American freedom, whatever its parents are.

To show how this judge respects maternity, one has to tell a little story, a story which has provoked some misunderstanding of her motives. Before her, in the Woman's Court, came a woman charged with prostitution. She was a prostitute. There was abundant evidence; but in four months more she was to become a mother. What should a woman judge do? What would you do?

JUDGE NORRIS asked advice of other Magistrates, who said: "Don't convict her. Bring in a verdict of *prima facie* evidence of guilt, but dismiss her case for extenuating reasons." This is what she did. It seems on the face of it, the simple, natural thing to do. One thing that impresses the person who watches this Magistrate is that her verdicts are so human and full of common sense that one is surprised that they can be legal. She always seems to say and do just what you'd say and do yourself if you sat on her bench—which is, of course, presumptive evidence to your mind that she must be right.

Judge Norris' latest vision is of an employment office, run to help those in either court who need it. It seems the sanest possible idea as an adjunct of a court whose aim it is to get women off the streets and into self-respecting employment. One evidence that a woman's hand is steering this project is shown in the plan to get proper clothes for girls who are applicants for positions. A big mercantile house has already offered credit to Judge Norris for just such cases and others are following suit.

It is sound psychology to send a girl out decently dressed to start a new life. Such unions of law and social ethics as Judge Norris has instituted are evolutionary, not revolutionary.

Two other phases of a woman judge's Court appeal to the observer. One, its manifest good fellowship. There is an air of informality without familiarity about the Domestic Relations Court, such as comes when all those gathered to perform a duty are highly concentrating on the duty itself and not on their relations to one another.

Finally, this is a Court whose main object is to keep people out of it. Every case is presented outside of the court room, is heard by counsel, by probation officers, by social workers, all of whom endeavor to get the family differences settled out of court. As a matter of fact, hundreds are. Only the irreconcilables come to the Magistrate and, even here, reconciliation follows sometimes, as in the case of one man and woman who asked to have their

case quashed, and agreed to go home and try it again. The man was just free from a term of five days on the Island for disorderly conduct and in his Island retirement, he had evidently come to think better of home. The woman seemed dull and squalid, but a clean, bright-eyed baby gave hope that she was better than she looked. The three of them went off to make a new venture of family life. Their departure had the effect of a rather belated wedding, and, if the principals understood enough English to get any point of view at all they must have got one of the kindness and good will that New York's woman Magistrate somehow managed to make visible in the court over which she presides.

M. O. W.

Opening Doors

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY has decided to permit women to register for law courses in the department of extension teaching. It will not, however, accept women students under the law faculty.

A short time ago a woman from North Carolina wrote to the *Woman Citizen* to ask if she could study law at Columbia University and take a degree. She appealed from an unenfranchised state to one that has given the vote to women, and to the state which inaugurated the long fight for the political, civil and professional equality of women.

The *Woman Citizen* was obliged to send word to the girl from North Carolina anxious to have the experience of New York's Women's Court, that being feminine, she could not be admitted as a regular student in the Columbia School of Law. She could, however, attend the summer school and be credited to some other law school which does not hold itself so unspotted from the female mind as does Columbia.

In contrast to Columbia's slowly crumbling resistance to women law students is the attitude of Professor Joseph H. Beale, of the Harvard Law School.

Professor Beale, who started the Cambridge Law School for women in 1915 with ten students but was obliged to relinquish it during the war, is now willing to reopen the school in the fall of 1920 if enough applicants demand it.

Dean Boody of Radcliffe College was much interested in the movement, and through the courtesy of Radcliffe, the classes of the Law School for Women were held in a college building. Radcliffe will again supply rooms this fall for the reopened school.

Professor Beale's Law Library has been at Radcliffe since 1915, and will again be at the disposal of his women students. The three years' course will be the same as that given in the Harvard Law School, and Professor Beale guarantees a thoroughly competent faculty drawn from Harvard professors and instructors, and professors and instructors from other law schools resident for the year at Harvard.

MADAME NEGROPONETI, the Greek Government's official delegate to the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Geneva, bears with her the assurance of the Greek Premier M. Venezelos, that the women of Greece will be given the vote after the next municipal election.

Mr. Venezelos made this statement publicly to the Greek League of Women's Rights, assembled in Athens.

WEST VIRGINIA is getting the habit of thinking politically about women, now that it has set a high water mark by its ratification gallantry. Mrs. Rose McGraw de Barriz, of Grafton, who is a sister of Colonel John Y. McGraw, Democratic National Committeeman from that state, was on May 27th appointed Acting Associate National Committeewoman of the Democratic party.

It was at the request of the National Committee that a woman was appointed in West Virginia.

The Prices You Pay

A Message to the League of Women Voters

from the
Committee on Food Supply and Demand

Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Chairman

Conditions Since the Armistice Was Signed

IT is more than a year and a half since the Armistice was signed. Throughout that period we have been repeatedly assured that the cost of living would rapidly decrease, but the facts have continued to contradict the promise. Living expenses have steadily advanced. The cost of food has risen 21% during the last year; 104% since 1913. The cost of clothing has risen 64% since March, one year ago, while union wages have increased only 55% since 1913 and the average yearly salary of the teacher continues to be \$634.

As a result of these conditions we find increasing undernourishment in our population. Meat is disappearing from the tables of the poor, and, what is more serious, there is less and less of milk, eggs, and butter, food absolutely necessary for children if they are to mature with healthy bodies. Thousands of men and women are not only going without luxuries and extravagant clothes but also without necessary food and clothing. Many who have never known privation before are sinking below the proper standard of living. Moreover it is growing evident that these things are so because, outside of the consequences of world underproduction and inflated currencies, speculators and manipulators who deal in the necessities of life continue to reap enormous and unreasonable profits.

Prices and Profits

ACCORDING to one economist, recent figures, based on Federal income tax returns and investigations of various governmental agencies, show that "during the three years 1916-1918 the consumer has been paying the food corporation whose reports are available over two and one-half times as large profits as were considered acceptable before the war. The high price of sugar is the direct result of speculation which followed the shortage due to the increased demand of Europe." The net profits of the twelve companies producing over 50 per cent of the sugar consumed in the United States rose from an average of \$11,000,000 during the years 1912-1914 to \$34,000,000 for the years 1916-1918.

Profits of the Packers

PART V of the Federal Trade Commission's report on the meat packers was made public on May 16, 1920. It is entitled "Profits of the Packers," and is summarized by the Federal Trade Commission as follows:

The report declares that the Big Five Chicago meat packers—Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., Inc., and the Cudahy Packing Co.—showed in round numbers at the beginning of the fiscal year 1919 total combined assets of \$1,300,000,000; total combined net worth (capital stock and surplus) of \$535,000,000; had sold during the fiscal year 1918, \$3,200,000,000 of goods; and that the several companies have grown to these proportions principally from profits retained in the business, after deducting dividends paid to stockholders.

These profits retained in the business have been generally capitalized by the issuing of stock dividends, so that of the present capital stock outstanding of the great companies, only about forty per cent represents direct cash contributions on the part of the stockholders.

Commenting upon the war profits of the packers, the report observes that over \$100,000,000 was added to the surplus accounts of the several companies out of earnings made in the first three years of the war, 1915 to 1917. During these years profits both in dollars and in rate of investment doubled, trebled and quadrupled.

In respect of the profits announced by the packers of 2 to 3 cents per dollar of sales, the report says that such a rate on sales in an industry like meat packing, which rapidly turns over its product, is the equivalent of a high rate of return on net worth (fifteen per cent or more). Rate on investment (not the rate on sales, nor the rate per head or per pound), furnishes the correct method whereby the reasonableness of profits may be determined.

The report observes, moreover, that the advertisements of the great packers in respect of profits per head or per pound of beef are not based on accepted methods of determining costs and accordingly dependence can not be placed upon them. The whole accounting system of the packers must be revised before dependable figures can be found showing costs and profits by specific products or even for the business as a whole.

Experience of Other Countries

IN some other countries a better day has come. During the war, bread made from American wheat was selling in Belgium at 60 per cent and in France at 40 per cent of the price we paid in New York. The same quality of American butter that cost us 80 cents in Washington sold for 60 cents in England.

In Queensland, according to Premier Theadore, who has recently been in Washington, at the present time sugar is selling at eight cents a pound and the best cuts of meat can be obtained at from 16 to 18 cents a pound in government meat markets. The Premier is further quoted as saying: "The government has met the menace of war profiteers by entering into active competition with them." He added that when the meat men combined to charge the people of Queensland excessive prices the government went into the meat business; also that it is the policy of that government to encourage private enterprise but when private effort takes the form of monopoly the government "steps in."

Constructive Legislation Necessary

UNDoubtedly, for this distressing problem of the high cost of living, part of the remedy is to be found in constructive legislation, to terminate speculation, punish profiteers, and regulate the distribution of food. Proper regulation of the distribution of food does not mean the shackling of industry. Such regulation will rather free industry from conditions which now tend to destroy its efficient operation. The law can and must emancipate the farmers from the impediments which now block their access to open and competitive markets. The law can and must free consumers, so that they can deal directly with producers. The law can and must afford both producers and consumers safety from the artificially taken profits of speculators and intermediaries, who now burden commodities with unnecessary prices between the farm and the home.

The Best of Our Lives—For What?

THIS story of profits in food distribution is current at the very time when Senator Capper of Kansas is declaring in the United States Senate that "we have more than 700,000 tons of meat in the United States, enormous over-supplies of butter, cheese, rice and other grains and all foods, . . . and tons of food held by profiteers until unfit to eat are condemned and destroyed by government agents." This state of affairs not only causes great distress to consumers. It is also unfortunate because it results in decreased production. Undoubtedly only a small fraction of the price paid by the consumer accrues to the producer, whose incessant toil is given no real reward because the way between the producer and the consumer is artificially blocked. It is estimated that for every \$4 paid for grain the farmer receives approximately \$1 and the remaining \$3 is retained by the middlemen. During the last season the market decline in the prices paid the farmers for live stock was nearly 50 per cent, while the high prices charged to consumer for meat went virtually unchanged. Many farmers in consequence were pressed to the verge of bankruptcy. Is it to be wondered at that Annie Greenwood, appealing through the *Atlantic Monthly* from a "Sagebrush Farm" in Idaho, says:

"I can write bravely enough in these letters, but at heart I am sad at the thought of these hard years. . . . We are giving the best of our lives for what? And who cares? O my country! wake up and hear your children crying to you for relief . . . Have we been patient and silent so long under great wrongs that you cannot believe they exist? Let us hope that a better day is coming."

Action of the League of Women Voters

LAST fall the League of Women Voters, assisted by the National Consumers' League, sent representatives across the country, who presented this subject to women in the various Western states, and asked them to study it and be prepared to act on pending legislation in their national conventions. There was much interest throughout the country.

At the Convention held in February of this year the Committee on Food Supply and Demand, which has representatives in most states, met to consider the food problem; to hear the report of the Chairman, and to act upon recommendations. Present at that conference were women from Western farms, city women from the East, and representatives of every class in the country. During the conference those who attended repeatedly laid emphasis on the need of a national food commission or controller to aid government inspection and regulation of food distribution and marketing in order to prevent monopoly, conspiracy, unfair practices and profiteering. At the end of the conference the Committee adopted resolutions which were later presented to the whole convention and approved by it by an overwhelming vote.

National Convention Resolutions of the League

Those resolutions were:

Whereas, in addition to the results of inflated currency during the war, the high cost of living in the United States is increased and the production of necessary food supplies diminished by unduly restrictive private control of the channels of commerce, of markets and other distribution facilities, by large food organizations and combinations, and

Whereas, if our civilization is to fulfill its promise, it is vital that nourishing food be brought and kept within the reach of every home, and especially of all the growing children of the Nation:

RESOLVED BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS:

First: That the principles and purposes of the Kenyon-Kendrick-Anderson Bills now pending in Congress for the regulation of the meat packing industry be endorsed for prompt and effective

enactment into law; and that this declaration be brought to the attention of the leading political parties, both in advance and at the time of their respective national conventions, with an earnest request for corresponding and unqualified platform pledges.

Second: That the Food Supply and Demand Committee be authorized to keep in touch with the progress of the proposed legislation and to cooperate with the National Consumers' League, the American Live Stock Association, the Farmers' National Council, and other organizations of like policy, in an effort to promote through legislation the realization of such principles and purposes. Furthermore, that the Committee on Food Supply and Demand be authorized to confer with the Department of Agriculture in regard to the extension of its service, with a view to establishing long distance information to enable shippers and producers to know daily the supplies and demands of the food market.

Third: That the early enactment of improved state and federal laws to prevent food profiteering, waste and improper hoarding is urged, and the strict enforcement of all such present laws is demanded.

Fourth: That the various State Leagues of Women Voters are requested to consider the advisability of establishing public markets, abattoirs, milk depots, and other terminal facilities.

Fifth: That aid be extended to all branches of the League of Women Voters in spreading knowledge of the methods and benefits of legitimate Cooperative Associations, and that endorsement be given to suitable national and state legislation favoring their organization and use.

What Women Want of the Congress

SINCE the food question was thus received and acted on by the League of Women Voters, the Kendrick and Kenyon Senate bills have been considered by the Agriculture Committee, and a new measure, the Gronna Bill, has been drafted and favorably reported out by the Agriculture Committee. It is now taking the place of the other two. The Anderson bill is before the Agriculture Committee of the House. Members of the League of Women Voters, in line with the action taken by the League's National Convention, have been supporting the principles and purposes of these bills, which means that they have been endorsing government regulation, the separation of the packers from control of the stock yards, the making of refrigerator and other special equipment cars part of the common carrier transportation system of the country and the assuring of properly regulated live stock and other food markets, open alike to producers and consumers.

Members of the League of Women Voters and all other interested persons should write and have others write to their Senators and Members of the House of Representatives urging support of these bills. They should also write to Hon. Asle J. Gronna, Chairman of the Agriculture Committee of the Senate, and to Hon. Gilbert N. Haugen, Chairman of the Agriculture Committee of the House, expressing approval of the principles and purposes of the proposed legislation. Hundreds of letters are being received by members of the Agriculture Committee from the selfishly interested opponents of the bills. It is necessary that the public-spirited supporters of this legislation should register their approval. Those at a distance frequently do not realize the significance of these expressions of opinion on the action of Senators and Representatives in Washington. Now is the critical time and a real service can be done by promptly urging legislation in the interest of the whole public.

Congressional Investigations of the Packers

THE two months of hearings on the Anderson bill recently ended would seem to show conclusively that farmers, live stock producers, consumers, and citizens devoted to public welfare alike demand the enactment of legislation to regulate the meat packers.

At these hearings on February 24, 1920, Congressman John W. Rainey asked the question, "Did not the President suggest to the Federal Trade Commission that they should investigate the whole food problem . . . or was it just the packers that were to be investigated?" Congressman Anderson replied, "The packers were the food problem."

Congressman Tinch of Kansas supplemented this by saying: "I think it is important. I think there are three conditions that no one will deny. You can call them charges or facts or whatever you want to call them. First, the producer of live stock and meats is being bankrupted, is working at a disadvantage, and can not continue under existing conditions. Second, the packer is rolling in wealth, is living in luxury, setting an example of extravagance and waste, using most of his money to promote cheap propaganda that has no place in a free government, and can accomplish no good. Third, the average consumer is reduced to practical want and is hungry for the producer's meat. If this committee has some proposition that is more important to consider than the facts presented to us here, I do not know what it is. Personally," continued the Kansas representative, "I do not know of anything that is more important for this committee to consider than the proposition of legislation along this line."

Startling Testimony

ON April 12 a bit of startling testimony was given before the House Committee on Agriculture by Colonel Chantland, now a practicing attorney for New York City, who was chief examiner for the Federal Trade Commission prior to May, 1919. Speaking of conditions investigated by him while so acting as chief examiner, Colonel Chantland testified that in certain districts of the United States one of the packers had made contracts with 21 different railroads by the terms of which the roads had agreed to refuse to carry cars operating for any other concerns. He added: "You might have cars of your own, and you could bring a car into your peach orchard or truck garden, but under these contracts you were not permitted to ship it out filled with your goods . . . The railroad company was bound to refuse to carry a car, even if the owner of the goods owned the refrigerator car."

The League of Women Voters was represented at this Congressional hearing by the Chairman of the Food Supply and Demand Committee, who on March 6, 1920, presented the Food Committee's resolutions adopted by the National Convention, and who testified before the Committee. The League was also represented by Mrs. Helen M. Gardener. This was the latest of at least four recent exhaustive hearings on legislation for regulation of the meat packers. It seems that it should be the last and that Congress should promptly act. The general demand for remedial legislation has become urgent.

As this issue of the *Woman Citizen* goes to press, progressive Senators of both parties are assisting Senator Kenyon and Senator Kendrick in their efforts to secure action before Congress adjourns on the bill for Federal regulation of the packers. The Gronna bill, based on the Kendrick and Kenyon bills, was reported unanimously from the Agricultural Committee in February, but as yet has not been given a place by the "steering committee" for consideration by the Senate. Senator Kenyon says of the proposed legislation: "It is the only bill pending . . . here that really affects the cost of living to the people of the country . . . I shall strive, as other Senators who are interested in the bill to which I refer shall, to bring it up at every opportune moment from now until the end of the session."

State Food Committee's Program

THE legislative program of the State Food Committee of the League of Women Voters includes:

1. Support of the principles and purposes of the Kendrick-Kenyon-Anderson bills now before Congress to regulate the meat-packing industry, including government regulation, the separation of the packers from the control of the stockyards; making refrigerator and other special equipment cars part of the common carrier transportation system of the country; and assuring properly regulated live stock and other food markets, open alike to producers and consumers.

2. Investigation and reports on State laws to prevent profiteering and the waste of food products and to encourage Co-operative Associations and public markets.

Among many constructive suggestions for State legislation is the recommendation of the creation by statute of State Trade Commissions which shall be authorized to prevent unfair trade practices and competition within States, and empowered to supplement the work of the Federal Trade Commission.

It should further be noted that in many States the law under which the Co-operative Associations must incorporate is bad. It is important to know in what states Co-operative Associations are encouraged and wherever unfavorable legislation exists, efforts should be directed to its prompt correction.

Reports from the States

THE following are some of the reports of recent activities in various states:

Colorado

THE Lower Cost of Living Club of Denver, Colorado, has voted to extend its unqualified endorsement of the resolution submitted by the Committee on Food Supply and Demand, favoring the passage of the Kenyon-Kendrick-Anderson bills now pending in Congress.

District of Columbia

IN the District of Columbia, Committees from the Consumers' League, the Woman's City Club, and the College Women's Club have worked in cooperation with the Food Supply and Demand Committee of the League of Women Voters in support of the legislation pending in Congress for the regulation of the meat packing industry.

Recently when boycotts were being urged, this co-operating Committee submitted to the Woman's City Club the following resolutions, which were adopted and sent to the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Department of Justice and all other Women's City Clubs in the United States:

"WHEREAS, notwithstanding the making by public officials of repeated pledges to reduce the cost of living through vigorous and impartial federal prosecutions, such prosecutions have not been extensively pressed and the high cost of living has continued unabated; and

"WHEREAS much of the demand for constructive legislation to terminate speculation in and private monopolistic control over foodstuffs has long gone unheeded by Congress:

"RESOLVED: That the Women's City Club of Washington, in the interest of the general welfare, hereby urges the Department of Justice to prosecute in season and out of season the large as well as the small profiteers, and particularly the more important beneficiaries, who are making undue gains out of public necessities and public suffering;

"RESOLVED FURTHER, THAT Congress is hereby asked immediately to enact such supplementary legislation as was requested in recent executive messages, including such statutes as will best supply deficiencies in existing laws with reference to the effective prosecution of profiteers, also such legislation along the

lines of the Anderson Bill now pending in the House of Representatives, as will open the channels of commerce to the free and competitive distribution of foodstuffs without any special privileges to the large dealers in foodstuffs, and on fair and equal terms to producers and the consuming public.

"RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Department of Justice, and the Women's City Clubs throughout the country."

Florida

MRS. C. E. HAWKINS, Food Chairman for the State, reports:

"The request to write to members of Congress and others specified was received and suggestions have been acted upon.

"In my official capacity, as Vice-President of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, I was present this week at a meeting of the Pinellas County Federation and urged their co-operation. I also gave a short talk on the Budget System and the question of Food Supply and Demand.

"The most deplorable food waste in Florida is the number of oranges and grape-fruit that fall to the ground and rot there. Prices are so low and shipping facilities so inadequate that the growers consider the loss by rotting the lesser of two evils. It is a great pity that some way cannot be devised for using this splendid fruit."

Massachusetts

MRS. WILLIAM EDGAR BIRDSALL, Boston Chairman of the Food Committee of the League writes:

"In October the Boston League of Women Voters appointed a committee on Food Supply and Demand, with Mrs. W. E. Birdsall, President of the City Federation of Women's Clubs, as Chairman. On the Committee were representatives of the Consumers' League, the Women's Trade Union League, the Housekeepers League, the Boston Teachers Club, the Municipal League, the League of Women Voters and Women's Clubs.

"Under the committee's auspices a meeting was held in October, addressed by Mrs. Edward P. Costigan.

"Mrs. Park devoted one of her lectures to 'The Trouble with the Food Supply. The Kenyon-Kendrick Bills in Congress.' She spoke to numerous audiences on the subject. Miss Blackwell addressed the meeting of the Massachusetts Suffrage Association in Worcester on the food problem, and the need of regulation by Congress. Mrs. Birdsall addressed a large audience at the Dorchester Women's Club and also at the Cantabriger Club in Cambridge.

"The Committee on Food Supply and Demand put pressure at intervals on Congress for passage of legislation to regulate the packers. They also planned two public meetings, one addressed by Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mr. Stuart Chase, and another on 'Co-operative Packing Plants in North Dakota,' by Mr. Walter Liggett, Immigration Deputy and Publicity Director of the Non-Partisan League.

"The Consumers' League held a public meeting on 'The Danish and Russian Cooperative Movement,' and cooperated with the League for Democratic Control in a study class on the Cooperative Movement."

Michigan

MISS JENNIE BUELL, Chairman for that state, announces that the Food Committee is preparing to cooperate with the Association of Prosecutors of the state in asking for a series of new laws which are aimed at prevention of food profiteering, for more adequate warehouse and storage facilities and for alleviation of food conditions generally. With respect to urging support of the measures to regulate the meat-packing industry, Miss Buell adds: "I wrote Congressman McLaughlin myself and asked five other people to wire him."

Nebraska

MRS. C. G. RYAN, Chairman for the state, says:

"Suggestions that letters be written various officials urging their support of the Kenyon-Kendrick-Anderson Bills have been observed.

"Reporting on activities in Nebraska along the lines of public markets, co-operative associations, prevention of profiteering and waste of food, I wish to say:

"Public markets have been attempted in some of the larger centers in this state with indifferent success. The difficulty seems to lie in the fact that too many consumers demand service and too few producers will give the time necessary to marketing by that method. The opposition of the regular distributors is also a factor. I am informed that the maintenance of the public market will be attempted in Omaha again this season. Public milk stations are now operating in that city with such satisfaction that the number is about to be materially increased. Public ice stations have had gratifying results for the last two years. Co-operative Associations are growing apace in this state. The percentage of successful ones is increasing.

"As Fair Price Commissioner for the state, I have endeavored, during the last four months, to organize for the correction of extravagance, non-production and profiteering. The accomplishments are difficult to measure, though I am assured that tremendous saving has resulted.

"Consumers have been aroused to their own responsibilities in relation to the high costs. Judicious and intelligent buying has been developed, with the result that merchants have had to reduce prices in order to move the goods. Many reports of profiteering have been investigated. Some prosecutions have followed and are at present in the courts. In other cases the accused merchants have reduced their prices to meet the requirements of a "fair price." A careful survey of prices of food commodities prevailing in the state was made in January and the knowledge that they were under observation had a salutary effect on the unfair dealer."

North Dakota

MRS. HENRY L. BOLLEY, State Chairman, writes largely from the producer's standpoint of the Farmers' Non-Partisan Movement in North Dakota as follows:

"The people of the state have been able to accomplish much along lines of benefit to the food production of the state. They have enacted laws on grain grading, whereby the grade is based on milling and baking values instead of the appearance of the grain and weight per bushel. . . . They have forced the elevators to pay for dockage or to return it to the farmer for feed for his animals. They have established a state bank whereby funds that belong to all the people may finance activities that belong to the people. They have established one experimental flour mill—have let the contract for a 1,600,000 bushels capacity terminal elevator to be built at Grand Forks and for the first state mill which will be able to produce three thousand barrels of flour a day. They have established hail insurance at cost to the farmers, and state aid to drouth sufferers, thus helping farmers to keep their farms. They have promoted state aid to dairy interests until in 1919 the dairy products produced and sold, exclusive of those used on farms, were valued at \$34,000,000, as compared with \$3,000,000 five years ago—while poultry and eggs increased from \$1,000,000 in 1916 to \$5,000,000 in 1919. Believing that the best way to increase production is by helping the producer, they have exempted farm improvements from taxation and established a home builder's association, making it possible to build a home either in town or country at less cost than rent.

Along industrial lines they have passed the eight-hour and minimum-wage law for women and the workmen's compensation act for the protection of all workers. North Dakota has established stringent pure food and drug laws and has promoted education in the rural schools until it is said that today in proportion to its population North Dakota has a higher percent of consolidated schools than any state in the Union.

"Aside from state aids to production, the co-operative movement has made great strides in the state, the farmers now owning and controlling cooperatively one of the largest packing plants in the west, and they own more than one-third of the 2,200 grain elevators now located in the state.

"One of North Dakota's big problems is transportation. A large percentage of the wheat has not been moved from the state and many elevators are full now because there are not enough cars to move the wheat. If Duluth were made an ocean port, each car to New York could make seven trips to Duluth and back.

"A joint commission appointed by Canada and the United States met at Grand Forks to discuss the necessity and feasibility of opening the St. Lawrence for ocean steamers so that it would be possible for them to load at Duluth. This will naturally meet strong opposition from the Minneapolis, Chicago and New York transportation lines, but the many facts in its favor must in time secure it a favorable hearing."

New York

MRS. JAMES LEES LAIDLAW, Chairman for the state, reports:

"We have appointed a local chairman in many of the Assembly Districts in New York State; in some cases the Assembly District leader is doing the work of the Food Chairman. We have extremely interesting women who are carrying on this work locally. They are officers in the Grange or the Home Bureaus; in some cases they are municipal appointees for inspecting markets, etc. They are doing excellent work locally in cooperation with the Agricultural Department, Foreign Bureaus, etc.

"We have sent the bulletins of the Food Supply and Demand Committee into every Assembly District where the substance of them has been passed on to innumerable local meetings and clubs. Mrs. Vanderlip has held a series of conferences in every section of the state; at all of these the Food Supply and Demand Committee's work has been presented.

"The spring conventions of the various counties are now coming on. At each of these there is a conference period for the work of our Committee. We are ready to respond for any call for Congressional pressure that may come from you."

Rhode Island

MRS. HOWARD K. HILTON, Chairman of the State, says: "We are trying all the time to find something that we can do in regard to food conditions and are carrying on as much educational work as possible.

"I have written to the Chairman of the Agricultural Committee as you requested."

South Dakota

MRS. W. S. HILL, Chairman for the state, reports:

"In some of the larger places a few arrests have been made for profiteering. This has happened a very few times in Sioux Falls and in Aberdeen. But not much of any real value resulted.

"It is felt here that our retail men do not do much if any profiteering. Last year South Dakota had a poor potato crop and we have been compelled to ship potatoes in for local use. The wholesale price to the local dealers is the reason for the high price to

the consumer here. So the profiteering if there is any must be higher up. No one seems to understand the sugar situation. The housewives are becoming quite concerned as the fruit canning season draws near. But we seem helpless to relieve the situation in any way.

"The local boycotts practiced by women's clubs and similar organizations get nowhere and often work hardship on some local dealer who does not deserve it. There has been a little agitation for something of the kind here a few times but not many of us could see real results to come from such a move and so have opposed it. Nothing of the kind has been done."

Tennessee

MRS. JOHN L. WICKS, state chairman, writes:

"There is no act of Congress covering dairymen and farmers, and here the dairymen are charging 25 cents a quart. We have made it unlawful for creameries to charge more than 20 cents. The psychological effect of investigations is always good. I am enclosing a clipping in reference to a boycott of potatoes here this week. When they went to 12 and 13 cents a pound, an 'endless chain' was started in a quiet way. Housewives asked friends to promise not to buy until they came down, and to ask five others to do the same thing.

"The mayor of Chattanooga has formed an 'old clothes League' and so has the Woman's Club, the largest woman's organization here.

"Another element has formed an 'overall club,' which hardly seems practical enough. Overalls for workmen have consequently soared in price.

"I must make a report at the state convention of the Suffrage Association (to be changed to League of Women Voters) in Nashville, May 18th and 19th, and I want to ask an endorsement by that body of the resolutions adopted at Chicago and also of the resolution that the League of Women Voters of Tennessee support the Federal Trade Commission in its efforts to secure helpful legislation in the meat-packing industry."

Mrs. Weeks adds that letters have been written to members of Congress in support of the proposed meat-packing legislation.

(Note: In a future number of the *Woman Citizen* the Committee on Food Supply and Demand expects to publish an article on Coöperatives, prepared by Mrs. Agnes Warbasse, Educational Secretary of the Coöperative League of America.)

Mrs. Gompers

WHAT has the world known about Mrs. Samuel Gompers, "Ma" Gompers, as the American Federation of Labor up and down the United States called her? Yet but for the kind of wife he had, Samuel Gompers might never have been a world-famous figure. Mrs. Sadie Gompers, who died the middle of May, at the age of sixty-nine, came to America from London when she was eight years old. When she married Mr. Gompers in 1867 she was a little tobacco-stripper, and he was a cigar-maker. She saved pennies with which to buy books for "her Sam," in order that he might fit himself to protest against the wrongs which workers of the mid-nineteenth century were suffering.

Through long years of labor agitation, Mrs. Gompers—a quiet little person—was always present at American Federation of Labor conventions—a silent listener, but one who made an impression.

At her death, sympathetic letters and telegrams by the hundreds were sent President Gompers. On her coffin was a wreath of flowers and a card "from the President and Mrs. Wilson with sincere sympathy."

The Opportunity of the League of Women Voters

An Interpretation

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS is the organized womanhood of America held together by the determination to develop a citizenship worthy of the long years of struggle for the ballot.

The enfranchisement of twenty million new voters is not a mere incident in the history of a nation; it is an epoch. It is the setting into operation of a tremendous power, not to be lightly invoked. Every privilege carries with it responsibility and since good citizenship is not only a privilege but a duty, its obligation is doubled.

Here and now, even before victory is complete, we are planning for the future and gathering our forces for even greater campaigns in the cause of justice. There is no time for a holiday.

Of course we realized that enfranchisement was not an end, but merely a means by which reforms may be wrought and women all over the country are asking, "How can I best use my vote?" The League of Women Voters is the answer.

Mathew Arnold said, "If ever the world sees a time when women shall come together purely and simply for the benefit and good of mankind, it will be as a power such as the world has never seen." We are about to see that prophesy fulfilled.

WHEN the leaders of the N. A. W. S. saw the end of their task near, they realized how impracticable it would be to disband such an organization of trained women, women who had learned how to work, full of experience and rich in wisdom gained through cooperation. They did not need to hesitate or search for an opportunity for further service. Demands crowded in upon them. They were confronted with the shocking condition of illiteracy aggravated by a nation-wide shortage of teachers; soaring food prices mean undernourished children; social evils result in disease and degeneracy for the race; and inequalities of women in different states and in various occupations demand intelligent and concerted action.

Any one of these departments opened up a field for work.

So the N. A. W. S. A., instead of wrapping itself in glory and saying its task was done, brought forth a daughter richly endowed, young, clear of vision, who will go onward toward the goal of economic justice and social health. We have been studying along these lines for many years in our clubs and kindred organizations, but our opinions have lacked force, they have been somewhat vague, and their expression was limited to endorsement and resolution. Now we are through with generalization—the issue is squarely up to us. What legislation shall women stand for and what shall they reject?

MEN meet upon an economic plane. Nearly all their associations are the result of business and their political opinions naturally reflect their interests.

Women unite on a humanitarian basis. There is a kinship of motherhood that binds together all women of all classes. So where the home and children are concerned women will stand side by side in spite of creed or caste.

We have also learned that home does not mean house, nor children, just our children. It includes world wide welfare.

Until all children are educated and healthy, our children are not safe.

Our vision must be farsighted and all inclusive. We need the council and wisdom of women in every walk of life and from every part of our land so that we may not become bewildered by details or local issues, but shall formulate a program that is broad and well balanced.

We must get beneath the surface of affairs—down to basic truths and fundamentals. The League of Women Voters should become a real school of economics with the greatest minds of the nation concentrated on its legislative program. If this program is thus carefully prepared, thoroughly studied and conscientiously carried out, we shall develop a citizenship unequaled in history.

That will be Americanization.

Americanization is not a process for the alien alone. We can best teach the foreigner our ideals by showing him a citizenship worthy of emulation. We can never Americanize with one hand and withhold economic justice with the other.

Carlton Parker has shown so clearly that the only way to cure unrest is to remove the cause.

A family budget or an overall club will not solve the problem of profiteering.

IN the little pamphlet issued by the Minnesota League is this statement, "The League of Women Voters makes its call to the brave, the intelligent, the forward looking. No others will be interested."

The women of New York have proved themselves eligible by their fearless exposing of the pseudo-patriotic League of Americanism, which under the guise of patriotism was obstructing all welfare legislation.

Because patriotism is thus abused, and the ballot abused, women must rise in their newly acquired strength and demand honesty in public office.

Democratic women will go actively into the councils of their party and write into the platform the planks which women want. Likewise Republican women will shape the policies of that party to include their demands until it can never again happen that Congress will appropriate \$47,000,000 for preventable diseases of hogs and cattle and not a cent for maternity and infancy.

But our demands must be intelligent and have behind them the weight of numbers. We must agree upon a few measures and all support them.

Therefore, we come into the League of Women Voters as women to reason together without prejudice or partisanship and inform ourselves concerning legislation which, as politicians, we hope to secure.

NEVER was such a challenge issued to womanhood. Are we big enough to accept?

Well might we feel overwhelmed were it not for the inspiring example of women in other states.

Have you read how the women of Columbus put to rout the corrupt gang and elected a reform mayor in spite of threats, slander and ridicule? It is a thrilling tale.

And what other women have done we can do.

In our enthusiasm over starting forth upon this great program of work let us not forget that some of our devoted women are held back and are still giving every ounce of their strength to secure that 36th state so that all women may be free. Theirs is the self sacrificing spirit which counts not even life itself too precious to give for freedom.

Under such leadership no cause could fail.

GRACE CLENNING.

The Missing Certificate of Arrival

By Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley

Chairman of American Citizenship National League of Women Voters

THE word "alien" has a sinister sound to the average American, suggesting unkempt individuals with long hair, badly fitting clothes and Bolshevik tendencies.

Such people should meet Mr. King, an alien applicant for American citizenship. He is young and good looking and wears the attractive uniform of the United States Merchant Marines; he is immaculate as to collar and boots, clean shaven and well-groomed and so loyal to the American flag that after six years of baffling attempts to become naturalized, he is still persisting and will persist until he is made a citizen of the United States.

Mr. and Mrs. King were English theatrical people and in entering the country through Australia in 1913 via Vancouver, he and his wife, little dreaming of future consequences, registered under their stage name because professional people are entitled to a twenty-five per cent discount on their steamship passage. Under this alias they were given their certificate of arrival and here the trouble began. The immigration officials did not warn them of the importance of this paper in case they should wish to be naturalized and what became of it they have not the remotest idea.

When the war broke out, Mr. King gave up his safe and fairly well-paid profession of acting to enter the merchant marine service, determining to enter the school for officers. This required citizenship papers, but he was accepted because he had already filed his Declaration of Intention, having made one effort to become naturalized, but owing to misinformation, he wasted so much time that when he received his first papers, he should have been filing his second petition. He now determined to make another attempt, having been encouraged to this effort by reading in the newspapers that the League of Women Voters had a department devoted to making good citizens out of foreign born aliens. From shipboard, he wrote to the Chairman of the American Citizenship Committee as follows: "I believe I am a good citizen. At least, I am clean living and I keep the laws of the country. I do not have to be taught to love the country because I have traveled with my wife in every state but four and we certainly do like it and we want to be known as citizens of the United States. When I was a youngster, I was apprenticed for four and a half years to the British Merchant service, but I have been away from sea life for a good many years and it is a bit of a wrench to bring my courage up to the point of volunteering my services and what little knowledge I possess for this work. I think everyone should do that which he or she knows the most about so that any special knowledge could be utilized for the good of the country and I am trying to practice what I preach, so if your Society, which by the way has my best wishes for success, can bring this matter to the ears of the right people, I shall be more than pleased."

"At the time of filing his petition there shall be filed with the clerk of the court a certificate from the Department of Labor, if the petitioner arrives in the United States after the passage of this act (June 29, 1906) stating the date, place, and manner of his arrival in the United States, and the declaration of intention of such petitioner, which certificate and declaration shall be attached to and made a part of said petition."
Naturalization Laws and Regulations.

He recounts the unsuccessful efforts he had already made with the various official authorities, closing with this humble conclusion. "I presume that all these important people are too busy in affairs of greater importance than to bother with one unknown man these days. Sorry to trouble you but to me, it is one more chance and I do not believe in letting chances slip."

The American Citizenship Department found Mr. King's story true in every particular and since 1918, it has not ceased

to press forward his case. The only obstacle is the missing certificate of arrival. It cannot be found, although it is over five months since application was made for the original certificate.

As the law now stands, no man or woman who has arrived since 1906 can file a petition for final papers until this certificate of arrival is produced. The original of every certificate of arrival is filed in the Bureau of Naturalization in Washington. Sometimes a certificate of arrival is returned from Washington in three months, sometimes it is a year and sometimes the applicant never gets an answer even where repeated applications are made.

Sometimes the record of arrival can never be located because in order to escape military or political oppression or for some other reason, the immigrant may have used an alias and in the course of five years from the time he lands until he is eligible for citizenship, he forgets the alias used, therefore, his certificate of arrival is to all intents and purposes absolutely lost and he is excluded from citizenship.

Inability to produce the certificate of arrival is probably the greatest cause for failure to secure citizenship papers. This would be trying even if the certificate of arrival was a matter of any importance, but it is not. It was designed in the first place to establish the date of a person's entry into this country so as to prevent him from becoming a citizen before the five years residence here which the law demands had elapsed, but it is superfluous because the law also demands two witnesses who have known the alien continuously for five years.

At the last census, the total population of the United States was 91,972,266. Of these, 6,646,817 were foreign born white males of voting age and of these in the year ending June 30, 1919, 346,827 declared their intention to become citizens while but 107,559—more than fifty thousand less than one-half—filed their final petitions. This little paper, known as the certificate of arrival, to find which is like looking for a needle in a hay stack is as outgrown is the vermiform appendix in the human anatomy.

The end of Mr. King's story is that his first paper having lapsed, he has to begin all over again and it will be two years before he can possibly petition for final papers. Moreover, unless the law is changed in the meantime or the missing certificate miraculously turns up, he can never become a citizen of the United States.

The Crisis in Education

By William C. Bagley

THERE is no problem now before the American people that is more important than to place the public school system upon a substantial basis to correct the defects which the experience of the past few years have so clearly revealed, and to save our schools from the fate that threatens them today because of the unattractiveness of the teaching service. The nation, indeed, is face to face with an educational crisis upon the immediate solution of which depends without question every ideal that our people cherish. This crisis is reflected in the acute shortage of teachers for all grades of schools, in the employment of thousands of untrained teachers, in the closing of many schools and the shortening of school terms, in the deplorable lowering of standards already dangerously low, and in the failure of the training institutions to recruit competent young men and young women to fill the depleted ranks of the teaching personnel.

This situation constitutes more than a local problem, more than a state problem, more than a sectional problem. It is distinctly and emphatically a national problem. It imperils the nation and everything worthy for which the nation stands. Its continued neglect will inevitably spell national deterioration; a lower level of trained and informed intelligence among the citizens of the next generation; lower standards of representative government; increased liability to the abuse of the franchise and to the exploitation of the voter by the unscrupulous and the self-seeking; increased peril from the anti-social zealot and his propaganda. These are the grave dangers that are involved in the present condition of public education. Beyond these, there is the danger of reduced economic and industrial efficiency, for it is unquestionable that even material prosperity in the long run is dependent upon a high level of trained intelligence among all of the people. And beyond this and basic to all are the moral and spiritual elements in a people's life, which can be stabilized and extended only through a pervasive and effective system of universal education.

A CONSTRUCTIVE program aimed to meet the present situation on a nation-wide basis must strike first of all the fundamental and underlying weaknesses. Of these by far the most significant is represented by the low regard in which the teacher's service is held, particularly in the lower schools. The actual work of teaching children the basic lessons of civilized life and of American citizenship is generally looked upon as a casual and temporary occupation. It is not only devoid of attractive material rewards; it lacks even more fatally the recognitions and sanctions that men and women best qualified for its responsibilities quite naturally and properly consider when seeking a life work. As a result, most of those who have entered the service in the past have considered it as a mere stop-gap occupation and have left at the first good opportunity. Of those who remain, many are soured and embittered by disappointment and consequently unfitted for the radiant service which the care and culture of children normally stimulate and always demand; while others, who have really found themselves in their work, and give themselves to it without stint, are harassed by the spectre of want, irritated by officious and often ignorant supervision, and handicapped by a public attitude that regards them either as persons who would be unable to

[To the Woman Citizen's office came recently a letter from a professor's wife in the Middle West. "My husband," she wrote, "who has taught all his adult life and loves to teach, must give up his professorship in order to earn enough to educate our children."—ED.]

succeed in any other occupation or as impractical idealists who are to be pitied rather than honored.

To correct this deplorable condition it is necessary first of all to place the work of teaching upon a substantial economic basis. The steps that have recently been taken

to keep competent teachers in the service by making salaries more nearly adequate to the cost of living should be continued and extended until the calling can compete successfully with other professions for the best talent among our young men and young women. Beyond this, however, it is necessary to recognize teaching on every educational level as constituting a worthy career, the opportunities and honors of which will not suffer by comparison with those that can be attained by successful workers in other fields. Toward this end nothing can contribute more than to recognize the teacher as a servant of the nation, bearing the Nation's commission to discharge its most important obligation.

BETTER salaries and more attractive recognitions for teachers will not alone solve the problem. It is not primarily for the relief of teachers as individuals that even these steps are essential; it is rather for the welfare of the nation which depends upon them as it depends upon no other group of public servants. To increase their rewards and improve their status should mean that they will render better service. As one result of the attitude that the public has taken toward teaching in the past, our present standards of preparation are lower than in any other country of comparable rank; indeed, it is literally true that we pay less attention to the preparation of teachers than does any other civilized nation. Our public normal schools which prepare recruits for the elementary school service are the least respected, the least well supported, and the least attractive of all of our professional and higher institutions. Today practically every other type of collegiate and professional institution is crowded to the doors with eager students; but the classrooms of our normal schools are scarcely half-filled; and the young people that do attend them do not represent in general by any means the best of our high school graduates. Parallel with all efforts to raise the economic and social status of the teachers should go a vast improvement of the institutions that prepare teachers. Instead of being the least attractive of professional schools, they can and should be made the most attractive. Instead of being forced as at present to lower their standards and cheapen their instruction in order to attract mediocre students, they should be enabled to select the best and to offer to the best a program of instruction and training that will both command respect and insure professional efficiency.

This end can be attained by recognizing the teacher-training institutions as schools in which the nation as a whole has a vital interest and for the support and improvement of which it should bear a just share of the responsibility. For more than a half a century the nation has generously subsidized the state colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Under this stimulus these institutions have flourished in a measure that could not have been approached had their development been limited to the states alone. More recently the nation has, with equally commendable generosity, subsidized vocational education in the public high schools. The nation has been impressed with the national importance of the intelligent farmer and the skilled artisan, and

through drafts upon the federal treasury it has expressed its interest and its concern in a very tangible and effective way. The time is opportune and the need is imperative to extend this interest and this policy to the institutions that prepare the teachers for the people's schools. Certainly a nation such as ours should not have to defend itself against the charge that it is more keenly interested in the productivity of its fields and the productive skill of its artisans than it is in the general level of intelligence among its citizens and the character and attainments of those to whom is intrusted the basic training of its children. The nation as a nation is open to this charge today. Federal subsidies to the state and city normal schools will do much to correct this defect. It is not alone the financial assistance that is significant in this connection; above and beyond this, national subventions for the preparation of public-school teachers would be a distinct recognition of the dependence of the nation's welfare upon the public schools and the significance of the teacher's service to the nation's life.

From the standpoint of national welfare and progress, the weakest link in the chain of public education is represented by the condition of our rural and village schools. The significance of these schools is amply evidenced by the fact that in them nearly sixty per cent of the next generation of American voters are enrolled; a clear majority of the next generation of voters will be strictly limited in their educational opportunities to whatever these schools can provide.

The Mighty Problem of the Rural School

OF the national weaknesses revealed by the military draft, none was more startling than the high proportion of absolute and relative illiteracy among the men called to the colors. This weakness was due in part to the heavy immigration from educationally backward countries during the past thirty years; but even allowing for this factor, the illiteracy among our own native-born adults proved a serious handicap to our military preparations and points to a condition that is so clearly inconsistent with democratic institutions as to demand the immediate institution of a thorough-going reform. In this connection, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the reduction of illiteracy in the native-born population is primarily a rural school problem. Out of every six native-born illiterates, five live in rural communities. This proportion varies in different states and different sections of the country, but in every section native-born illiteracy is predominantly a rural problem.

The fundamental cause of native-born illiteracy can be clearly and indubitably located in the weakness of the rural schools. In the first place, these schools are in charge of the youngest, the most transient, and the least well-trained of our public-school teachers. Three hundred thousand teachers are required for this service. Of this vast army, at least one-half are themselves so young that they could not qualify as voters—and yet to them the nation nonchalantly intrusts a responsibility beside which the privilege of the individual ballot is but a mere bagatelle, for each of these child-teachers is a potential factor in determining the votes of from ten to fifty citizens in embryo. These three hundred thousand teachers as a group serve but two or three years in the schools, hence at least one hundred thousand fresh recruits are required each year, the vast majority of whom are entirely without training for their work. It has been estimated that no fewer than one million children in rural America are receiving their preparation for American citizenship at the hands of teachers whose own education has been limited to the first seven or eight grades of the elementary school; while at least five or six million are under teachers who have not reached the age of twenty-one. In the light of these conditions, one should not be surprised that

nearly one-fourth of the men called by the first draft were unable to read a newspaper intelligently or to write an intelligible letter. How inadequate was their knowledge of the country's history, their understanding of its government, and their appreciation of its ideals and aspirations, one can only guess.

It is clear that the condition of the rural and village schools constitutes a national problem of the first magnitude. The states have proved themselves incompetent to meet the situation alone and unaided. It is, indeed, too vast a problem to be solved by anything short of a great national movement. In a mobile population such as ours, the educational efforts any single state or community, no matter how liberally supported or how well managed, are certain to be swamped and negated by the poverty or the indifference of other states and other communities. Only a type of far-reaching and comprehensive co-operation can meet this condition, and such a type of co-operation can be successfully undertaken only through national stimulus and guidance.

THERE should be put into operation a series of national subventions to the states to be granted primarily for the purpose of aiding communities of low per capita wealth—in general the rural communities—to support efficient schools and to employ highly trained and relatively permanent teachers, especially prepared to meet the difficult problems that the rural school service involves. Against it is not alone the material aid that is important; of far greater significance in the end will be the recognition of the rural school as of basic significance to the nation's welfare; a recognition of the fundamental truth that just as the nation must have the intelligent loyalty of every citizen, so the nation must see to it that the basic and fundamental education of every child is not hampered or restricted by the poverty or the indifference of the community in which he lives, by the economic status of his parents, or by the limitations of whatever occupation he may enter. The only limitation that can be recognized is that imposed by the native ability of the child himself, and even this should be counteracted as far as possible by providing for every classroom in the land a teacher who has been thoroughly trained to appreciate the child's needs, to make the most of whatever capacities he possesses, and to adapt to his understanding the basic lessons that all must learn if our people are to have the common standards and the common ideals which lie at the basis of mutual sympathy, a clear collective vision, and united action.

All this can be brought about by the intelligent participation of the nation in the improvement of the rural and village schools. It can be brought about quickly and effectively. Without such participation, the solution of this problem on a nation-wide basis is virtually out of the question. These schools lie at the very root and source of whatever is virile and abiding in our national life. To delay longer in making them adequate to their great task and their great opportunity is inexcusable.

(Concluded in next issue.)

The Smith-Towner bill, languishing in Congress, provides for the establishment of a department of education with a seat in the cabinet upon an equal footing with the department of labor, commerce, agriculture and the other departments. At the present time all that is done for education is done through the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior. The purpose of the Bureau is to collect statistics and disseminate information—\$480,000 is appropriated annually for its work. About \$200,000 annually is all that is devoted to education proper. The Smith-Towner bill transfers the Bureau of Education to the Department of Education and authorizes the President to transfer such other educational bureaus, commissions, boards, divisions and branches, as in his judgment should be administered by the Department of Education.

The bill authorizes the appropriation of \$100,000,000 annually to be apportioned among the states.

New Women For Old



MR. C. D. BATCHELOR, WHO DRAWS 20th CENTURY GIRLS

Is there such a thing as the "new woman"? What do the artists, the poets and the philosophers make of the question? We have garnered some expressions of opinion here and there and present them below.—Ed.

The Artist's Ideal

By C. D. BATCHELOR

IF we choose to glance over the magazines of but fifteen years ago, we will note that the illustrator has been compelled to re-create his woman type. And it is a matter in my opinion far beyond the superficiality of dress. She has today that assurance and confidence born of a changed and changing economic status. And that is far too important to be even approached as an influence for change in appearance by her approaching political freedom.

Illustrators who idealize the American girl betray very surely their respect or disrespect for her qualities of mind and heart. As drawn by Mr. C. D. Gibson or Mr. Clarence Underwood she is not only fine and high bred but in her we find beauty adorned with intelligence.

If any ideal of the American girl persists in my mind it can only be stated indirectly. I would but wish for the reader to say, "I saw that girl on Fifth Avenue yesterday (or might have) that same forehead for thinking. She looks as though she could play the pal to man. She simply must know Symons and play tennis. Even if her dance program is consistently crowded, I cannot imagine her but intelligent and of aggressive opinion when the Soviet, industrial democracy or Ibanez is discussed."

The Poet's Ideal

IT will be seen from the alleged poetry below that Mr. Clinton Scollard's ideal of womanhood finds its ablest expression in the kitchen through the cook. You can taste the fine flavor of his imagination as he lilts his tune to her pie-making qualities.

*Books about bookery (save it be cookery)
She is not learned in; she is not wise;
Treatises critical, tales analytical,
Less to her are than are puddings and pies.
She never cares about men who split hairs about
Variant endings of languages dead;
Whate'er reliance she places on science
Is where it treats of the making of bread.*

*Yet she's a pretty fine hand with spaghetti;
Pickles to her are a wonderful art
On the meringue she can give a harangue; she
Knows what should be the right test of a tart.
Stews—she makes all of them (oh, but the thrall of them!)
Flaky her crusts are, a marvel to view;
When she's not lucky, then still she is plucky, then
She's never crusty, and not in a stew!*

*Making apologies to all the "ologies,"
In that her knowledge is little or nil,
She's ever practical (rarely didactical),
Having some notion of paying a bill.
Laughing and lyrical, and not satirical,
Tresses that have such a cute little curl,
Could you but see with me, you would agree with me
In my opinion that she is "Some Girl!"*

CLINTON SCOLLARD, in *Life*.

Philosophically Speaking

MODERN society is, generally speaking, established upon a belief in masculine superiority.

The dogma of masculine domination has found acceptance with the majority of men—although its vociferous proclamation

MR.
BATCHELOR'S
BEST
GIRL



by some of them betrays to the analyst a lingering doubt and the need of reinforcing a shaky belief—and with the parasitic type of women known as anti-feminists.

The anti-feminist is in reality a more grasping and ambitious woman than the feminist. She is not really satisfied with equality. She aims at securing domination over man through pure sexual fascination. She seeks to secure all the satisfaction her ego craves without shouldering any of the burdens which equality would entail. By pretending that she is what guileless males wish her to be, she enjoys the privileges which helpless, dependent infants are granted by their immediate family circle. By alienating some of her freedom, she secures an infinite amount of power. By accepting a few conventional restrictions she demands infinite allowances for a thousand capricious details of behavior.

The assumption of masculine superiority in primitive, uncivilized man was a practical device for securing more work from the female. In modern woman it implies a disreputable sophistry and mental dishonesty.

The parasitic woman, who is satisfied with power easily secured and has no creative tendency, may reconcile herself easily to the masculine domination.

The active, intelligent, energetic, positive type, whose self-assertive ego is not satisfied except through positive achievement, chafes under the many restraints which that domination imposes upon her.

The masculine domination, harmful to the female, is supposed to have been an unmixed blessing for the male.

It has, on the contrary, created a most unpleasant state of affairs. It has created the superstition of woman the enigma, the sphinx or the vampire.

The average man has been taught that woman is "different." Being different, she cannot be expected to act under given cir-

cumstances as a man would act under the same circumstances. "You can't tell what a woman is likely to do." If she does act as a man would, she falls under the suspicion of being unnatural or mannish.

To the weak, unintelligent male, woman is a mysterious being, half goddess, half idiot, of whom he is unconsciously afraid. We always grow afraid of the gods we create.

This relation is disastrous in a good many ways. Afraid of woman, the weak man who wants to sustain the masculine domination employs neurotic ways of subduing her, of humiliating her.

To many a weak, inferior man, the assumption of the mysterious character of woman is a positive boon, a plausible excuse for many failures. "A fool there was," and he would have probably been a failure under any circumstances. Given an irresistible woman for whose "wiles" an ordinary man is "no match," and the defeated ego, unable to enjoy success, can enjoy sympathy.

Eve was a convenient excuse for Adam's downfall. The *Blind* is built upon the same assumption of ruin being generally brought about by woman; also the *Arabian Nights*, and the numberless poems and plays. "Seek the woman" expresses that phobia in popular form. Beaudelaire has very naively given it expression in that passage in which he says, "I cannot think of a beautiful woman without imagining at the same time some misfortune connected with her." Schopenhauer's and Strindberg's obsessional ideas concerning women were undoubtedly manifestations of a feeling of inferiority which, by reviling woman, sought to explain away every defeat in the "unequal struggle" with the sphinx-woman.

The masculine domination is responsible for the large class of "disappointed" husbands and wives. The gullible male who expects to find in his wife the mysterious creature popularized

Another Royal Suggestion

COOKIES and SMALL CAKES

From the NEW ROYAL COOK BOOK

WHEN the children romp in hungry as young bears, here are some wholesome, economical delights that will not only be received with glee, but will satisfy the most ravenous appetite in a most wholesome manner.

Cookies

$\frac{3}{4}$ cup shortening
2 cups sugar
 $\frac{1}{4}$ cup milk
2 eggs
 $\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon grated nutmeg
1 teaspoon vanilla extract or grated rind of 1 lemon
4 cups flour
3 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder

Cream shortening and sugar together; add milk to beaten eggs and beat again; add slowly to creamed shortening and sugar; add nutmeg and flavoring; add 2 cups flour sifted with baking powder; add enough more flour to make stiff dough. Roll out very thin on floured board; cut with cookie cutter, sprinkle with sugar, or put a raisin or a piece of English walnut in the center of each. Bake about 12 minutes in hot oven.

Cocoa Drop Cakes

4 tablespoons shortening
1 cup sugar
1 egg
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup milk
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ cups flour
3 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup cocoa
 $\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon salt
1 teaspoon vanilla extract

ROYAL

BAKING POWDER

Absolutely Pure

Cream shortening; add sugar and well-beaten egg; beat well and add milk slowly; sift flour, baking powder, salt and cocoa into mixture; stir until smooth, add vanilla. Put one tablespoon of batter into each greased muffin tin and bake in moderate oven about 20 minutes. Cover with boiled icing.

Orange Cakes

4 tablespoons shortening
1 cup sugar
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup milk
1 egg
2 cups flour
3 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
 $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon salt
1 teaspoon orange extract
grated rind of 1 orange

Cream shortening; add sugar slowly, beating well; add milk a little at a time; then add well-beaten egg; sift flour, baking powder and salt together and add to mixture; add flavoring and grated orange rind; mix well. Bake in greased shallow tin, or individual cake tins, in hot oven 15 to 20 minutes. When cool cover with orange icing.

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by plays and fiction and to derive from her the constant stimulation such a type is supposed to provide, cannot live long with her without discovering that she is quite as commonplace as he is himself and quite as human.

The gullible female who expects to lean against a pillar of moral and physical strength, to receive from her husband wise and infallible guidance in all human affairs, soon finds out that her hero is as uninteresting and as unromantic as she herself is, and that his superiority has to be constantly reaffirmed through many arbitrary actions, high-handed judgments, terrorism and nagging.

As Freud would put it, these people have been living above their means psychologically. They have been drawing checks upon a bank in which they themselves deposited nothing but in which they assumed without any evidence that their partner had deposited large sums.

Their disappointment is a clever compensation sought by their ego which is unable in any other way to demonstrate its positive superiority. "I have been disappointed by my wife or by my husband" really means, "My wife or my husband does not come up to me."

The disappointed partner ostensibly deplors his mate's inferiority, but secretly enjoys it, as it gives him or her a certain security. The stupid, bourgeoisie wife is in great demand among males who are not positively sure of their superiority, and the "tame" husband, easily controlled and unattractive to other females, is constantly proclaimed by the average woman a very desirable partner.

The spread of feminism would remove the many phobias which render the relations between man and woman, always difficult and sometimes frankly unpleasant. Man, the tyrant, and woman, the sphinx, real enough types, for many men strive to be tyrannical and many women affect to be capricious and erratic in order to live up to some worthy play or film, would then be relegated to the realm of old-fashioned fiction.

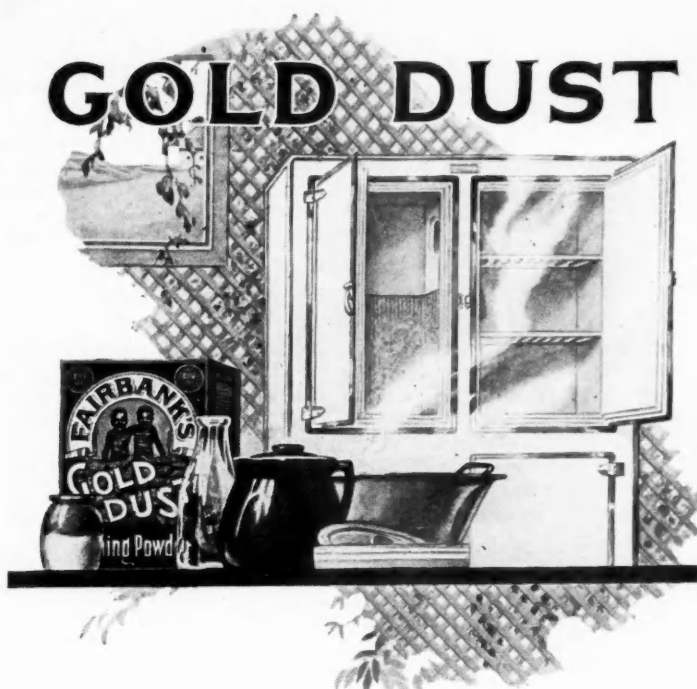
ANDRÉ TRIDON.

The Magazine Lady

JUST as one plumbs the depth of despair over the prospect of ever meeting a magazine lady who is a woman, just as one, having turned on the cold water faucet to get the sticky, cloying feel of the magazine heroine off one's hands, decides that no magazine editor and no magazine publishers are sincere enough and 20th century enough to let a 20th century woman's problem perambulate through their pages, along comes *Harper's Magazine* with a story by one Maryse Rutledge—"The Thing They Loved." In it there is a woman with a great gift and a great love. And the two are in conflict.

They always are in conflict. They are in conflict for the man artist—art and love. But in magazines it has long been the style to settle the conflict for the woman by matrimony; quite irrevocably settle it, the conviction being that if you fill a woman's life with a husband's love and fill her lap with children, you can stifle and strangle her art impulse, without injury to her or to the race, whether that impulse is struggling for expression by way of a grand opera voice, or by way of worthy literary achievement, or by way of fine marbles. You can do that in a magazine, but you can't do it in life. In life the problem continues. In life, no matter which she gives up, no matter how skilfully she tries to manage both, the problem continues. Even for the professional woman, even for the society woman the problem continues.

It is because of the always-thereness of the problem that such a disposition of it as is made by Mr. James Forbes in "The



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Famous Mrs. Fair" is so inadequate. "The Famous Mrs. Fair" is a play and looking at Mrs. Fair's problem as a playwright and with a man's eyes, Mr. Forbes sees that everything will be immediately comfortable—for Mr. Fair and the children anyhow—if Mrs. Fair gives up her interesting and stimulating work as a lecturer. With a young daughter needing her any woman who is half a woman would decide as Mr. Forbes makes Mrs. Fair decide. But it is the sense of the finality in Mr. Forbes's decision that irks. A woman cannot fail to know that in two years at most the daughter's need will be over, the daughter married and gone and Mrs. Fair's problem back upon her, as acute as ever.

Now comes this Maryse Rutledge in this *Harper's Magazine* and calmly admits that the problem is insoluble. Treating it sympathetically, with a literary class and skill worthy of the best *Harper* short story traditions, the author cannot down it. Yet faces it. Takes it standing. And the magazine lets her do it. That is the astounding thing. Plenty of women and some men have before now been willing, anxious, to face woman's problem of double function—not settle it in some book fashion, face it—but where have been the magazine editors to allow it!

"No, the public can't stand it. No, it's too depressing"—thus editors, who, by the way, really do as a rule know their particular public. But there's a new public let loose in the world today. We face dreadful and drastic problems, we women. We are not depressed, we are helped by the picture, the printed translation, the problem caught and held for us on the page or the canvas or the stage so that we can look at it in some concrete form long enough to get all its aspects. Maybe in the long survey of its aspects lies the solution. However that may be, I know one reader at least who looked up from the "The Thing They Loved" to say "Thank God for that number of *Harper*," out of sheer satisfaction in the story's value.

R. Y.

Men Voters' Hope

WHETHER or not the thirty-sixth state shall ratify the suffrage amendment in time to give women the ballot in the fall elections, their full enfranchisement is, at the latest, only a matter of months. There are still those who deplore woman suffrage and shudder for the consequences, but the writer is not of that number. I believe the results will be good. Certainly we men have not made so notable a success of the job as to justify us in denying the women a chance. Frankly, I expect them to do better than we have done. Otherwise, suffrage will be no gain either to the women or to society, and may even mean serious loss. But if the ballot in the hands of women is to be the blessing we hope, three characteristics must mark its use:

1. It must be exercised intelligently. A mere superficial knowledge of candidate and issues is not enough. There must be real study of the problems of government, of industry, of society in general. In days past millions of men have been wont to vote for high tariff or low, for free silver or the gold standard, with no fundamental knowledge whatever of the principles involved. It has been largely a matter of catchwords and slogans and blind following of leadership. Obviously any such exercise of the suffrage stops short of real citizenship.

There is reason to hope that women will do better. The same social instincts and opportunities that have brought them together in societies and clubs for the study of missions and social welfare and literature may quite conceivably lead them also to a collective study of the problems of politics. Every woman's club and society henceforth, whatever else its object, should become also a school of citizenship, in which the real fundamentals of society's problems shall be studied honestly, open-mindedly, and with an earnestness commensurate with the vital interests involved. If women are to vote well, they must vote intelligently.

2. They must exercise the ballot also independently. It is perhaps not too much to say that heretofore blind partisanship has been the curse of American politics. Party names, oftentimes shorn completely of their original meaning, party slogans that have lost their idealism, party platforms constructed solely "to get in on" and party candidates whose only object is "to get in"—these are the fetishes we have too long been worshipping. We need no more "yellow dog" partisans; we have too many already. If the women can come into political life on no other than the partisan basis, they would far better stay out. Having studied the issues intelligently, they must then vote their convictions with absolute independence. The ballot which is not exercised independently—which "belongs" to a political party, whatever the issues involved or the character of the candidates offered—is a badge of servitude instead of an instrument of freedom.

Not only so, but it has been well said that the independent voter is the hope of the nation. Party leaders pay little attention to the votes of those who can be counted upon irrespective of it. It is the independent vote that commands attention and respect and sooner or later dominates the situation. The women will do well then, both for themselves and for their country, by refusing to be bound and branded by any political party whatsoever.

3. It goes without saying that the women must vote altruistically—with a deep sense of obligation. "All power is of God," says the apostle. "The powers that be are ordained of God." Another of the sacred writers tells us why: "For the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of them that do well." The ballot then, in the hands of a sovereign citizen, is a divinely-given scepter of power, to be wielded for a sacred purpose. It cannot be employed selfishly without sacrilege and sin. It must be used, therefore, not for the interests of any person or party or section or class, but for the best interests of all—the greatest good to the greatest number.

Woman suffrage exercised along these lines will be a blessing and will go far toward solving our country's pressing problems. Exercised unintelligently, slavishly, selfishly, it cannot fail to be a curse.

ROBERT B. ELEAZER.

Uncle Sam's Girl Detectives

UNCLE SAM'S Girl Detectives do not go sleuthing around murder cases; they sit in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and apply their nimble wits to the solution of tangles among the five million insurance cases in the Bureau. Here is one case: "The memo. 'James Hall (3,721,505) McCall, South Carolina; Beneficiaries: Mrs. Ella Stalks (Wife), Mrs. Fannie Stalks (Mother),' was handed to a file searcher in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. The man's name was given as Hall, while those of his wife and his mother were given as Stalks. Patently, something was wrong somewhere. Just what was wrong, however, was not so evident. To find out what and where the error was, was the job. Finding the error somebody else made is always the job of the War Risk index file searchers, and it's a tough job if they fail to get at the bottom of it. Going into the index files section where are listed the names of nearly five million men who were inducted into military service, the young woman made a complete inventory of all the thousands of men surnamed Hall. Among them all there was not one who came from McCall, South Carolina, nor yet one who had a wife or mother whose name even remotely resembled the 'Stalks' given as the name of the two beneficiaries. . . . 'Well,' remarked the girl charged with producing the needed information, 'this man may be 'Stalk,' since that is the name given for his wife and mother.' But search through the 'Stalks' brought nothing to identify the case. 'Still,' she persisted—and they always do persist, these girls—'his name must be some kind of a 'stalk,' but WHAT kind? Corn stalks,



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bean stalks, and cabbage stalks are the only kind of stalks I know anything about, so I'll just look them up.' And sure enough it turned out that his name was 'some kind of a stalk'—Cabbage-stalks, in fact, and his index card was duly changed to read: 'James Cabbagestalks (3,721,505), McCall, South Carolina; Beneficiaries: Mrs. Ella Cabbagestalks (Wife), Mrs. Fannie Cabbagestalks (Mother).'

No wonder the Treasury Department tells us "the first requisite for a searcher is imagination."

The Word At Washington

WASHINGTON, June 2.—Several of the more prominent issues that are incorporated in the first Woman's Platform issued by the National League of Women Voters have been very much to the fore recently at the Capitol and the excitement about the headquarters of the League in the Munsey Building has been intense and enlivening.

There is great satisfaction over the state of the appropriation for the Woman's Bureau, which is a part of the third plank in the League's platform, for the Senate Committee has reported \$75,000 for the Woman's Bureau in the Sundry Civil Bill, and this was passed by the Senate Wednesday. This is an increase of \$35,000 over last year's appropriation, which was only \$40,000. The estimate of the Secretary of Labor for the Bureau amounted to \$150,000, however.

The Minimum Wage Bill for government workers, which has also been favored by the League, was passed by the Senate on Monday without opposition, with the expectation that it will now go to conference and later receive the President's signature.

This bill will affect some 66,000 men and women in Federal employ throughout the country, and will provide a wage of at least \$3 a day or \$1,080 per year for every adult employee in the United States Government and the District of Columbia.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the League, and Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Chairman of the Food Supply and Demand Committee of the League, have been watching with keen interest the legislation to regulate the meat packing industry, about which there was discussion in the Senate last week.

Mrs. Costigan, who lectured before the Home Economics Teachers' Convention held at Austin, Texas, under the auspices of the University of Texas and the State Board of Education for Texas, on June 3 and 4, chose as her subject "Federal Control and the Packers and Co-operative Buying." She said in an interview concerning the recent legislative situation:

"From the point of view of the housewife, there is no matter before Congress which is more important than the Gronna Bill to regulate the meat packing industry. Hearings have been held almost constantly since December, 1918, and last August the President of the United States asked Congress for legislation 'licensing and regulating corporations engaged in interstate commerce, as a means of restraining such corporations from reaping unconscionable profits.' Women are beginning to ask why Congress should delay action longer on a matter which concerns so primarily the homes and the welfare of the people of our nation. It is gratifying to know that there is a promise that the long-awaited legislation is to be considered before recess."

Miss Jessie Haver, legislative secretary for the National League of Women Voters, tells of the Senate discussion as follows:

"On May 18th, during the morning hour, Senator David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts, made an address on 'Causes and Spread of Radicalism and Some Remedies Therefor.' Senator Walsh pointed out that while Congress had delayed action so that this is one of the few countries without a reconstruction program, the

people are losing faith in their Government. He summarized briefly the extent of profiteering in food and clothing which he said was being concealed from the people. "While the story of profiteering is being recited from pulpit and soap box, prices continue to rise unhindered and unchecked and the whole Nation is seething with a growing resentment and alarm. The inactivity of Congress presents a spectacle of indifference that has seldom been surpassed since the courtiers of Louis XIV reveled while the French peasants were eating grass." Senator Walsh recommended among other things the passage without further delay of the Gronna Bill (the combined Kenyon-Kendrick Bills endorsed by the League of Women Voters in February).

The next day, Senator Kenyon of Iowa prefaced his speech with the following statement: "Mr. President, I should not take the time of the Senate away from the Shipping Bill if there seemed to be any immediate prospect of its passage. I understand that the steering committee has decided that the Shipping Bill, the Army Appropriation Bill, and the bill for a woman's bureau in the Department of Labor, and possibly one or two other bills, shall be passed, but that they deny any place in the legislative program to the bill for the regulation of the great packer monopoly, the only bill pending here that really affects the cost of living to the people of this country."

Indiana Women on Big Four

THE Indiana State Democratic Convention was of interest to women for many reasons other than that Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall checked his own presidential boom, and refused to be Indiana's "favorite son." For the first time in Indiana history a woman—Miss Adelaide Steele Baylor—was nominated on the state ticket.

Mrs. Alice Foster McCulloch of Fort Wayne was named for one of the big four. The other three of this delegation were Vice-President Marshall himself, Thomas Taggart and former Governor Samuel M. Ralston.

Three women alternates were also named: Mrs. Bessie Laurenstein of Evansville; Mrs. Mary K. McNutt of Indianapolis; Mrs. Hortense Tapp Moore of Rockville.

Another innovation in Indiana was that of placing a woman on the Resolutions Committee which drafted the platform. Mrs. Adelbert Flynn of Logansport sat through the all-night deliberations of this committee, and signed the report submitted to the convention. This report strongly endorsed the present Administration and "demanded the ratification of the treaty of Versailles and American membership in the League of Nations."

This action in regard to Indiana Democratic women was interesting in view of the blanket motion by which the Republican State Convention of the previous week had smothered the name of a woman delegate-at-large from the Republican Convention of Indiana. The Republicans named two women as alternates and urged immediate ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Rights and Duties

IT is a constant pleasure to see the warm interest shown by women in the citizenship courses. Not only suffragists, but women who were formerly antis, are attending in large and growing numbers the citizenship classes organized by the various Leagues of Women Voters. They evidently appreciate the truth so well expressed by Victor Hugo:

"Liberty has burdens of her own, and lays on the consciences all the chains which she unshackles from the limbs. We find rights transforming themselves into duties." A. S. B.



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LESSON IX

QUESTIONS

- a. What powers belong to local government?
- b. What is the simplest local unit?
- c. What is meant by a "county-township" form of local government?
- d. What type of government is the most democratic?
- e. Is the New England town meeting known in the west?
- f. What and when is a village, borough or town?
- g. What can a town do?
- h. When does a town grow up and become a city?
- i. What types of city government are found in the United States?
- j. Where do local governments get their powers?

ANSWERS

a. Theoretically the state and the nation are the great factors in American government, but what touches the individual most directly is his town or city. Most of the minor comforts or discomforts of life come within the control of the city, such as drinking water, well-lighted and clean streets, health regulations.

Whether one lives in a metropolis or a village, he is daily affected by the local governing power. To it he pays his yearly taxes. From it he gets—or he fails to get—protection.

b. The township and the county are perhaps the simplest divisions, not necessarily the smallest. In the South the "local unit" seems to be the county. Louisiana calls it a parish; in the North and some parts of the West, the township stands out more sharply than the county.

c. There is in the middle states and most western states a compromise form of local government, sometimes called the county-township system, of which there are two types: the New York type and the Pennsylvania type. The New York type shows a strong county government with a chief administrative body called the board of county supervisors. This is also called the supervisor plan and has been the pattern of local government in New Jersey and in Illinois and Wisconsin.

Pennsylvania reached back for its system to an earlier one organized in Virginia. This plan is more representative and less direct. It spread to Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma. While the powers of the township vary from state to state, as a rule they include support of the public schools, care

The Woman Voter and Her Home Town

of roads, help for the poor. Taxes are levied for these things by township authority.

d. Of all divisions of government that of the New England town meeting is the nearest thing to a pure democracy.

Once a year all the qualified voters—in Vermont women are included—meet together to discuss measures relating to town affairs and to take action thereon. This is no representative government; it is direct government of the people and by the people. These town meetings fix the taxes; pass by-laws for regulating local matters; elect town officers.

e. In Western states settled largely by emigration from New England local government is modeled to some degree on the plan of the New England town. This is especially true of Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota and Nebraska.

In Michigan the voters of the township, after electing local officers assemble in town-meeting and vote taxes for township purposes, make regulations concerning such matters as the licensing of dogs, the vaccination of children, the purchase of books for the library.

The three types of local government already mentioned, the town, the county and the county-township are the most elementary, devised mainly for rural sections. When a community begins to get so thickly settled that it needs a more highly organized government, it asks for incorporation as a municipality.

The minimum number of people who have a right to ask for incorporation varies for different states.

f. There is so much confusion as to when such a corporation is a borough, when a village or a town, that it is agreeable to recognize these as local variants of chartered communities. In Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, such communities are frequently called boroughs, in the South they are generally known as towns, in the West as villages, although Indiana, Iowa and Colorado stick to the word town.

g. The town (village or borough)—has a local government whose members are elected by the voters. Its executive is a president, or mayor, or chief burgess with three or more

burgesses, trustees or commissioners. Other officers are treasurer, tax collector, constable, justice of the peace, etc. The village government keeps the peace, attends to streets and roads, public schools, health, fire protection, light and water. In its legislative capacity it passes town ordinances. In its judicial, it holds a court for the trial of minor civil and criminal cases.

h. This depends on state law. In many states a town must have 10,000 inhabitants before it can be a city. In some states a city need not have 3000 inhabitants.

A town does not turn into a city automatically when it has so many people. A city is different in kind as well as degree. It has a more complex organism; its powers are larger, its officers more numerous, its local independence is greater.

i. There are two outstanding types of city government, the council system and the commission system. The former has a mayor, city or common council, the council acting as the legislative arm of the local government. This is usually a representative body, its members being elected from the several wards. Its powers are delegated by the city charter, its laws are called ordinances. Their province includes local protection, public health, education, morals, etc.

The mayor is the executive. The judiciary consists of courts of various sorts from police or magistrate courts on up. While the judges are sometimes elected by the people, local courts belong to the state judiciary. Appeals from local courts are carried up to state supreme courts.

The council system city is departmentalized into boards whose main divisions are: Estimates, public works, education, taxes and assessments, charities and corrections, police, and fire.

A commission system city is the newer type. Beginning in Galveston, Texas, just twenty years ago, several hundred cities have now adopted the commission form.

There are, usually, five commissioners elected at large by popular vote, ward and party lines being obliterated. One commissioner is the mayor who presides but may not veto.

The commission passes the ordinances and puts them into effect. There are usually five departments to correspond to the members of the commission, over each one commissioner is

(Continued on page 34)

Politics and the Home

By Mrs. Raymond Brown

From a lecture delivered before the School of Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt following the suffrage convention in Chicago.

I BELIEVE most men have just thought politics was something mysterious and something men understood intuitively, because they were men and mixed with other men, and talked about it. But as a matter of fact, you and I know the average voter knows nothing whatever about government as we are studying it; that he simply votes, and often votes as he is told.

We want to arouse in the new woman voter an interest in government as it relates to her, to her personal interests; and so in beginning a study of government it is far better, I believe, to begin with government in its most personal aspect and in its simplest form. Most of our study courses begin with the national government, and if you have studied or looked into the subject of civil government as taught in our schools, when taught at all, you will find it a very trite study, usually a study which has not been given great dignity, certainly no prominence.

In New York state it is counted in a very low degree towards the percentage necessary for certificates in the Regents' examination. It has never been put on a par with many of the other courses in the curriculum; and does not interest people, because it begins with what seems to them far away, that which has no personal touch with them—the national government. I hope to show you that the national government has quite as intimate a touch with your family relationship as your local government; but it is easier to begin by showing that intimate personal touch with the local government.

There are two different kinds of government, and it is because we have had our mind on the old-fashioned kind that we have not been interested in it, and that we have said so often that the best government is the one that governs the least. That is not true to-day. That kind that should govern the least is the kind we had before we had a democracy, a government that is a rule over people; that has the authority imposed without their consent. That certainly should be as little powerful as possible, and, to my mind, with that sort of government it is right to say the less it governs the better. But a democracy is something entirely different. When we come to a democracy, like our own government, it narrows down to this, the management of our own common affairs; those affairs which can be managed more efficiently and more economically by groups of us acting together than by individuals acting for themselves.

To show you that is the definition of government, let us consider the woman who goes out to a wilderness to live; a family that goes out to a wilderness to live. What touch do they have with government? Imagine going out to a farm far away from any kind of neighbors, as Dr. Shaw tells us about going to Michigan,

what touch does such a woman have with government? I wish one of you would answer that question.

ANSWER: Taxes.

MRS. BROWN: You never get away from taxes anywhere.

ANSWER: General protection.

MRS. BROWN: Protection from what?

ANSWER: Of her rights, in the country. She certainly has a feeling of security because her government, she feels, is back of her.

MRS. BROWN: The woman living as Dr. Shaw lived in the midst of a forest, with no neighbors, does not feel very much security from government. It is there, and the first duty of the government is the defense of all its people, you are right in that sense. But if such a family desires to do anything, they must do it for themselves. The first group movement toward such pioneer government is when families come together into one neighborhood and begin to want things and find it is cheaper to get them by acting together. One man may want to build a little bridge over a creek, and for the building of that bridge there may be built up the first bit of government machinery. Or roads may be perhaps the first thing that prompts local government. The next thing is their schools. It is certainly better to have the government make the schools in common. Usually the next thing is a fire department, but if you get a fire department you have to have water, and so you must have some source of supply for your fire department.

THEN always as soon as you get a group of people together you have some people who cannot take care of themselves, so there must be some provision for the care of the poor. As soon as people collect property, they want protection for property, and they want protection for their own safety, so they have to set up some sort of police force, called by whatever name you will. Then when you get a group together, they begin to dispute, they have quarrels, and who is going to adjust those quarrels? It used to be done by the device of the duel. Now we set up, even in the simplest government, some sort of court which will dispose of the disputes. Then, since this is not confined to one family, and neither is disease, and since the health of one immediately affects the health of another, some sort of health department has to be set up. And then the minute people cease to live with large areas of land around them, the disposal

of their garbage, of the waste, becomes a government matter, and when you get a little greater congestion of population you have to have a sewerage system. I am not going any further than that, because we are being led on to the city; but you can see how bit by bit the necessary protection of the community is done by means of the unit, and the organization of the community is government.

Let us take the very simplest form of government, the most logical and democratic form when a little group of people come together, it is the township, or the town meeting. Did any one of you ever attend a town meeting?

MISS AMES: A long time ago in the East, because we did not have town meetings in this section; but when I attended a town meeting it was a group of the voters in that town who came together in that meeting, and they delegated for the coming year the work to be done by a certain group of men called the Selectmen in some places; supervisors in others. They go by still other names, trustee, for instance. These men were delegated to carry on the work outlined by Mrs. Brown, for the coming year.

MRS. BROWN: Town meetings apply only to very rural communities, and very likely none of you will ever come in touch with them. The town meeting exists at its very best in New England. It is the old type of government there. In the South especially, the county is the rural unit; in the middle west and New York we have both the township and the county. The town meeting is the very simplest form of government there is, and the most democratic, because the taxpayers come together and they decide what they want done with their money for the next year. They talk over such things as what shall they do with the cow that goes into the neighboring field. When you get two families together and they decide whether they want a bridge or culvert put in, they decide the simplest questions of their common interest; and the officials who handle those things for them are almost invariably, one man who is called a supervisor; he may be called the selectman in New England; then they have to have a clerk to keep the town records. So they elect a supervisor and a clerk, and those two men, with the judicial officers of the town, form this delegated board which handles town affairs.

It is unfortunate that there has come to be a mix-up between the executive officers and the judicial officers, because the justices of the peace are the judicial officers of the town, and yet they sit on the town board and act as part of the executive. The supervisor is the administrative officer of the town. He handles all the money. The town, like an individual, can sue or be sued. It can borrow money. It handles all the money for the town's business,

with the exception of the money for the census, and the money for the roads that go through, and other things.

I started by telling you the very first thing that people have to do when they begin to live together in a community is to have roads, and the management of our rural community roads is a mixed-up affair today. It goes through many hands, and many different people are responsible, and the people who are responsible in the smallest division are usually men who don't know anything about building roads. In many states there is a nominal supervision by the State Commission of Highways; but when it comes down to the Township Division, that Commission has really very little to say about it; and it is the supervisor of the town who has that responsibility. So when you get into a county with several town supervisors, you have each one building little bits of roads, repairing the roads of the town, and they don't know anything about it, and it is a very easy source of graft; perhaps one of the largest sources of graft in this small political division. They have the repair, the maintenance, as well as the construction of roads. They hire teams, horses, machines, and buy the tools. It is a fine place for a job for a political supporter; and the specifications which the State Highway Commissioner will carefully look after on state highways are frequently entirely disregarded in these township roads. In every state, you will find some roads built by towns, some by counties, some by states, sometimes with fel-

eral aid. The disadvantages and the weaknesses of our government, as we are going to study them in this course, do not come so much from intention as from the fact that we have started all over this country in little communities with a government all right for little communities; but with the tremendous increase of population everywhere, the structure of government has not been made over to fit large and crowded areas. The structure that would do for a little community will not do for these great counties that we have today. So there is a very definite movement all over the country to re-construct this form of government.

As I go on, you will see that the town and the county interfere all the time, but I am going to speak of them together because they work together. The county is the agent of the state; the town is not. The town is a group of people that come together and work for themselves, but the county is the state's agent to collect money, to enforce the law, and to do the state's business as far as the county is concerned; and the county in almost every instance duplicates the officials of the town. You have not only the Town Supervisor of Roads, but you have the County Commissioner of Highways; and those two conflict. There is no clean-cut division of authority between them, and in the most progressive communities the County Highway Commissioner has responsibility for all the roads in

the county, as it would seem that he ought to have.

THE next thing that the small community engages in together is making schools for their children. The school district is the smallest district of government that there is. It is a very tiny district. In New York state we have many thousands of school districts. We have over four thousand where the schools have less than ten pupils each. And the reason that many of our schools are very much hampered is because of this tiny division of the school district. In teaching your own rural classes, I am sure you will find more interest on the part of women in their school district than any other division of their local government. They know more about it, even though they have not been school voters. It is something they have been interested in because of their children. There is a natural conservatism that objects to any kind of change and so in New York state two years ago, when we tried to do away with the tiny subdivision of the county and the school district, there was a great deal of opposition to it, and it was put through and then re-called.

Here in the west, especially the middle west, they do not have the school district as we have it in the east. They have the county as the division line. Note the difference, where you have the school district; the tiny group around one school; the money raised is in that tiny group. It may consist of a handful of very poor farmers. Their tax rate may be very high, and yet they may have no money at all to run a decent school. That is frequently the case. Possibly in an adjoining district there will be a lot of city people with a great deal of money and very valuable property. Their tax rate may be a fraction of that in the first district, and their schools are vastly better, and there may be very few children to take advantage of that school, whereas in the first district you may have a great many more attending.

The modern idea, and the one adopted in the west, is to make at least the township in school division, and to have the tax rate spread equally over the township for the school. An even more progressive way is to have the county the tax district and have the tax spread equally over the county. That is the way all other taxes are raised, and you have got the boards of equalization to equalize that tax and see that it does not affect one more heavily than another; and it would seem as if that ought to be the way the school district should be supported. The modern tendency, of course, is to close these tiny schools, and I cannot impress on you too much that this subject is one you want to dwell on in your rural districts where you have classes, because the people like their old way of doing things and dislike having authority taken away from them. but you can show them in many cases, through

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their own experience and in other localities, that the trustees elected under the system of our present school district are sometimes men who cannot read or write. There is no educational qualification in most of the states, so that a school trustee may be utterly unqualified to handle any of the work of the school, and yet he has the choice of books, studies, engages the teacher, decides the salary, and the whole business. Most of the present unsatisfactory state of our schools is due to the political structure of our school system; and it is one of the things that we should get busy with in all our states.

I have not spoken of the aid the state gives to the school district. The state usually has a fund which it subdivides among the school districts. The aid of the federal government is given in a certain degree, and if the Smith-Towner bill goes through, it will give aid in a very much larger degree.

QUESTION: I would like to ask why the taxes, the school taxes, would be smaller in one district and larger in another?

MRS. BROWN: The school tax is raised by each school district independent of any other. And the school district may be a very poor one, poor farmers with only a handful of people, and yet they have to raise the money among themselves for their school. To raise \$500 from that handful for school tax means a very large tax on property in that district, and yet \$500 would be an absurd sum with which to run a really good school. In the next school district the property is more valuable. You may have a railroad running through there, and it is taxed for a large amount of money, so the tax rate may be very small and yet a large sum of money be raised.

MISS AMES: Possibly it would be clearer if you would tell us who is responsible for the assessment of the school tax in every community?

MRS. BROWN: That I am coming to in the

subject of taxes. In each one of these townships there are elected three assessors. I am not sure that the same number applies, but the principle applies to all the states, three assessors and one collector. The assessors are people of the community who go around and appraise the value of each piece of property, and then make out an assessment roll. Taxpayers have the right to go and look at that roll. A man thinks his property is being assessed too heavily, and he protests. The assessors may not admit his protest is justified; in that case there comes a certain day when he has a right to appeal to the County Board of Equalization, and they may adjust things for him or may not. At any rate when it is settled what the assessment is, and the tax roll is complete, then the amount of the tax is divided on a certain percentage for every dollar, for every piece of property on that assessment roll; and that is the way the school tax and all the taxes are made up. But in the school district, that tax is only applied within the division of the school district.

The county makes up its own assessment for county work. The supervisor of the town makes up the amount of money needed, maybe from the town meeting of which I spoke; the amount being voted by the taxpayers in the town, who have come together and said: We want such an improvement. The supervisor reports to the county the amount necessary for that township government. The amounts are added together and it is divided equally on every piece of property in this assessment roll, in proportion to its value. Then the collector's business is to collect that tax. The collector is paid, as most of these officials are paid, through fees or percentages, and the collection of taxes is not done in a very businesslike way in most of our states. He is paid one per cent. in New York state for example, for taxes that are paid within thirty days. If he

(Continued on page 32)



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What Is a Dollar?

"J AM yesterday and jam to-morrow," but Alice's prediction of "Never jam to-day," seems about to be fulfilled by the federated action of the preserving companies which have recently served notice on the fruit growers that unless sugar takes a tumble there will be jamless bread next winter.

In the meanwhile Attorney General Mitchell Palmer is out with an explainless explanation about the sugar shortage. It confines itself to Cuba, skips mention of why the American continental supply is not augmented; compares the demand of 1919 with that of 1918—when the United States was sharply rationed as to its sugar—and offers no redress except the vague one that beets will be ripe about July 15th.

This is not enough.

The cost of living situation was higher than ever on April 15th, "highest on record," according to the Department of Labor's official figures "and still going up." This official announcement shows that from mid-March to mid-April twenty principal food articles had, in fifty-one cities increased at an average of 5 per cent. This was the largest increase in any single month since the beginning of the War.

To continue to quote from the Labor Department, prices were 16 per cent higher in April, 1920, than in April, 1919, and 116 per cent higher than in April, 1913. Sugar, for one thing, is 8 per cent higher than last year.

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THE BOOK STALL

Price fixing is suggested as a remedy for this situation; dollar fixing is another remedy. Professor Irving Fisher's *Stabilizing the Dollar* (Macmillan and Company) sets forth in an understandable way, a plan of regulation which has met with the endorsement of many prominent men here and abroad, such men as President Arthur Y. Hadley of Yale, Dean Joseph French Johnson of the School of Commerce, New York University; Dean S. J. Chapman of the Faculty of Commerce, Victoria University, Manchester, England; Achille Loria of the University of Turin, Italy; Axel Nielsen, University of Copenhagen, Denmark; John Perrin, U. S. Federal Reserve Agent, among scores of other academical and practical experts on financial questions.

Roughly speaking, Mr. Fisher is not complaining so much because the dollar changes as because it doesn't.

He illustrates his point this way "Money is so much an accepted convenience in practice that it has become a great stumbling block in theory. Since we talk always in terms of money and live in a money atmosphere, as it were, we become as unconscious of it as we do of the air we breathe. Some people, even intelligent people bolster up the illusion that the dollar is a stable standard of value by reference to the fact that 'the price of gold' never changes. Only recently a former government officer asserted that the value of gold is evidently constant because its price is fixed!

"I once asked a dentist if the 'high cost of living' had affected the price of his materials.

"Yes, of course," he replied.

"Of the gold you buy for fillings?" I ventured jokingly, expecting him to know that this could not be.

"To my surprise he answered, 'I suppose so,' and sent his assistant to look the matter up.

"He returned presently and solemnly informed us that the price he paid for his gold was substantially the same now as it always had been during the thirty years he had been buying it.

"Isn't that surprising," he exclaimed. "Gold must be a very stable commodity."

"It's just as surprising," I replied, "as that the price of a quart of milk is always two pints of milk."

"I don't see the point."

"Well, what is a dollar?" I asked.

"I don't know—what is it?"

"That simple question is vital. The almost universal ignorance of the answer is chiefly responsible for the almost universal misunderstanding of the high cost of living! A dollar is 25.8 grains of standard gold—that is, of gold nine-tenths fine; and, since an ounce is 480 grains, the number of dollars in an ounce is $480 \div 25.8$, or 18.60. In other words, any 100 ounce lump of standard gold taken by a gold miner to the mint can be cut up and coined into 1860 dollars and handed back to him. Naturally he gets \$18.60 an ounce, and this 'price' can never vary so long as the weight of the dollar does not vary.

"Thus 100 ounces of gold will always be worth 1860 dollars of gold so long as 1860 dollars contain 100 ounces of gold; just as a quart of milk will always be worth two pints of milk so long as two pints make a quart. Gold is stable in terms of itself and in terms of itself only."

Therefore every time there is an increase of money, that is, every time gold is more abundant, it takes more gold dollars to buy straw, or beans, or limousines or pearl necklaces.

That is, since a descending value of gold cannot lower the price of gold—which must continue to be 25.8 grains of standard gold, it must raise the prices of other things in terms of gold. If milk were the standard of prices, or eggs, the world would think in terms of milk and eggs, and all the commodities of the world would be "at the mercy of hens," says Mr. Fisher—or of cows.

What Mr. Fisher predicted a couple of years ago when he stated the application of this theory to war conditions seems to hold. "At the present time," said he, "we are confronted with another kind of inflation, due not to specie,

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but to the use of checks. In so far," said he, "as we subscribe to our War loans out of money borrowed from the bank—that is, out of an increase of deposit currency and not out of real savings—we are adding to inflation and to its evil effect, upon the cost of living."

All of which with his prediction of the suffering of salaried classes is headlined in the newspapers every day in this post-war year of 1920. Mr. Fisher's conclusions and remedies are that the purchasing power of a dollar must some way be made to stop wriggling about and the world saved from Alice's problem of having to run as fast as it can in order to stand still. "We tolerate our crazy dollar," says Mr. Fisher, "only because the havoc it plays is laid to other agencies. If its victims knew the truth about the dollar it would be put in a strait-jacket at the very next session of Congress." Mr. Fisher's remedy is based first of all on the theory that "any single commodity is too variable a standard." That while two commodities, such as the metallists have proposed, might be better than one, they would not make a very stable basis at best.

Why use metals at all? he asks in conclusion and suggests what he calls "a multiple standard of commodities," which is an imaginary group composed of lumber, grain, meat, petroleum, milk, butter and so on, equal to one gold dollar and called "a goods dollar." Its components are those on the index, put out by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1909, and covering 300 commodities. Mr. Fisher advises that we keep the metal gold for its good attributes, portability, durability, divisibility and salability, correcting only its instability. To do this he says to vary its weight. The present dollar is fixed in weight and variable in purchasing power. Mr. Fisher would swap functions; he would make a dollar's real "standard" its ability to buy.

For practical daily needs, he advocates an even more general use of gold certificates, and would maintain free coinage and free redemption of gold, but he would have "periodic variation of weight, based on the index number."

The index number is a device already in use and well understood. It is the number showing the average rise or fall of prices, and several systems are now before the public—such as those used by Bradstreet, Dun, the *Analyst*, the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Canadian Department of Labor, the British Board of Trade.

An illustration of the way this index number is used is shown in the report of the Labor

Department's most recent announcement, quoted at the commencement of this review, that the average increase from March 15-April 15, had been 5 per cent.

This process of correcting the dollar at stated intervals is likened to the automatic regulation of the "governor" on a steam engine.

By its means all dollars, bank-notes and gold bullion would be approximately equivalent to "the goods dollar."

If we do not do this and provide a really scientific remedy, says Mr. Fisher, we shall see, not a scientific study of a technical problem with a willingness of all parties to have an equitable settlement, but outraged justice will call forth revengeful effort and we shall witness a great selfish class struggle. Discontent, unrest, suspicion, class hatred, violence, charlatanism will follow, and even if a fairly satisfactory settlement ever grows out of such unpromising soil there will remain a bitterness embedded in it which will not disappear for generations.

Some Children's Story Books

In answer to a constant cry for stories to tell to children, a rather gay little book appears, compiled by a committee of the Philadelphia yearly meeting of Friends, called *The Children's Story Garden*. (C. J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia.)

There is nothing Quakerish in the bright blue dress of this book nor in its multi-colored frontispiece, which might have been made by and for "World's people."

The illustrations are charmingly young and pretty and mark the change in child's literature from the days of Susan B. Anthony's youth.

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They are to a considerable degree recently written to illustrate Friendly principles. A few are reprints, many are about animals. They will find a welcome as the demand from mothers for just such books is constant.

A new kind of girls' book is Louisa S. Hasbrouck's *The Hall With Doors*. (The Woman's Press)—It tells the story of a group of purposeful girls and their entrance into life's vacations and vacations. It is up-to-date. Its questions are real ones. It tackles some of the big problems of the business girl, and rather generally suggests that there are better standards for office dressing than dancing pumps and chiffon.

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is not paid within thirty days, his percentage grows, and it grows the longer the tax is unpaid, so in our state there is a premium on delinquency to the collector. The obviously simple and just way would be that every collector be obliged to send a tax bill regularly to every taxpayer, and that is done in very few places that I know anything about. It happens constantly that property is actually sold for taxes without the knowledge of the owner. It is very difficult to find out when your tax is due, and it ought to be the most simple thing in the world that the taxpayers be notified by mail regularly, that their tax bill is not paid.

QUESTION: That is not at all as we have it. We have a tax rate of 20 per cent. on every \$100 and that money is pro rated, and each school district is allowed seven or eight dollars for every child of school age in the district. If it is not sufficient to pay the teachers, a district has the right to vote on a special school tax for that district. We have four months within which to pay our taxes. If not paid then, we have a 10 per cent. penalty, but that does not go to the tax collector. That is divided equally between the state and the county. The collector never gets anything extra. And then we are notified. We have 60 or 90 days to come and pay up. If not paid, according to law it goes to the County Attorney and then if not paid suit is brought and so on, in the regular course. So far as our county officials are concerned, they never get any part of that penalty. There has to be provision for all that extra work. They do get what we call costs. Whenever the commissioner reaches a maximum salary, that goes back to the county so he never gets any more than his salary really.

MRS. BROWN: You see the states in the west have profited by the experience of some eastern states, and have made great improvement on our way of doing. This brings out the difficulty of having a national course to begin with, because every state has different laws on all these subjects; and in discussing them here I can only give you what I know about the different states. And when you have something different in your state I wish you would tell us as this lady from Texas has.

The whole system of taxation is left over from an early day when the communities were small. In many of the eastern states we still have the fee system. It is a very bad one because it makes justices of the peace, for example, encourage litigation in order to get larger fees. The fee system for sheriff has been abolished, I think almost entirely in New York state, but it still exists in the townships.

In conducting your classes, encourage the women around you to find out about that for themselves. Encourage them to question about their own local officials. Ask them if they know who the town clerk is, and if they have ever been to the office to find out what it is. Ask them if they have ever been to their town meeting; if they know what the supervisor does. Get them personally interested in their personal representatives, by showing how these men control things so important to their welfare.

LET us take up the question of the poor as the next step. In the old-fashioned states, the township has certain overseers of the poor. I believe in my state there cannot be over five in any one township, and those overseers are only one group of poor law officials. There is also a County Superintendent of the poor, and in my state the only difference in their duties is that the township overseers take care of the poor who have been in the township over six months, and the county superintendents take care of the poor who have been in the township less than six months. You can see what a stupid division that is when the division of authority is so bad. We have a State Board of Charities which supervises the whole thing, so they do hold a check over it. Money is often given to dependents in proportion to their political value.

QUESTION: Please explain how the money is raised for mothers' pensions?

MRS. BROWN: The money for mothers' pensions is raised by taxation, the same as all other moneys for government purposes. It is part of the government machinery.

QUESTION: Our Probate Judge has charge of that. He claims he has no money for it.

MRS. BROWN: That is frequently claimed. It is a curious thing, and women will find out more that it is much easier for county boards or supervisors or state Legislatures to grant appropriations for business affairs that have to do with the business of the community than it is to grant money for these humanitarian things. And the only thing that women can do, which will be the best service they can render the state, is to use their sense of economy and thrift, and try to keep down the appropriations in general, and see that they are handled economically, because there is no question that with the taxes we are raising today, we could have a vastly larger percentage used for such purposes as mothers' pensions, if there was an ordinary business economy, and efficiency in general management. That is true

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of the local government quite as much as the state.

I want to speak about one thing which I think it is one of the most important features of our state or local government, and that is the moral cowardice of people in rural communities. I do not mean they have a higher degree of moral cowardice than other people, but it is more difficult for them to complain; more difficult for them to make their own criticisms widely known, because everybody knows everybody else, and when they complain they are hitting the head of some neighbor. And I have seen a great deal personally of the actual fear of reprisals in villages, farm communities. You will find that people don't dare to speak out, because they are afraid something is going to happen to them. I do not know the remedy for it except to raise the general level of public conscience. And here is another service that women can render. I believe we are a little more outspoken than men. I believe we are not afraid to talk about things and to make complaints. We are not bound to see the evil without talking about it; and when you see things that are flagrantly wrong in your local communities, don't be afraid to speak out. You should bring home to your classes wherever you go the moral obligation on the woman citizen not to sit idly and submit to corruption in government, which is after all corruption in her own business, without trying to do something about it, without trying to redress it. And the person who will stick to it in a short time will find she has public support behind her, because if she herself cannot hide her identity, no more can the delinquent hide his identity.

QUESTION: We found in rural communities in New England the best way to bring that about was through a community or organization bringing the complaint rather than individuals.

MRS. BROWN: There is one other point we must cover and that is the administration of local justice. I think I might tell you what the text books usually begin with; I want to

suggest in your classes you end with it instead of beginning with it; in local rural government there are three divisions of all our government organization from top to bottom. There is the legislative, the part that makes the laws and there is the administrative, the part that administers the laws, or executive. And there is the judiciary, the part that interprets the law.

The justice of the peace courts have jurisdiction only over the smallest sort of cases; in New York state only in civil cases up to \$200. They have also jurisdiction over breaches of the peace, but all the justices can do is to impose a small fine. The fees go to the justice. They should not. Justices can impose small fines, or in case of really serious crime, something over \$200 in amount, they can hold the case for the County Court. They have no final decision over anything except the \$200, and small breaches of the peace.

There is another part of this administration of the law which ought to be brought to the attention of the women everywhere, and that is the execution of the law. What sort of jails and lock-ups have you in your rural communities? That part of our government is one of the crying disgraces of the nation. It exists everywhere. It sometimes comes very close to the home of the woman because cases come up frequently where young girls are arrested, where people are held as witnesses, and where young girls are held as witnesses. Where are they put while being detained? That is a very important question to women. I believe an organization of a Board of Women Visitors to jails and lock-ups would be of inestimable value to every rural community. Women would never believe unless they saw for themselves the conditions that exist in rural jails and lock-ups. And usually, or frequently, the county or the town makes no decent provision for the care of a girl who is detained as either the witness or party to a suit that is coming on.

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ing on the ticket. I would lay stress on the importance of having a short ballot even in the rural subdivision of government. This is putting the responsibility on the man whom you can know and whom you can call to account, and having the other offices appointive, and holding the men who put the men into office responsible.

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Her Home Town

(Continued from page 26)

placed. He is superintendent of and responsible for his department. The mayor is head of the department of public affairs. All the minor officers of the city are appointed by the commission. The initiative and referendum privileges have usually accompanied the commission type of government and give a popular check to possible abuse of power.

A still newer type of government is that by which all the affairs of the city are put into the hands of a single person called a city manager. He is paid a reasonably high salary and is chosen, as an expert, by the commission.

In 1918, there were some seventy cities and towns which had adopted the city manager plan.

j. Local governments get their powers from the state constitution and the state legislature. Counties and townships are organized and governed under general laws passed by the Legislature. Cities, boroughs, towns and villages manage their affairs by means of municipal corporations, authorized to act for the people. This corporation is like an artificial person; it can raise money, sue, and be sued under its own name. Its written instrument authorizing its acts and specifying its rights is a charter granted by the state, which gives the State a large controlling power over the city. The municipal home rule city has sprung up in many states. In this city the people have the right to frame their own charter.

Such a city is not a mere subdivision of the state, but is somewhat in the same relation to the state, that the latter is to the United States.

Citizenship Schools

ASCHOOL of citizenship, which grew out of the School for the Political Education of Women in Chicago, was set on foot in Omaha, Nebraska, by one of the Chicago pupils. Immediately upon her return from Chicago, this pupil arranged with the Teachers' Forum of Omaha to have a series of seven lectures on citizenship. Some of the men

who spoke at the Chicago School, and whose lectures have been quoted from week to week in the *Woman Citizen's* report of the Carrie Chapman Catt School of Citizenship, will speak in Omaha.

In addition, the University of Wisconsin will send a lecturer to the Omaha School, and Miss Grace Abbott will speak on Americanization at the final meeting June 7th.

More than 1,000 women have taken tickets for this course of lectures.

National Organizers

THE four women who have already been put into the field by the National League of Women Voters to organize woman citizenship schools are: Miss Marie B. Ames of Missouri; Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham of Texas; Miss Alice Curtis of Iowa, and Miss Gertrude Watkins of New York. Miss Ames has just resigned to take over some political campaign work. The others are covering Iowa, Arkansas, Mississippi, West Virginia, Louisiana, Ohio, Kansas and Nebraska.

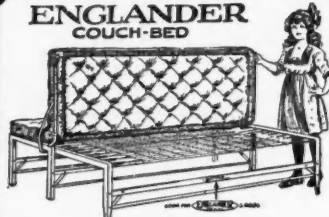
After Patient Waiting

NEW YORK is still bearing the palm for voting the oldest woman suffragist, although Michigan is pushing it hard. In Deford, Michigan, last month, Mrs. Katharine Daugherty, known throughout Tuskola County as "Grandma," cast her first ballot at the age of 100, climbing upstairs to the second floor to reach the polling booth.

Mrs. Daugherty is one of the real pioneers who have lived to see salvation. In New York City in 1918, Mrs. Sally Gold of New York City, and Miss Rhoda Palmer, of Geneva, New York, both voted for the first time at 102. Miss Palmer, who has since died, was then the only living member of the Woman's Rights Convention of 1848.

All of these three women are among those who waited patiently for more than a lifetime, over seventy years, to see justice done to women.

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June 12, 1920



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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

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Continuing **THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL** (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the **WOMAN CITIZEN** maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. L Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JUNE 12, 1920

No. 2

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The Woman Citizen

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VOLUME V

JUNE 12, 1920

NUMBER 2

Women at the Republican Convention

WOMEN are trying hard to achieve the terms of the slogan they adopted at the last suffrage convention, "Get into the parties."

By now it begins to be apparent that they do not mean by that to get a mere toe-hold in the parties, and, as apparently, they do not mean to be arranged around the wall in floral capacity either. They mean really to get in all the way and to get busy when they get in.

It is an interesting ambition and it is interesting to watch them find a way in at the Republican National Convention this week. It is interesting, too, to watch the men as they seek to compromise with the ambition, calm it, keep a lid on it. Women have so far been given no sort of adequate recognition by either of the major parties. A ridiculous two per cent of the delegates seated at Chicago are women and a ridiculous seven per cent of those to be seated in San Francisco will be women.

At the Republican convention the Republican women have risen to the occasion. They have demanded a fifty-fifty recognition inside of the party. They ask for a vice-chairman of the National Republican Committee who shall be a woman. They want men and women on that committee in equal measure.

What they will get remains to be seen, but except in the case of a little group of rubberoid stand-patters, the group that always takes on and gives out party impress automatically, the spirit in the women has been good. They have set a high mark for the woman voter's capacity to demand. They have shown, too, a resolute determination not to be swayed by any claim of party that stops short of the complete ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In a Memorial presented on Tuesday to the Resolutions Committee on behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, this point is made clear. This is the Memorial:

A MEMORIAL FROM THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION TO THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED IN CHICAGO

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association asks permission to place on record with the National Republican Convention its appreciation of the Resolution of the National Republican Executive Committee on June 1, urging the governors of Vermont and Connecticut to call special sessions of their Legislatures in order to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment and urging the Delaware Legislature to complete ratification of the Amendment. The spirit of fairness underlying the Committee's action must commend it to every lover of liberty regardless of party and its political far-sightedness must be evident to every Republican desirous of party victory.

Conceding to the Committee's action its full and friendly significance, the National American Woman Suffrage Association

further asks permission to re-emphasize before this Convention the fact that on the very eve of complete victory a deadlock supervenes in the ratification of the 19th Amendment and for that deadlock the Republican party must carry its full share of responsibility, since three states with Republican Legislatures remain on the unratified list.

Republican leaders frequently point out that their party has insured a far larger proportion of ratifications of the 19th Amendment than has the Democratic party, and apparently count on this situation to accrue to the advantage of the Republicans. The position would be logical if the relative proportion between Republicans and Democrats were the essential thing, but it is by no means the essential thing. The 36th state is the essential thing.

Women who are waiting on that state for their right to vote in the presidential elections of 1920 cannot rest satisfied with the assurance or the evidence that Republican leaders are doing all in their power to bring about ratification. Republican women who are going to vote the Republican ticket anyhow may be satisfied but they are not the women whose vote is important to the Republican party. The important vote is the vote of the undecided woman who would just as soon be a Republican as a Democrat. That woman has not been convinced by the final Republican showing on ratification. She will not be convinced until the 36th state has ratified. The 36th ratification is the only resolution of the situation that can make actual and alive what is so far a merely potential claim of the Republican party on the woman voter.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association urges upon this convention the necessity for such action as will make inevitable and immediate the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the 36th state.

Signed for the Board of the N. A. W. S. A.

MARY GARRETT HAY, *Acting President.*

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Delaware Republicans, as all the world now knows, went squarely in the face of the urgent resolution of the National Republican Executive Committee when the Delaware House defeated the Federal Suffrage Amendment. They made a flaunt of it. It is on Delaware's action and the final action of Vermont and Connecticut that the Republican party must make its ultimate appeal to the woman voter in November, not on the resolutions of its committees, however the latter may urge and endorse—just as the Democratic party is going to be judged by what is *done* in Louisiana and North Carolina, not what is *said* in San Francisco or elsewhere.

Rejecting the Rejectioners

IF there was ever a place which felt itself secure from the invasion of advanced views about women it was St. Mary's of Raleigh, the Diocesan school of the two Carolinas. It is old and gray with tradition, and all its traditions have been seemingly those which keep women cloistered. The daughters of St. Mary's are scattered from New Orleans to Texas. It stands as a very symbol of the *ancien regime*. It claims to be the stronghold of aristocracy, and, up to a few days ago, it thought itself the very donjon keep of anti-suffragists who have made St. Mary's their fighting word.

In fact it claims to be the birthplace of a curious association—the Rejection League, a group of women trying to stem the tide of ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

When St. Mary's sweet girl graduates came up for their commencement day exercises this year, the speaker of the day, Professor J. Nelson Frierson, of the Law Department of the University of South Carolina, marched up to that donjon keep and, finding it a mere pasteboard stronghold, blew it off the stage with one strong whiff.

Professor Frierson didn't say to this graduating class, "Be good, Sweet Maid, and let who will be clever," nor yet did he say anything about woman's place being in the home.

Instead he told the class that the purpose of his talk was to urge them to get ready to meet their new responsibilities as citizens, "and to take their places in the enlarged sphere of service."

There wasn't a mention of the indirect influence of women. "It is incumbent upon you, young women," said he, "to pay attention to the serious side of education rather than to the frills. Men have made the laws and have been so busy thinking of commercial and political issues that they haven't paid much attention to legislation and social issues."

There was in the commencement speech of this progressive South Carolina gentleman no merely casual allusion to woman's freedom, his entire address was an exposition of the civil and political status of woman. He quoted John Stuart Mill, he showed how women had been deprived of their property, their education and their development. He made it perfectly clear that he was advocating full suffrage by saying that "the ballot was essential for women's protection, since no class of persons ever got their rights and privileges unless they had the power of enforcing them."

This opinion he rubbed in by recounting the story of the growth of woman suffrage in the United States, up to this present moment, when there is but one step left to be taken, the gaining of a 36th state for ratification of national suffrage.

"The movement for further rights for women is world-wide; are we going to try to turn back the mighty tide that is coming on, or are we going to bow to the inevitable? Holding women in subordination is a hindrance to human progress. The world will go forward faster on a basis of equal rights."

And what happened?

This is what happened. Old St. Mary's girls, back for commencement, who had long wanted a spokesman for woman suffrage, could scarcely sit still in their seats for delight as they saw wave after wave of good straight suffrage talk roll up and break over the heads of the Rejectioners. No other body-blow could have so knocked the breath out of the whole anti suffrage march backward as did this defection in their sacred enclosure.

For hours after Professor Frierson had pitched his bomb into the camp of the rejectioners, telephones rang jubilantly all over Raleigh, to pass on the news that the stronghold of the Rejection League was shot full of holes and that the shooting had come from the inside.

Suffrage and Stage Coaches

THE "last ditch" opponents of equal suffrage continue to defend that ditch as stubbornly as if they did not know that they must soon be overwhelmed and go down for good and all. How laughable their behavior will seem to their descendants, looking back at it!

When stage coaches were first introduced in England, in place of travel on horseback, many well-meaning persons thought the change threatened to bring disaster. Macaulay says:

"The interests of large classes have been unfavorably affected by the establishment of the new coaches; and, as usual, many persons were, from mere stupidity and obstinacy, disposed to clamor against the innovation, simply because it was an innovation."

"It was vehemently argued that this mode of conveyance would be fatal to the breed of horses and to the noble art of horsemanship; that the Thames, which had long been an important nursery of seamen, would cease to be the chief thoroughfare from Lindore up to Windsor and down to Gravesend; that saddlers would be ruined by hundreds; that numerous inns, at which mounted travelers had been in the habit of stopping, would be deserted and would no longer pay any rent; that the new carriages were too hot in summer and too cold in winter; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children; that the coach sometimes reached the inn so late that it was impossible to get supper, and sometimes started so early it was impossible to get breakfast."

"On these grounds it was gravely recommended that no public coach should be permitted to have more than four horses, to start oftener than once a week, or to go more than thirty miles a day. It was hoped that if this regulation were adopted, all except the rich and the lame would return to the old mode of traveling."

"Petitions embodying such opinions as these were presented to the king in council from several companies of the city of London, from several provincial towns, and from the justices of several counties."

"We smile at these things. It is not impossible that our descendants, when they read the history of the opposition offered by cupidity and prejudice to the improvements of the nineteenth century, may smile in their turn."

When steam-cars took the place of stage-coaches, there was the same opposition. In Dorchester, Mass., leading citizens sent in a formal remonstrance against the proposal to run a railroad through their town, saying that the stage-coaches furnished all needed accommodation, and that the railroad would bring all sorts of perils. They instructed their representative, if he could not prevent the railroad altogether, to "crowd it into the bay"; and that is why the Old Colony road today runs so close to the water.

Some day it will be considered a cruel thing to remind the sons of the handful of Solons who are holding back the Federal Suffrage Amendment that their fathers did their poor utmost to delay the granting of equal rights to women. A. S. B.

Wanted—Young Women

IT is the well-drilled regular who sees the needs of his regiment. And it is Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, veteran of many efforts for human freedom, who calls for young women to come forward and "put their best energies into the grand tasks" ahead of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

"I believe a great work is before the Alliance," she says. "We have won great victories, but there are greater victories still to be won. The women of the East are only beginning to ask for their enfranchisement."

Mrs. Catt to the Women of Europe

IT is seven years since last we met. In memory we live again those happy days of friendly camaraderie in Budapest. All the faces were smiling. On every side one heard joyous laughter among the delegates and visitors. An infectious good feeling permeated the gathering, while wit and humor continually scintillated through private conversations and public utterances: for everyone was happy. Every heart was filled with buoyant hope and every soul was armored with dauntless courage. We had seen our numbers grow greater and our movement stronger in many lands and here and there the final triumph had already come.

Will you pardon a quotation from the president's address in 1913? She said:

"Since our last Congress not one sign has appeared the entire world around to indicate reaction. Not a backward step has been taken. On the contrary, a thousand revelations give certain, unchallenged promise that victory for our great cause lies just ahead. To the uninitiated these signs may sound prosaic, but they thrill those who understand with the joy of coming victory. It is reported of every land that there are more meetings, larger audiences, more speakers, more writers, more money, more influential advocates, more space in the press, more favorable editorials, more earnest supporters in Parliaments, more members, more and better organization, and, best of all, more consecration—all unfailing signs of the growing power of a great movement."

These facts were familiar to us all, and in further proof of the then pending world-wide victory, thirty-eight of the delegates to our Congress in 1913, representing five nations, came with full enfranchisement won, and sixty-four others, representing four additional nations, were endowed with a responsible partial suffrage. Two nations and some American states had sent official representatives, another certain sign of the growing political importance of our movement. Newspaper correspondents from many nations in larger numbers than ever before gathered about the press tables, and in consequence amazement was expressed in many languages through the world's press that so many women, of so many races and nationalities, and of such diversity of character, should be striving toward the common goal of their political liberation. Amazement was soon transformed into serious discussion, and discussion led to definite results, and the forward movement continued long after our Congress.

Budapest in 1913

SO, under the smiling skies of fair Hungary, in June, amid the warm-hearted hospitality of her people, and inspired by the growing solidarity of women in support of our great cause, we met in happy conference. Justice, logic and inevitable progress were on our side and the great world was about to drop its prejudices and yield to the reasonableness of our demand. Why should we not have been happy? We congratulated one group of delegates that their respective countries had led the world in doing political justice to women; we felicitated another group that their struggle was so nearly over, and we encouraged those whose battle had scarcely begun to march forward with confidence. But while we congratulated and advised, we also planned. We planned vigorously for hard, systematic, constructive work all around the world—work which in most cases was never done. We parted to meet again, as we believed, in Berlin in 1915 and in Paris in 1917, there to report expected victories and to take fresh counsel of each other. Yet some premonition seemed to

ADDRESS IN FULL AS DELIVERED BY MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT, AT CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, JUNE 6, 1920

throw a hint of sadness into our parting, for many were the delegates who said: "We shall meet again but never in such a happy Congress as this of Budapest."

Alas, those smiling, shining days seem now to have been an experience in some other incarnation; for the years which lie between are war-scarred and war-tortured, and in 1920 there is no human being in the world to whom life is quite the same as in 1913. It is doubtful if there is one to whom the world seems a happier place.

Not only was the world war the greatest of all wars when measured by the number of nations involved, the size of armies, the cost of maintenance and the inhumanity of methods employed, but because of its very immensity it proved to be the most disorganizing to world institutions. Great writers found their vocabularies wholly insufficient to describe the phenomenon. Nothing in human experience has been like it. Nothing seems worthy of comparison with it except the earth's cataclysm when the world was made and mountains and continents were tossed up out of a meaningless, seething, tumbling mass. Order came out of that chaos and it came with God's directing hand upon it.

God's order will come again to the world's stricken, unhappy, much suffering people. It will come because the divine law of evolution never ceases to operate and the destiny of the race leads eternally on without pause. So much sacrifice and sorrow as the war has cost the world cannot have been endured in vain. Surely there must be a consequent quickening of the onward forces and in the midst of present day disorder, mighty powers must be at work bringing slowly but definitely the better order to be. Yet believe as we will, none of us may know clearly the nature of that coming order.

Geneva in 1920

SO, we do not come smiling to Geneva in 1920 as to Budapest in 1913. Our hearts are too heavy with the world's pain to sense the joy of triumph which unquestionably is ours. Revolution stalks through the world, governments are unstable or unsettled; little children are hungry; capital and labor are both over-reaching; war taxation bears heavily upon the shoulders of every nation, prices of food, clothing and shelter are so nearly prohibitive as to conduce to anxious restlessness the world around. Innumerable problems, big and complicated, rise upon every side to demand despairing attention. How shall the children of the world be fed, clothed, educated and trained for their duties as citizens of the next generation? How shall crime, rampant throughout the world, be suppressed? When and how can the normal living of all people be assured once more? So many theories, plans and organized endeavors to meet these problems have come forward that they end in conflict with each other, and none seems destined to accomplish its aim. Each nation is like a hopelessly tangled ball of yarn, and the world like a basket full of them.

In the midst of all this confusion, the future does not look so clear to us as it did in 1913. Facing these gigantic political tasks, the newly won vote seems pitifully poor and small, and men and women are experiencing a sense of helplessness they never knew before.

Woman Suffrage a By-Product of the War

FOR the suffragists of the world a few facts stand forth with great clarity. The first and greatest is that the political liberation of women was tossed up out of the war chaos like an

isolated mountain when the world was in the making. War, the undoubted original cause of the humiliating, age-old subjection of women the world around, war, the combined enemy of their emancipation, war has tendered to the women of many lands their political freedom! Strange, bewildering fact!

The Latin and Oriental countries still hold out, but that will not be for long. Rumania, the first Latin country to extend the vote to women, has already led the way; the others will follow. We welcome new auxiliaries to our Alliance from many Latin countries, Spain, Argentina, Uruguay and Cuba, and from Greece, and there is now, I believe, no country in Europe except Turkey without a woman suffrage association. To these auxiliaries we not only extend a hearty welcome but we assure them that their struggle, by comparison with those which have gone before, will be neither long nor difficult, for women will soon vote wherever men do.

The staggering, overwhelming factor in the present status of woman suffrage is that it has come to many lands where the women have made little effort to secure it, and to some (for example, the Duchy of Luxembourg) where no suffrage organization ever existed. It has come as a "by-product" of revolution and a recognition of women as a war power. In these lands there has been comparatively little education on behalf of self-government, and in some of them such propaganda in 1914 would have been declared treason and made punishable with exile or even death. Yet while all these old barriers are swept aside in many lands and men and women enfranchised, the task is not yet completed in the countries where women have labored hardest and where the principle of democracy has longest been unchallenged.

The United States Left Behind

THERE must be millions of women in Europe who never hoped for political liberty and who are now dazed by its sudden coming. Even the working suffragists of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Serbia, Bohemia, Poland, Luxembourg and Ukania must feel a sense of surprise at the unexpectedness of their enfranchisement. We congratulate Great Britain, Sweden and Holland upon their suffrage victories won after years of hard, sacrificing, nerve-racking work. The women of Australia, New Zealand and some American states have been voting for a generation or more. The women of Norway, Denmark and Iceland have long been enfranchised, but Germany has outstripped all other nations in the recognition of the principle of equality, with 137 women serving on City Councils and 37 as members of the National Parliament. The President of the German National Suffrage Association comes to this Congress as a member of the City Council of Dresden.

It is not for me to interpret the sentiments of the women of other lands, but with authority I may say that there are millions of suffragists in the United States who have been fairly stupefied with astonishment at these almost unaccountable events. As all the world knows, the United States of America has been dedicated from the first to the principle of self-government. No other nation has made the same pronouncements.

Its national independence was won on a platform of two fundamental truisms: "Taxation without representation is tyranny," but for a century women were taxed, yet not represented; "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and for a century women were governed without their consent. Later, Abraham Lincoln combined these two in a simpler phrase: "This is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Even the Constitution begins: "We, the people—" Women are people, yet no part of the government has been conducted by them.

NO other country has repudiated its Constitution, principles and history in its denial of votes to its women, and that is why the extension of suffrage to the women of all Europe has so astounded and humiliated the women of the United States. Women of the United States are not less glad that women of other lands have won the vote, but they feel that they have been betrayed by their own nation.

It was in the United States that the first woman suffrage convention was held and the first organized woman suffrage movement in the world begun. That was seventy-two years ago. Had men been reasonable or logical, they would at once have responded to the appeal of 1848 with the consistent answer, "Since we are a government of the people, and women are people, they must be included in all governmental functions." But men are neither reasonable nor logical; men are exceedingly emotional and sentimental. The race is too near its cave days to be otherwise.

So it came about that for seventy years women in the United States have conducted an educational campaign to compel the nation to see its own inconsistency. Many millions of dollars have been raised and expended and thousands of women whose names are scarcely known outside their own localities have given every possibility of their lives to this cause and have died without its accomplishment.

The names of others are known in every land. Who does not know the name of Susan B. Anthony? For fifty years she gave an unrelenting service to this cause, high-minded, intelligent and conscientious. Every private aim became subservient to the public demand, and every hour was pledged to the woman's cause. Her soul never knew defeat and her courage was never daunted. A great, intrepid, heroic woman, she led and inspired for half a century.

You know, too, the name of Anna Howard Shaw, for this is the first Congress the Alliance has held without her. It is not too much to claim her as the greatest woman orator of the world. I know nothing of orators in other lands. In my own country there may be more gifted men orators, but if so I do not know their names. Yet the wonder of her was not in her matchless platform power, but in her untiring willingness to use it every week, every day and every hour for our cause. No hamlet was too small to be deemed worthy a visit, and no audience too insignificant to call for her best. For forty years she labored. Millions of men and women listened to her, laughed at her sallies of wit, wept at her pathos and surrendered to her invulnerable appeal for justice. She died for her cause and saw it unaccomplished.

These marvellous women, endowed with rare intellectual gifts and equipped with still rarer force of character, did not offer their lives to the cause of women's enfranchisement in an autocracy nor a monarchy. They did not labor in a land where men were still petitioners for a voice in their own government. They lived in a republic dedicated before the entire world to the principle of self government. They pleaded in a land where every boy born within the country, be he white, black or yellow, may vote without restriction at twenty-one. They gave their all in a land whose gates for a century have been opened wide to immigrants from any and all nations. To any and all male immigrants a five years' residence has brought citizenship, and citizenship has brought the vote.

MORE, so liberal has the United States been in the matter of man suffrage that fifteen of the forty-eight states once allowed men to vote who were not yet citizens and several still do; and seem to see nothing inconsistent in permitting an illiterate non-tax-paying alien to vote while denying that privilege to

American-born, intelligent, tax-paying women. Although states make their own qualifications for voters and resulting restrictions exist in some of them, there is no debarred class which may not vote and does not vote somewhere in the United States. Aliens, illiterates, drunkards, paupers, criminals and feeble-minded may all vote somewhere in the United States.

Nor are women a timid, ignorant, purdah class in this strange land. Three-fourths of all teachers in the United States are women and all that millions of men know about their government, women taught them. Nor is woman suffrage an unheard of project, for in one state, Wyoming, women have voted on equal terms with men for fifty years, and all testimony has been warmly favorable during that time.

It has been a familiar sight on election days when a question of woman suffrage has been pending to see refined ladies, college graduates and women of importance, standing 100 feet from the polling place making their appeal to voters, while men unable to speak English, the language of the ballot, unable to read in any language, uncouth and untrained, marched past them to cast votes against their enfranchisement.

And this is the land in which Susan B. Anthony with her statesman's mind, and Anna Howard Shaw with her matchless oratory labored in vain each for half a century to secure a voice in their own government.

Incredible, you say. It is; astounding and unbelievable. It staggers and dumbfounds one. Should you ask, why is it? I answer, there are "excuses but no defense." The great, bare, bald fact is there. For seventy years, in a land wherein no man ever made a sacrifice for a vote, women have given their all to gain it, and their country has not yet proclaimed their task completed.

You women of other lands have had to labor to break down inherited and traditional ideas of government; but the women of the United States of America have never had that task. Theirs was the seemingly simple one of persuading men to think logically and consistently and to act accordingly. The more amazing is it that you won first.

It is not pleasant to record such damning facts concerning one's own nation. I do it in order that you who come from the many new European republics may know that reaction may seize republics too, and that resistance to the inevitable onmarch of human progress may be surprisingly stubborn. Not only is the United States of America a curious example of tardy action, but the two European Republics, France and Switzerland, are conspicuous in the midst of an enfranchised Europe for their disregard of this question. Where men have universal suffrage, sentiment for woman suffrage is difficult to stir. Where both men and women have been disfranchised they are swept into political liberty together. This is a curious comment on man suffrage, but history justifies the conclusion.

Guard Your Vote

IN truth there is no short cut to the millennium. Reaction is composed of ignorance, selfishness and greed. While the people are pursuing their own ways these elements gain control of parties and through parties of governments. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" in any and all nations. The new republics of Europe will find their most serious enemies, as the older ones have done, within their own borders. Indifference to the public good and inability to grasp the need of combined action are the dangers most to be dreaded.

As one has said, "The end of government by the people is to fit the people to control their own affairs." The people of any nation have a long way to travel before they reach that degree of fitness. Government is at best a struggle to move onward and upward.

Guard your vote, dear women of Europe, as a soldier guards his weapon. It is your shield and armour, your sword and buckler. With it, you may rebuild Europe, emancipate your sex, and make the world a fit place for an advancing people to live in. Without it, you are lost in the political chaos. Use it, and beware of the pitfalls of reaction. Whatever you do, do not imagine that the logic of men will prevent them from doing injustice nor that the sentiments of women will always guide them to the right. They will be blind partisans, unthinking followers, a mere item in the great political mass, as are men; but the stir of it all educates, uplifts and makes men and women and nations grow, expand and give promise.

We come together once more, most of us ballot in hand, and to quote America's greatest statesman, we come "with malice toward none, with charity for all." We come this time to ask: "The ballot won, what shall we now do?"

We believe with an even intenser fervor in the righteousness of our cause; we trust with an even greater faith in the potential power of women's vote to make a better and a happier world.

The Future of the Alliance

THAT the Alliance has been a real and far reaching influence, with its eighteen years of effort, upon the present day situation we claim in all modesty. Is its work completed? Is there a common platform upon which the enfranchised women of the world can meet to advantage? Is there an international task to which voting women of many lands may lend themselves? As I view world politics, the only possible hope for the happiness, prosperity and permanent peace of the world lies in the thorough democratization of all governments. There can be no democratization which excludes women and no safe or sound democracy which is not based upon an educated, intelligent electorate. Nor is it enough to establish democracy in individual nations—democracy must be extended to world politics. The old militarism must go and with it the old diplomacy with its secret treaties, distrust and intrigues. No League of Nations can abolish war unless every government in the world is based on democracy.

I take it for granted that all our delegates will agree to these statements of principles, but you will also agree that highly intelligent electorates do not yet exist anywhere; that the masses of men still find it easier to obey than to resist; easier to accept ideas offered by those who have something to gain, than to formulate their own, and that the man or woman capable of independent thought or action is still the exception.

Yet a thoroughly democratized democracy in every nation and in world politics, democracies intelligent and tolerant, easily and quickly yielding to definite changes of popular opinion, these must be the aim and ideal of all believers in self government.

To vote, each in our own country, may help in a slow and indirect way to forward the democratization of the world and enfranchisement of women, but that end will be realized far earlier if all women of all nations unite to form a working center through which to aim at the achievement of ideal democracy.

It is my firm conviction that had an alliance of men been formed some fifty or seventy-five years ago, when the movement for man suffrage stood about where the movement for woman suffrage stood in 1914, and had that alliance done for man suffrage what this Alliance has done for woman suffrage, the democratization of Europe would have been completed a generation ago and, as one result, there would have been no World War. I believe, too, that had the vote been granted to women some twenty-five years ago when justice and logic and popular opinion demanded, the heaven of woman's national influ-

ence would have so leavened the whole loaf of world politics that there would have been no World War.

So firmly do I believe this that I dare to say that upon the wisdom or unwisdom of our answer to the questions we must ask ourselves here in Geneva, may depend the happiness or woe of another generation.

I WANT to express myself here and now as sincerely and heartily in favor of the reorganization and perpetuation of the Alliance. Many proposals of work to which the Alliance might devote itself advantageously have been made, but there is one which in my judgment transcends all others in importance and that is the continuation of the object which brought the Alliance into existence.

Is there any other international organization in the world which stands for the safe, sane, conservative, constructive establishment of government by voting citizens? I know of none. Is it not clear that the world needs us and is it not equally clear that the time has passed for women to work for the enfranchisement of women alone? Why should not the International Woman Suffrage Alliance give way to an International Suffrage Alliance, sending forth its propaganda for the enfranchisement of men as well as women? And why should not men and women of democratic vision unite in this common aim? Most countries have had men's leagues to aid woman suffrage; why not united men's and women's leagues to aid the enfranchisement of both men and women, or either?

In our home countries we should urge support of every movement for the extension of popular education, foster every agency which helps men and women to think for themselves, promote every endeavor to maintain honest elections, judicially conducted campaigns and high ideals in parties and parliaments, since democracy succeeds when and where independence and intelligence are greatest.

What may we hope to accomplish through such an international program?

- (1) To stimulate the spread of democracy and through it to avoid another world war.
- (2) To discourage revolution through demonstration that change may be brought about through peaceful political methods.
- (3) To encourage education and enlightenment throughout the world.
- (4) To keep the faith in self-government alive when it fails to meet expectations and through temporary disappointment spreads indifference.

How may these ends be accomplished?

- (1) By the maintenance of a publicity exchange which shall provide means to tell the world the truth about man and woman suffrage in operation.
- (2) By the continuance of *Jus Suffragii*, or some other organ, which will tell the workers of all lands the news concerning applied democracy.
- (3) By the maintenance of around-the-world lectureships to tell the nations of the blessings and hopes of self-government; to warn concerning the menace of ignorance and indifference, and to correct the misrepresentations which will surely be set afloat.
- (4) By the encouragement given to all national organizations struggling to establish man or woman suffrage or both.

What obstacles will stand in the way of this bold program?

- (1) Men and women spirited enough to engage in this work will be much in demand in the home political campaigns and as it is easier to see the need of work in one's own door yard than across the world, they will be apt to be impressed into local service.
- (2) In these days when relief for many stricken nations is the constant call, money for adequate support will be difficult to get.
- (3) The ingrowing, restricting influences which surround each and all of us will tend to dull the vision of a world made safe for liberal thought and contented living through democracy.
- (4) The older suffragists who have borne the brunt of battle

and who sense most keenly the need of world wide democratic education, can no longer lead nor even support strongly the new movement. Their work is done and the younger workers may not recognize the opportunity nor the duty of a world call to the support of democracy.

We must balance these assets and liabilities. Is the work worth while and if it is can workers and money be found to support it? These are the two simple questions to which we must find answers.

What Helen Ring Robinson Said

She Spoke with Women Members of Parliaments of Foreign Countries at the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Geneva, Switzerland

IT is a great pity that there have been relatively so few women legislators in my own country. In our various state Legislatures some sixty different women have served. But they have been spread over a good deal of territory and time, which makes the spreading much too thin.

So far but one woman has been elected to our National Congress and during the entire term of office of Congresswoman Rankin the press never ceased debating whether she was a flower or a vegetable. For myself I vote for the vegetable. What the world needs today is a big crop of vegetables and nature always looks out for the flowers anyway.

There are four callings for which women are plainly better fitted than are men—acting, caring for children, nursing and legislating. I do not say women have surpassed men as legislators, but I do say they are inherently better fitted for legislating, which should deal primarily with improvements in social relations.

Count Sulein is credited with saying that the Great War was caused by a quarrel between Hungary and Serbia over the shipment of hogs. All the great wars of history have been caused by quarrels over the shipment of hogs—in some guise or other. All of the legislation back of those wars has been built on hogs and the belief that the measure of a nation's greatness is the production of wealth-hogs.

Now another estimate of value is shaping itself out of a world's agony, the ideal that women have always held that the measure of a nation's greatness is the production of health and happiness. Here is the especial task of the woman legislator. Here is the solemn duty of the women assembled in Geneva at which may justly be called an Internationale of Good-will—to put this new vision across the flux of the whole world's thinking by every possible expedient, to embody it into law, to weld it into constitutions, to interpret it into every international movement.

One of America's Delegates

THIS is what an Englishwoman who knows her thinks of Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Government representative from the U. S. A. to the International Woman Suffrage Congress:

"A Southerner from Carolina, Mrs. Josephus Daniels has all the warm-heartedness so characteristic of the South. The first impression she gives is of motherliness. This is the charm of Mrs. Daniels. She is intensely human, intensely lovable.

"This is the first impression; then you become aware of her capability—her many powers. No one worked harder during the war for the welfare of American troops and war workers, both men and women.

"During the great campaign for funds, Mrs. Daniels was hard at work traveling and speaking for the campaign. A woman with the character and record of Mrs. Daniels will bring a rich contribution to the Conference."

What Mrs. Daniels Said

"It is my glad privilege to bring to this gathering the greetings of the women of America (and of the men of my country, too) and to rejoice that the good day of woman's equal participation in governmental house-keeping has come in our generation. Appointed by President Wilson, under whose forward-looking leadership the cause of woman suffrage in the United States has come to fruition, I am bringing to you his greeting and felicitations and his confident belief that enfranchised woman will bring fresh and spiritual ideas to aid in the solution of pressing world problems.

"The women in America were as truly mobilized in the world war as were the men. We organized no Battalions of Death and we were not enrolled in the fighting forces. But we organized many battalions of life and service, happy to be comrades in spirit and sacrifice of our brothers whose valor on sea and land helped us to win victory for all we hold dear. Never again will an Edith Cavell be murdered by soldiers, for thousands of Florence Nightingales and Clara Bartons have so glorified woman's nursing and woman's help that the hardest heart has been warmed toward our whole sex, glorified by unselfish service. The war lifted us out of narrow thoughts and petty things. We had the vision of larger duty and supreme consecration.

"What women did in war hastened the conferring of the ballot. In our country the day of agitation for enfranchisement has passed. The hour has come when we must prove by deeds that we accept our new duties with a sense of our obligation to measure up to our new and high mission. We come into our kingdom in a day of world unrest, in which men and women have not recovered from the shell-shock and gassing of the war. What is needed, first of all, is bandaging the wounds, healing the mind, giving courage to the soul, and imparting hope and confidence to the spirit. All things are possible to those who have faith. Women demonstrated in the war that they could do new things and do them well.

"In peace, in countries where they have a voice, women will demonstrate that in government reforms and remedies they are as deft as when ministering angels. Helping humanity, stunned and demoralized by the waste and wreck of war, is a challenge to the womanhood of the world. As we go into the political trenches let us endeavor to be as intrepid, aim as straight, and keep our nerve as steady as our brothers in their grim battles. Peace has its battle as well as war. We cannot return to days of ease with complacency, as long as suffering blights the lives of men and women anywhere in this old world. As women our hearts must beat in sympathy with those who sorrow and starve. As voters, we must make or find a way to carry help and comfort to those who live in want or in peril. And we must not forget our sisters in any part of the world, for the war made the oceans very narrow bodies of water.

"Woman is the greatest sufferer from war. She rears the soldiers, she trains them and she sends them to battle with her blessing. But while the day will never come when mothers will not pray and women will not labor for world-peace, they will continue to raise their boys to be soldiers when liberty and freedom are at stake. But women everywhere look to the Covenant of Peace that will give the peace and tranquility which must precede world-rebuilding and world-reconstruction to bind up the wounds of war."

Are You Ready to Vote?

Prepare for Citizenship. Follow the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course in the Woman Citizen.

Babushka's Appeal

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY has written an appeal to be read at the meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva. She urges women to devote their best efforts to secure a "humanitarian education" for all children. The right education of the young has been her pet idea for many years, and she never fails to emphasize its transcendent importance. In this all thoughtful persons must agree with her.

Since many inquiries have come to me as to Mme. Breshkovsky's whereabouts and well being, I will answer them here.

After leaving America, she went to Paris, and later to Prague. After being greatly fêted and lionized by the Czecho-Slovaks she went on to Belgrade. Here monarchical influence was strong, and nobody would rent her a room. The monarchists made a hostile demonstration, and she took refuge in the Czecho-Slovak Embassy. The government was mortified, and sent her a gift of 5,000 francs to pay for a room. She took the money with thanks, and gave it to the orphans. Several families of the aristocracy invited her to be their guest, but she declined, and stayed on at the Embassy, where she was treated with much kindness and distinction.

She wanted to go to Southern Russia and start a farm colony for the orphans; but General Denikine, who at that time controlled that part of the country, refused her a passport. This was a bitter disappointment. She then determined to spend some time among the peasants of Russian Carpathia, training teachers for them. They are very poor and ignorant, but eager for education. She is there now, in good health, and always full of hope. Her address is Uzhorod, Karpato-Russ, Czechoslovakia.

HER appeal to the International Woman Suffrage Congress at Geneva, says in part:

"It is not only to follow step by step with man the road taken by him that woman exerts herself to regain her rights. Nor is it for the satisfaction of her vanity or her ambition.

"Woman, she who is a mother from the time that she comes into the world, wishes to act and must act by manifesting her own talent, her own creative power, with which she has been so wonderfully endowed by nature. And this innate mother, the mother of all humanity, cannot rest easy, cannot cease to struggle, until she shall see committed to her the responsibility for the physical, moral and intellectual life of her children, of our younger generation, in whose hands lies the future of the generations to come.

"Unfortunately for these last, up to this time woman has been accustomed to take only a secondary part in the work of forming the heart, mind and soul of her children. She reared them while very young and then put them under the care of the state, where experimenters, often not as gifted as they should have been, prepared them to be instruments designed to carry on such and such particular professions.

"In consequence of this method of education, we see that the so-called 'intelligent' class has had hardly anything in common with the interests of the masses of the people, and has cared very little about the real needs of society.

"Now that the women—mothers, wives, sisters, daughters—know that for five years their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons were merely a target for hostile bullets and cannon, and that they are liable to have it happen to them again and again for an indefinite time, at the pleasure of a few egoists or imbeciles, —now that women themselves have to devote all their time to burying the dead and caring for the maimed; now that the terror which threatens the world on every side makes us distrustful of one another, to such a degree that we lose confidence even in our own compatriots—I think that now we have evidence enough to understand that the question of a humanitarian education for the young people of all nations is of a significance that outranks all others, since it is the only way to guide social ideas and tastes towards a nobler and happier aim than that of greed, than those of ambition and command.

"There are two evils to be uprooted: On the one hand, there

is hardness of heart, cupidity, that petty selfishness which is always ready to sacrifice the interests of others to its personal desires, which arise, on the other hand, as a result of the ignorance of the masses of the population, the absence of foresight, of the knowledge of present reality and past history.

"Deprived of true knowledge, the younger generation do not know how to go to work to rid themselves of the yoke which they are no longer willing to bear. And here we are facing a collision that one would call fated, and which nevertheless depends only upon the good will of those who understand that it is only our own negligence, our forgetfulness of the true and the just, our indifference to the fine capacities of the human soul, that bar our way to a life more worthy of a being who feels himself master of the world and so proclaims himself.

"Neither the force of the fist nor that of money can resist the force of knowledge, the spiritual power of man. And yet this power is the least cultivated.

"Always and everywhere, he who knows and can foresee is the victor.

"**A**ND yet it is not enough to foresee only the result as a whole. It is necessary to know well the road that leads to it; and this is impossible without the study of the past, without a detailed knowledge of the circumstances of present-day life.

"But, I shall be asked, why is it woman who is responsible for the normal and desirable formation of human character; for its health, for its psychology? It is because this task is only the prolongation of the creative work accomplished by her.

"A creator, she is also an artist. She transmits her talents to her daughters, to her granddaughters, from generation to generation. A creator, she loves her work, she takes care of it, and would like to save it from every danger to endow it with every happiness.

"It is therefore very natural that an intelligent woman should be the best educator of the young. Thus history tells us that all great men have been the sons of great mothers.

"O beloved women, whose minds are enlightened by the knowledge and the love of truth! It is yours to build the temple which must serve as school for the rebuilding of the character of man, too long devoted to his own preoccupations, which are opposed to the divine laws, to the commands of a humanitarian conscience.

"It is above all after the two great victories that have been won over the gloomy and servile past, when we feel ourselves free, and see the autocracies crumbling and their evil power buried forever, and now when the peoples wish to be enlightened and to live understandingly and fraternally, that the moment has come when it is our duty to be there, beside the young people, to surround them with a pure and noble atmosphere.

"At this time we ought to band ourselves together to attain an aim that concerns the destinies of the whole world, of the most remote countries, the most backward peoples; for the interests of all of them are so closely intertwined, their reciprocal dependence is so inevitable, that in working for any of them we shall be working for all. The road that leads to this object is long and hard, but the object is well worth our going after it with all energy and all wisdom, with our best efforts, with good will and courage.

"The great question of the education of the young has always been recognized as a question of high importance; but this was only in theory. Learned men and administrators have talked about it and written about it. But questions of domestic and foreign policy, of economics, of commerce, of military preparation by land and sea, of war and more war, have kept governments from devoting themselves insistently to the question relating especially to the moral and spiritual education of the nation's children. Yes, the children of the whole nation, without distinction of sex, religion or social class.

"And you, dear sisters, do you not believe that the present conditions of life, if they do not undergo a radical change, will leave you to play forever the part of sick nurses, under the name of sisters of the Red Cross, and not allow you to devote yourselves to the reconstruction of human life by rearing our children as citizens capable of bringing about happy reforms, to the advantage of the human race?

"Do you not believe that the more we have to nurse the physical body, the less time will be left us to care for the neglected soul, which in consequence will suffer even more than it does now, failing to fulfill its destiny, to perfect the spiritual life of man?

"Believe me, my dear sisters, as soon as you apply yourselves to save the children of the nations from the danger by which they are more and more threatened of being swallowed up by the moral conditions bequeathed to us by the world war; as soon as society sees that your patience and energy are attracting the sympathy of your pupils; this society, without distinction of race or creed, and even the governments of all countries, will promptly come to your help with their power and their means.

"All the organizations of the cities and villages, of the rich and the poor, will come to your help with joy, with enthusiasm. For after so many years of bloody atrocities, of continual sacrifices and sufferings, could humanity keep from taking part in a work that fills people's hearts with hope and with confidence in human nature; a work that calls only for love and devotion?

"But, I shall be asked, if this be so, why do not people set about it? Why is nobody willing to be responsible for taking the initiative in an enterprise so splendidly worth while for a beginning that carries in it the germs of universal happiness? I think myself that it is because the task of protecting childhood against all evil influences is the most difficult task in the world. People are frightened by its incomparable greatness. It calls for the strength of many persons, and for deep devotion. People kept putting it off from day to day, overloaded as they felt with more pressing matters, made inevitable by the general negligence.

"Now that the will and power of women have freedom of choice, it is for them to take upon themselves this work at once onerous and glorious. So we declare that all the schools—primary schools, high schools, academies and even all the colleges devoted to special subjects, ought to be carried on by women, suitably educated, and enlightened. Men are desirable as teachers, lecturers and professors.

"The war has covered the globe with orphans who have no help. We know that they lack not only education, but shelter, food and clothing. They are all in danger of becoming vagabonds without faith or law. Well, let us begin with them. Let us form large families, where the children and those who take care of them would learn to live a fraternal life, full of labor in common and of mutual confidence. Who, if not women, should take under their guardianship these millions of children, abandoned to hunger, beggary and crime? The vices of an historical epoch like ours are fierce; and how can the weak nature of childhood be expected to resist perverse temptations?

"Predestined to a life without rules or principles, would they not survive as a scourge to destroy and paralyze all that is left to us of the true and the beautiful? Nothing but the animal passions will remain to guide their actions.

"Alas! It is not only the orphans who have been plunged by the war into a state so desperate. Utter destitution has overtaken countless families, and left them no means to bring up their children so as to make them good workers and men of noble principles. At the same time, all over Europe the resources that supported the educational establishments for young people have shrunk in amount, and for a long time to come, since the daily needs, and above all the famine, swallow them all up.

"In this epoch, more terrible even than the war, since it is preparing for us a future full of misfortunes, it is right that we women, enlightened and courageous, should make ourselves responsible for a part of the general burden of renewing an existence which has lost its way, not without fault on our part also. The missteps of humanity are largely the result of ill directed education, not watched over carefully enough by those women who can and should guide the heart and soul of the child towards the true, towards the good, towards brotherhood. So it is for us to remedy the mistakes of the past."

What It Means

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

HOW much it means to the thinking womanhood of this country to have the highest ideals of right living and high thinking held prominent. The recognition of the spiritual forces certainly is most worth while, and personally I wish to thank you for the able presentation of subjects so vital to the home-life, the church-life, and woman's life in general in this country.

Indianapolis, Ind.

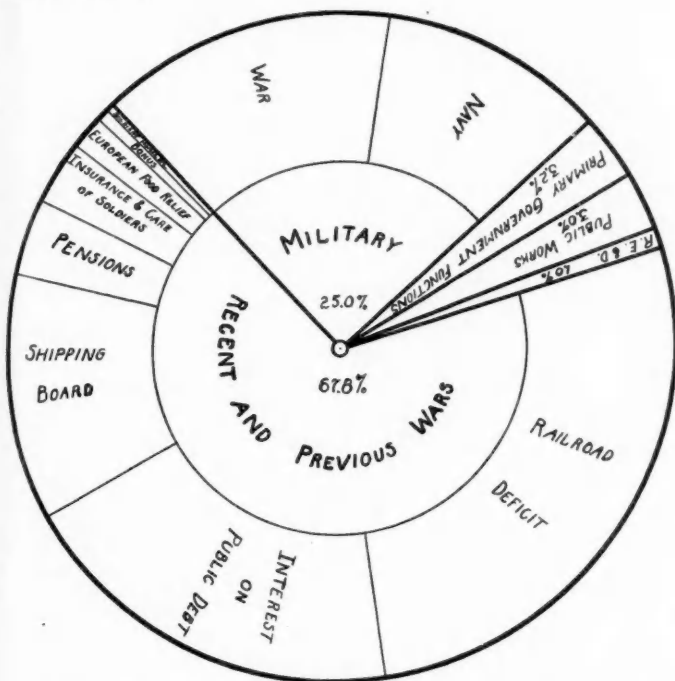
LUELLA F. McWHIRTER.

A Quarter of a Cent for Women and Children

NOTHING could tell women voters more convincingly to what degree our government at present values its human resources than a study just put out by Edward B. Rosa, chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards.

The charts reproduced here show, by analysis of the appropriations for 1920, the relative proportions in the eyes of Congress of the destructive arts of war and the constructive arts of peace.

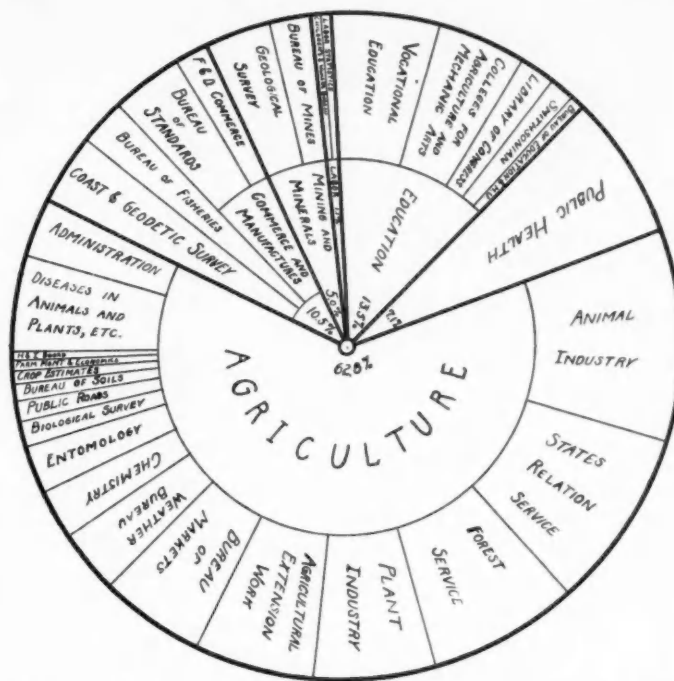
On Chart I no less than 92.8 per cent of expenditures appear as for war and military purposes, leaving 3.2 for the business of government—i. e., expenses of Congress, president and other executive officials and many of the Departments. On public works, which includes rivers, public roads, reclamation service and national parks, 3 per cent is to be spent in 1920, and for all research, educational and development activities there is left but one per cent of the total budget. Expressed in figures instead of proportions, this means five and a quarter billions to be used on war expenses as against about \$57,000,000 on activities intimately connected with the health, happiness and improvement of the people.



DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES FOR FISCAL YEAR 1920

Detailed analysis of the expenditure of this one per cent for research, education and development is quite as startling. Chart II shows the Department of Agriculture receiving 62 per cent, other bureaus and departments for the development of natural resources, 15.5 per cent. To education goes 13.5 per cent, and even part of this goes, in a sense, into expenditures for agriculture. To public health goes 7.12 per cent; to labor, 1.1 per cent; and of this 1.1 per cent exactly one-half to the children's and women's bureaus. It is well for women voters to note that at the present time Congress, feeling the pressure of men's interests and men's votes alone, has assigned to the special needs of women and children approximately one-half of one one-hundredth, that is, one two-hundredth, of the total budget for 1920.

The burden of taxation in 1920 averages \$50 per person of our 110,000,000 population; of this, 50 cents per person is spent on all research, educational and developmental activities, five mills on activities on behalf of labor and half of this, or two and one-



DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES OF GROUP VI FOR RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

half mills, on the special bureaus for women and for children.

The burden of a doubled appropriation for the whole group of meagerly supported developmental activities would, it would seem, be scarcely felt by the inhabitant, whose real burden is \$49.50 for war; it could indeed undoubtedly be accomplished with no extra taxation, by merely shifting a mite of appropriation from the column war extravagance to the column national development. Here its expenditure would in effect not mean outlay but investment in the future at a high rate of profit.

M. S. B.

When Men Undercut Women

THERE is an interesting situation here in connection with the District of Columbia minimum wage determinations. Miss —, an attorney in the income tax office of the Treasury Department, tells me that on the day that the determination of \$16.50 went into effect for elevator girls all the girls in her office building were turned off and men put in their places because the men would work for lower pay. She says the men are getting \$40 a month. She also says that this substitution of cheap men has happened in other buildings, but the only case she has investigated is her building, where she vouches for the fact.

The promulgation for waitresses has just been given out (\$16.50 a week), and the boarding houses are considering ways and means. Some boarding-house keepers here do their own serving at breakfast. Lunch is of little importance, as their boarders are most of them civil service employes, and they employ negro men, college students, to wait on the dinner table. It looks to me as if others of them may now turn to this class of cheaper male service. My landlady is already considering it. In the early nineteenth century women undercut men. They still have the reputation for undercutting, but it looks now as if the tables may be turned in some industries if men are not brought under the benefits of the minimum wage laws. Why not legislate for the whole industry? In England the minimum wage awards include men as well as women.

When men can be used to undercut women we have shown that we are ready and more than ready for this in the United States.

M. S. B.

The Crisis in Education

By William P. Bagley

PART II

One More National Obligation

A THIRD great educational problem which can be met and solved only through national coöperation is to provide ample facilities for adolescent and adult education. The aim here will be to correct as far as may be the defects of the education hitherto provided for our own native-born children, and to assimilate to American ideals and institutions the immigrants who have passed the legal school age. For the children of the immigrants, our schools have done passing well. Indeed, the proportion of illiteracy in the second generation of our foreign-born population is only one-third as high as among our own native-born adults.

That we have done three times as well with the children of the immigrant as we have with our own children is due to the fact that the immigrants have as arduous congregated in our cities where the teachers are relatively efficient, where the school terms are relatively long, and, most important of all, where compulsory-attendance laws are usually enforced. The fact is a tribute to our cities, but it also suggests the injustice of leaving entirely to the urban communities the expense that the education of the foreign-born adult involves. This should be borne in part by the nation as a whole for the nation has admitted the immigrant to our shores, it has profited by his labor, and it risks the most in permitting him to remain an alien, as many of the foreign-born have remained, formally invested with the privileges of citizenship through naturalization.

Adult education must also comprise adequate measures for the reduction of adult illiteracy among the native-born. Such measures, if undertaken vigorously, could within a decade practically eliminate this source of national weakness. In the meantime, the improvement of the rural and village schools should have prevented the growth of illiteracy in the younger generation.

A third type of adult education should be much more extensive in its scope than that represented either by the Americanization of the immigrant or by teaching the native-born illiterate to read and write. It should comprise a gradually extended program of instruction, supported coöperatively by the local communities, the states, and the nation, and designed to bring to every citizen the information that he may need to solve his own problems and the stimulus and inspiration which will lead to his continued growth. We already have hopeful expressions of this wider conception of education as a process which does not end with maturity, but which continues through a lifetime of work and study and achievement. The states and the Federal Government have long concerned themselves with certain phases of this movement, especially in connection with farmers' institutes, the work of county agricultural agents, and similar organized and extremely effective activities. What is needed now is an extension and especially a broadening of the field; looking beyond the material and the economic to the larger and more fundamental values; bringing to all of the people an opportunity to seek, if they will, the broader vision and the finer things of life.

Health Education Essential

CLOSELY related to these provisions for adult education is a thorough-going program of health education worked out and operated on a nation-wide basis. The need for such a program was clearly revealed by the experiences of the war. What can be done by measures already perfected has been clearly dem-

onstrated in the school system of our large cities. There is needed now a wide extension of these measures to the smaller communities and to the schools of the villages and the open country. It is the country child today who is in greatest need of the benefits that sanitary housing, health inspection, and the service of the school dentist and the school nurse can bring. Since the introduction of these features our city schools, and certainly in part because of their introduction, the death rate in typical cities has steadily and rapidly declined; but the rural death rate has remained practically constant for three decades. Again nothing short of a nation-wide movement can correct these conditions. With such a movement well started, it is safe to say that the effective strength of the nation as measured by sound health and physical stamina could be doubled or trebled within ten years.

Careful Investigation Needed

PUBLIC education suffers today because its problems cannot be investigated on a scale and with the care that their intricacy and their importance demand. As a result, improvements in the art of teaching, in the subjects of study, and in the organization, administration, and supervision of schools have been slow and halting. Beyond this, the schools have been open to exploitation through well-intentioned but untested and sometimes ill-advised reforms, which have swept through the country without let or hindrance, often causing confusion and waste, and, through their ultimate failure, giving rise to a public distrust of all efforts toward educational progress.

This waste can and should be avoided, and real progress insured, by a far-reaching policy of educational investigation, which would aim to test proposals before they are put forth as universal panaceas. The nation has recognized this need of careful investigation in the field of agriculture. For a quarter of a century, it has been coöperating with the states in the support of agricultural experiment stations throughout the land. If it is good policy for the nation thus to protect the farmer against exploitation and to provide for him dependable knowledge regarding his work, it would be at least equally good policy for the nation similarly to protect and provide for its children. Educational investigations are now being conducted on a small scale and chiefly through philanthropic agencies. Without in the least disparaging the great good that these agencies are doing, it is clearly inconsistent for the public to relegate to them entirely this important work. Educational investigation should be an important branch of the public service, promoted through public funds, and administered by men and women responsible to the people as a whole.

A National Department of Education

EVERY item in the program that has been outlined above points to a distinct and imperative need for a Federal Department of Education with a secretary who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet. Such a department and such an official are essential to represent education in the highest councils of the nation. The policy of relegating national leadership in education to an obscure bureau in a huge and nondescript department proved its impotence and its unwisdom during the war. At the present time there is no adequate channel through which the educational needs of the nation as a nation can be made vocal.

A Federal Department of Education is needed, then, first of all to insure a proper consideration of national educational problems as distinct from those of the states and local communities.

It is needed, furthermore, to administer the federal grants proposed in the foregoing discussion; and it is especially needed to organize and conduct the educational investigations to which reference has just been made. It would be analogous in every way to the existing departments of agriculture, commerce, and labor; hence the justification for its establishment has been amply settled by abundant and successful precedent.

Preservation of State and Local Autonomy

NEITHER the creation of a Federal Department of Education nor a system of federal subsidies in aid of education involves or implies the control of local schools by the national government or any other infringement of the reserved right of every state to administer and control education within its borders. Even if national control of education were constitutional,—which it clearly is not,—this centralization would be most unwise. What is proposed in the program just presented is coöperation and not control; it is stimulus and encouragement, not domination. As a national policy, the encouragement of education in the states through federal subsidies dates from 1785, when Section 16 of every township of the new national domain was set aside for the support of public schools. The policy has been stabilized and refined through successive legislation covering more than a century and a quarter. It is reflected in the Morrill acts establishing and maintaining the agricultural colleges; in the Smith-Lever act providing for the wide extension of agricultural education in elementary and high schools; and in the Smith-Hughes act subsidizing vocational education in schools of less than college grade. These and all other laws enacted in harmony with this policy of federal coöperation during the past one hundred and twenty-five years remain undisturbed by a single adverse court decision. What is now proposed has the same sanction of law and precedent. It is merely an extension of this policy to types of education even more significant to the nation's welfare than those that have already been the objects of the nation's bounty.

It is clear that so extensive a program of educational development if carried out will measurably increase the public expenditures for educational purposes. There is no disposition to maintain that the benefits which such a program promises are to be secured without paying a certain price. But the price, after all, is negligible in proportion to the benefits. For less than ten per cent of our pre-war liquor bill—the total of which we are now supposed to be saving—a generous beginning could be made; while a tax of five mills on the total wealth of the nation would support an educational system the like of which the most ardent disciple of enlightened democracy never dreamed of. Basic to all considerations of taxation for education is one elemental fact,—the fact, namely, that money spent for education, unlike almost every other type of public expenditure, is essentially an investment—an investment which pays the largest known dividends, and in which, as a public investment, the point of diminishing returns has never yet been reached. Nor is a generous treatment for the schools and for the children of the nation out of harmony with the ideals that our people have espoused. Surely the nation that has given to its colonial wards in the Philippines school advantages vastly better in many ways than those to which a majority of its own children are limited; the nation that declined a punitive indemnity from China at the close of the Boxer rebellion on condition that the money that it might have exacted should be used for the education of Chinese students in American schools; the nation that has given unreservedly of its treasure and of its best young blood for the preservation of democracy in Europe; such a nation cannot be deemed selfish if it now provides for its own people and its own children an investment that will make them better and happier.



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Summary

As a summary of the proposals made in the preceding discussion, the following statement is suggested as a possible plank in the platform of a national political party:

The stability of the nation and the security and progress of its institutions depend primarily upon the efficiency of its schools. The war revealed alarming weaknesses in our national life that can be remedied only by placing public education on a substantial basis. Among these weaknesses, the following are of outstanding significance: (1) the alarmingly high percentage of relative and absolute illiteracy in our native-born population; (2) the presence of large groups of immigrants who are unacquainted with our language, insensitive to our ideals and standards, and ignorant of our laws and institutions; and (3) a deplorably low level of physical health and vigor among a large number of our people. Fundamentally, these symptoms of weakness in our national life are due to defects and shortcomings in our educational system, and these defects and shortcomings should be corrected on a nation-wide basis and through national cooperation and leadership.

The imperative need of such cooperation and leadership at the present time is evidenced by the crisis which now confronts the public schools in the acute shortage of teachers and the consequent lowering of standards. The public-school service must be made far more attractive than it has ever been in the past if competent young men and young women are to enter it as a life-work. The normal schools and other public agencies for the preparation of teachers should be far more liberally supported. That the United States, of all civilized nations, gives less attention to the most important of public duties—the preparation of teachers for its public schools—is a stigma that cannot be removed too soon.

Other matters of vital import to the nation are the improvement of the rural and village schools (to the inadequacies of which most of the native-born illiteracy is due); generous provisions for a system of adolescent and adult education that will go far toward solving the problem of Americanization; a comprehensive and far-reaching program of health education; and the careful study and investigation of educational problems.

The nation's participation in this program must be generous. Without encroaching in the least upon the right of each state to administer and control its schools, federal cooperation, following the precedent of well-established and thoroughly tested legislation, within a relatively short time, can insure a measure of educational progress that would be fatally delayed if such cooperation were lacking.

The nation has a stake and interest in every school and in every child. It has educational needs of transcendent importance. It should have an appropriate and dignified channel through which these needs can be made known, through which its cooperation with the states in the support of education can be administered, and through which its educational problems can be studied. To this end a Federal Department of Education, analogous to the existing departments of agriculture, commerce and labor, should be immediately established and the most important business of a democracy thus given a proper recognition in the councils of the nation.

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

I am enjoying Mrs. Catt's Citizenship Course immensely as I am conducting the Government Lessons for the W. C. T. U.

The magazine is not only helpful, but is, also, bright and entertaining.

Frankfort, Ind.

MARGARET V. SHERIDAN.

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Are Women Inventive

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an authoritative article

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Woman's National Weekly

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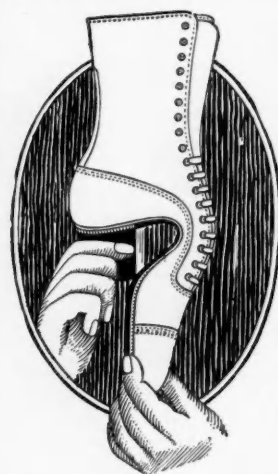
ROBES, MANTEAUX LINGERIE

which was so greatly admired when recently exhibited in their Paris Salon. The picturesque and sumptuous beauty of these original Boué Soeurs creations takes one back to the magnificent period of "Le Roi Soleil," Louis XIV.

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Opening Doors of Opportunity

The Lady Rancher

AMONG the plain or garden variety of women known to collectors of specimens today is the woman rancher. Not just Ma Pettingill—sprung from the brain of Harry Leon Wilson—and expert authority on beef-on-the-hoof, but a real one, home grown in Wyoming. Mrs. Frank C. Bosler of the 50,000 acre Ione Ranch, near Bosler, Wyoming, has recently decided to divide up this little lot of hers and let it go into the hands of an Investment Company of which she is a member. Cutting up her ranch marks the passing of one of the last big ranches in eastern Wyoming.

This ranch has been famous for twenty years as the original home of the diamond white-face cattle, ranging in a block of land almost 100 miles long under the ownership of one man—Mr. Bosler, who controlled the Ione, Taylor and Rock Creek ranches. As many as 12,000 head have been run on it, and never has there been a time when scarcity of water or of grazing has forced a single head on the market.

After the death of Mr. Bosler in 1918, Mrs. Bosler, who already had a thorough knowledge of all the details of the business, took over its entire control and management. Mrs. Bosler may be seen any day, either on horseback or in her car, going over her ranch and looking after her cattle. She has become one of the most successful and competent business women in the West.

The Lass with the Delicate Air

DR. WINIFRED CULLIS, professor of physiology in the London School of Medicine for Women at the University of London, who was in America for the fourteenth annual convention of the Women's Medical Society of New York State, recently made some statements which are likely to destroy the myth of "the lass with the delicate air." Dr. Cullis says that the hard "speeding-up" work of British munitions not only did no harm to the women workers, but actually strengthened them. Today, she says, the physique of the English working woman is superior to that of the average American or Canadian working girl.

The Industrial Fatigue Research Board of England, of which Dr. Cullis is the head, has made known the results of its investigations among the women who worked during the war. The main tests were those indicated by the output of work, the amount of lost time and amount of illness. These investigations proved that the physical conditions of women improved through the war period, due to the fact, Dr. Cullis believes, that they were fed better in the canteens established in every factory than ever before in their lives. It was Dr. Cullis's opinion that coincidentally with the physical improvement, there was a moral improvement.

THE first and only woman in the state of Vermont to become a full-fledged citizen of the United States by process of naturalization is said to be Miss Winona Billings. At the last naturalization court held in Newport, Miss Billings, a Canadian, born in Sutton in the Province of Quebec, received her papers from Judge Butler, who gave it as his opinion that she is the only woman in Vermont who ever did this. She has managed an experimental farm successfully, is fond of all sorts of athletics and rides a pet horse. She is a most efficient municipal court stenographer, and is also a talented musician, a fine violinist and singer.

DOING a quarter mile dash in 1.52 is nothing in the young life of Jane Shuster, a Pittsburgh girl, who is a student in the University of Nebraska. Her dash breaks all previous world records for women.

The Captain's Mate

"THE Captain's Mate is very sedate, though fond of amusements too," and she tells with perfect *sang froid* of the joys of standing in the companion way of the racing yachts her husband has sailed to victory.

When Mrs. W. M. Burton is ashore, which is not too often, she spends most of her time polishing the silver cups and vases and flagons that her husband has won in the thousand or more races he has run since they were married twenty years ago. She is the wife of Captain Burton of the Shamrock IV, Sir Thomas Lipton's latest venture for carrying America's cup back to Great Britain, from whence it was captured in 1855.

She has raced her own yacht many a time, and thinks being a lady skipper a good job for a woman. She says there are already many women skippers in England. For one who loves the sea she believes yacht racing a fine vocation.

Business Women in the Far East

THE only accredited woman ambassador is just reported, and she has come from that land whence the Assyrians came down like the wolf on the fold,—their cohorts all gleaming with purple and gold. She is Lady Surma d'Near Shuiui, plenipotentiary, representing an Assyrian tribe in the Kurdistan hills, who want British protection from the Turks and Kurds. She is now in London, having already presented her case to Lord Curzon. Lady Surma is said to be a gray-haired woman of fifty, who speaks English excellently.

RULES are lacking in the Near East for the conduct of business women. How ought a Smyrna girl stenographer to dress, and what rules should govern a Syrian office which employs girl clerks? Here is a whole new field of endeavor quite untouched as yet. When an Armenian or a Turkish girl is "on her own" there are no precedents for behavior.

That is why the Commission for Relief in the Near East had to call upon the Young Women's Christian Association to do something about constructing new social machinery to take care of a sudden condition arising in Turkey and Greece and Palestine. Housing conditions alone suggest a very real problem.

Our Bouquet

Dear and Able WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN an article in the very interesting number of your paper, June 5, just received, the wise and much needed article entitled "The Magazine Lady," has assigned the excellent story, "The Thing They Loved," in the May *Century* to *Harper's Magazine*. I have not seen the last number of *Harper's*, but can hardly believe that both magazines would have the story in the same month. If this is a mistake, as it seems to be, should not the writer of that very excellent article, "The Magazine Lady," R. Y., make a public correction, and thank God for the *Century*, as I do, each month

Brookline, Mass.

MARION MURDOCK.

[When one hands out a bouquet it is distressing beyond measure to find that one has blundered in the identity of the recipient. We read the story "The Thing They Loved" in the May number of the *Century* and somehow it passed into our consciousness as being the May number of *Harper*. We talked it over and heard it talked about many times and heard our own error repeated by all and sundry. We should have referred to the story anew before passing on to consideration of it in the WOMAN CITIZEN. But we didn't. Now we are sorry. We tender our apologies to the *Century* and recommend anew its admirable May number story—"The Thing They Loved."—F.D.]

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HOW THE NATION IS FINANCED

Increase in Taxation Wanted

THERE are certain premises with which we have to begin, it seems to me, in order to fully understand the subject of public finance, and particularly the occasion for taxation.

To begin with, we are a highly organized society. The time was, of course, when the organization of society was not so complex, and it was not necessary to have anything like the total number of public wants satisfied, nor anything like the amount of expenditure made publicly that we have today, and I might start the same topic with which I shall end, namely, that there is no hope for any decrease in taxation. There is every hope for an increase in taxation and for myself I welcome it. I shall try to demonstrate to you why both of these principles seem to be true.

If we have a highly organized and complex society our wants are highly organized and complex, and there is every reason to believe that our wants, our public wants, which are satisfied through the state or through public expenditure, will continue to increase.

Some Correctives

THERE are some correctives which we can administer to control the amount of our expenditure and to measure definitely the results that we get from a given amount of expenditure, and those corrective influences have to do with three major things. That is, with public expenditure itself, with taxation itself, and with the budget as an instrument of control.

It is more important, far more important, that we get a given amount of results and benefit from our public expenditure than is the total amount of public expenditure which we make.

I think that expenditures are going to increase because of the responsibility which goes along with child labor legislation, with factory legislation, with all sorts of movements for social amelioration, for the doctrine of the square deal, and all of those things.

Nobody today does all of the things or receives all of the things as a result of his own activity. He depends upon his neighbors. He leans on them.

I would like to look upon my tax bill, and to have everyone else look upon his tax bill, as he looks upon the bills which he gets from the grocer and the bills which he gets from the coal man.

By Professor Secrist

From a lecture delivered by Professor Secrist before the School for Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt in Chicago.

As a matter of fact, the burden of taxation is no more a burden than is my coal bill a burden. But if you don't get full value received for the amount which you put into your coal bill, or which is put into your coal bill, obviously you are dissatisfied. If you don't get full value received for the amount of your taxes you have every reason to be dissatisfied.

The Real Problem

THERE is reason for alarm over taxation only when the amounts are squandered and wasted, and so forth. So I submit to you that the much more difficult problem, the much more significant problem, is the result of public expenditure rather than the amount of public expenditure.

Now, in our modern economic life there is only one source which is a significant source of revenue. In a democratic country we have acknowledged the right of private property. We have that as a fundamental institution. If we give to individuals the right of private property, and don't take it away, then the only conceivable source of taxation is what I call and what has been called the derivative revenues; that is, revenues which go to the state because of the result of your activity, the state's share being a first lien, as it were, upon the product or the result of your activity in connection with your private property.

It has only been a matter of a few decades, a comparatively few decades, since we came to believe definitely and make it a part of American institutions that taxation was not—to be taxed, rather—was not a sign of subservency.

Today taxation is an established institution; perfectly taken for granted as a regular contribution which must be turned over to the state. Business is financed on the basis of definite and sure taxation, and so long as we have made it a part of our existence, a part of our institutions, we can adjust ourselves to it.

System of Taxation

OBVIOUSLY we must, in order to adjust ourselves to it, have a definite and clearly established system of taxation. If we are going to depend upon our revenue and taxes, and there is no other way of getting out of it—if you borrow, you sooner or later have to tax. If you float paper money to get revenue it is a system of taxation, and a very inequitable system of taxation because people have to contribute according to the way in which they are affected by increased prices. There is no way out of which the modern state can be financed except by taxation. I mean ultimately. You can go on for a little while by some other means, but surely and finally the method is taxation. Now, if taxation is the method, as a result of our private property, and our revenues to the states and to the nation are derivative, coming from me and from you as a result of our activities, the government's part being the first lien, then the next problem, of course, is the way in which that taxation or those taxes are distributed over the people.

I submit to you as the next proposition that the only equitable basis of distribution of taxation is according to ability. Somebody has said that the benefits to be received from taxation are the justification. If there are no benefits which come to me, then the Government has no right, no authority, to tax me. The benefits accruing, I say, are the justification of taxation. The amount of taxation, however, should be measured according to the ability to pay. Now, ability to pay may be indicated by a variety of ways.

What Should Be Taxed

IN our American states and cities people have been looked upon as having great ability to pay if they have much property, and so we have had as a part of our revenue system for our states the general property tax, with which you are all familiar, not a tax upon a person, but a tax upon property. This tax, to be in proportion to the amount of property, rather, the value of the property as fixed under an ad valorem system of taxation. But the general advance with respect to taxation has come to demonstrate conclusively that property itself is not a measure of ability, that income from property is the true measure of ability to pay taxes, and so we have changed our philosophy in America, or are changing it.

slowly, from a general property tax, with which you are all familiar, a tax upon your buildings, a tax upon your land, and so forth, according to an assessed value fixed by a local assessor—we have come to change our method of taxation to some form of income tax.

Now, property, of course, has no value outside of its income. There is no such thing as a property value distinguished from the income which the property has.

If we are in American states, and, of course, here I am addressing myself primarily to our American states, and not to our Federal Government, since the Federal Government's taxes up until a very recent amendment, the Sixteenth Amendment, have been drawn almost entirely from internal revenue taxes, customs, duties, so-called tariff taxes—the property tax or the land tax being reserved for the states; but now the Federal Government has an income tax, as you know, and the state, a number of them, have income taxes. The whole movement has been from property to income, and it is not only good economics. It is good sense, it is good logic, and it is good administration, following good administrative principles, to change from property to income.

Justice in Taxation

THERE are very many ways in which ability can be indicated. It can be indicated according to income. It can be indicated according to expenditure. And the luxury taxes and certain taxes upon businesses particularly, had their justification in the idea that a person should not be taxed upon what he owns or upon what he receives, but upon what he expends. But expenditure taxes are very regressive. I mean that they are just the opposite of progressive. They fall hardest on the person who is least able to bear the load. So that we have come around, after developments in foreign countries, and even in America, slowly in America, to a belief, even for our state purposes, in an income tax.

Justice in taxation means that this tax burden, which is a burden just as much as our individual expenditures are burdens, must be borne equitably. You get the highest degree of justice in taxation when you tax according to ability and when you take income as a measure of ability.

Now, ability, obviously, is greater when income is greater than it is when income is less, so the movement in taxation has been not only to take income, but to adopt a system of taxation on an income basis which takes note not only of the size of the income, but the source of the income; that is, we have begun to distinguish between so-called—I do not know whether you like the term or not—"earned" as distinguished from "unearned" income. That is a general distinction which has grown up continentally between incomes as a result of labor application, which are contingent upon a continuance of labor,

and incomes which are not the result of labor, as such, nor are they contingent upon the continuance of labor. That is, they are funded incomes, incomes from investment, incomes from property, and incomes from other things which represent an accumulated mass. We call those "unearned" in some states. We do not have them in the Federal Government. In a few of the states we take note of the differences between earned and unearned income.

A person who has a small income is taxed more lightly than a person who has a large income, and a person whose income is sure is taxed more heavily than a man whose income is contingent or uncertain.

So if we follow the general principle, which is good economics, good taxation and good administrative law, we will tax according to ability, according to income, according to classified income, taxing large incomes more heavily than small incomes, and taxing certain incomes more heavily than uncertain or contingent incomes.

The Tax Rate

THE movement for classification of taxes is good, but it is only a lesser step—a less satisfactory step than an income tax.

Some of our constitutions, and most of them, as a matter of fact, up until recently, have maintained that all property should be taxed equally and at the same rate. Now, if all property is taxed equally and at the same rate you cannot classify taxes for purposes of taxation, that is, you cannot have a lesser tax on some kinds of property than you can have on other kinds of property. Now, the movement for classification began early. Just let me define briefly what classification is.

All taxes should be taxed equally in this sense: That the rate of taxation should not be different for the various kinds of property taxed. Of course, if you have a farm it is valued at so much per acre; if you have a city lot it is so much per front foot, or whatever the other basis is; but the tax applied to that property cannot be different in the different jurisdictions, one class against the other. The state rate would be different from the county. This would all be different, depending on the amount of revenue, but it does not admit of any discrimination in different kinds of property, according to whether they have different income bearing capacities or whether it is more or less difficult to tax some property than it is the other.

Classification is a movement, represents a movement, for taxing at a lesser rate intangible personality, meaning by that stocks and bonds, credit instruments of all types.

Real property in the form of buildings and land is very easy to see. In the period through which we have gone in American taxation the first kind of property that we had in America was what? Land, wasn't it? All that the local



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assessor had to do was to go out and put a value upon it, put a tax upon the valuation, and the revenues rolled in. Probably most, if not all, of the properties which people had actually could be seen, and you had an unconditional ownership in them, that is, the ownership was not divided.

Now, there grew up corporations with which we are all conversant. There grew up corporate property. The corporations came in in the seventies and eighties. In the corporation what do they do? In the creation of a corporation what do you do? You evaluate or you express the value of that property in terms of shares of stock which are held. You may be one of a thousand stockholders. You get a little piece of paper, and what can you do with it? You can put it in your vault, you can hide it away, you can sell it, you can buy it, you can buy additional ones. You can treat it in any other way you want. The assessor comes around and asks what is your property and looks at your books, and says, "Have you any other property?" Ninety-nine out of every hundred people say "No, they haven't any other property," and the assessor can't get that other property.

The Assessor

THE local assessor in American states and cities, how is he elected? He is elected by local ballot generally, and generally he is a man who hasn't any experience with tax matters. He is not even a real estate man who knows buying and selling of land and knows values. He is probably paid about three or four dollars a day or two or three dollars a day, and he puts in about six weeks of each year in evaluating property, or every second year, and the valuation placed upon your property is mostly the result of a guess, and he has no means at all of finding out actually what property I own or what property you own. If he would find out what property I owned or what property you owned, he would tax you on the face value the stock certificate which you have, or the bond. Suppose it is a \$1,000 bond, at the rate of six per cent—\$60 a year. So he is discriminating against these intangible properties, and if he taxed you—suppose the rate were three per cent, three dollars on a hundred dollars, and you owned a bond, rate six per cent, he would be taking an income tax of how much out of you? Fifty per cent. You won't tell him you have any property. The result has been what? To make a long story short, it has resulted in less and less personalty, and in some states absolutely none of this intangible property, credits and all

these things, coming on to the tax roll.

QUESTION: Mr. Speaker, isn't that usually covered by the corporation tax?

PROF. SECRIST: No. It depends upon what kind of corporate tax they have. You may have deposited the stock certificate in New York, and New York wants to tax you because you have deposited it there. Your state wants to tax you because you live here. A zona wants to tax the corporation because the corporation wants to do business there, and the corporation was actually created in North Dakota, and North Dakota wants to tax it because it was created there.

Now, Minnesota, Michigan and a number of the states, have had this classified personal property tax for years. The results have been good, essentially. That is, the total amount of property on the tax roll has increased enough so that, with the decreased tax rate, the total amount of taxes has increased, in some instances three times over. Taking this from an administrative point of view, that is good tax administration, so long as you have to proceed under this mistaken scheme of trying to evaluate property according to an ad valorem system.

PROPERTY does not necessarily indicate ability. Income necessarily indicates ability. California today in the throes of separation of sources—we call it Home Rule—taxation in another form. This was the idea, good in itself so far as it goes, but only a half step, as it were, in the development from a crude form of taxation into a well developed, well balanced, articulated scheme of taxation—separation of sources. What is it?

It means this: That certain sources of revenue have been reserved to the state for state purposes, and certain other series or sources of revenue have been reserved to the counties and townships as a source of revenue. This movement has gone on, gone farthest undoubtedly in California. The net result, however, of that movement since 1909, and we have all been observing it very actively since that time, has been to demonstrate that separation of sources by itself is not a corrective of the evils of the general property tax.

So far as the movement for separation goes, allowing for a tax source to be co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the agent that taxes it, so far as that is concerned, it is a good movement. The state ought to tax the things which it can tax as an entirety.

Another disadvantage is that separation means two jurisdictions, and giving no state supervision over the local assessors, no gen-

eral scheme of supervision so that all assessors will do their assessment work essentially according to the same general principle. So far as that has resulted it is bad, because, after all, the amount of taxes you pay is always relative thing. I do not care how much I pay as long as the other fellow, who is in the same position as I am, has to pay the same tax. What we want is relative justice, absolute justice as far as we can get it, but by all ends we want first and foremost relative justice. That is the important thing.

Well, I have sketched very briefly the movement in American state taxes. The movement in American state taxes, to recapitulate, has been from the general property taxation, one hundred per cent Simon pure, to a modified income tax, which income tax admits of taxing income rather than property, and taxing that income according to definite principles of differentiation, according to the size of the income, the source of the income, and the certainty of the income, all of those things.

Dolly Madison Breakfast

THE annual Dolly Madison Breakfast given by the Woman's Democratic League of the state of New York took place at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on Saturday, June 5th. Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby, president of the League, presided.

Mrs. Alice Fischer Harcourt gave a brief account of Dolly Madison's life. She was followed by the Hon. James W. Gerard, who emphasized the fact that it would be less difficult to get the women to go to the national conventions as patriotic citizens, instead of as boomers for a special candidate, than is true in the case of men.

Among the other speakers were Miss Elizabeth Marbury, Judge Burr, Comptroller Craig, Mrs. George H. Childs and Mrs. Ellen O'Grady, Deputy Police Commissioner. The latter feels that woman will be the great factor in regaining the balance of the country, because of her experience in the organization of the individual home—the nation being the home on a larger scale.

Mrs. William H. England of Oklahoma, whose husband is a delegate to the Republican National Convention, refuted the oft-heard opinion that women would vote the same as their husbands.

Mr. Lewis Nixon, the last speaker, spoke for harmony in conference and unity in action. A resolution was moved by Mrs. Gantt and seconded nominating Mr. Nixon as President.

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Watchfully Waiting

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE gaining of suffrage only serves to necessitate the re-doubling of effort to insure the best use of the vote. My great hope is with the League of Women Voters. If that fails (but it must not fail), our last estate will be almost worse than the first. I incline to think that in spite of the apparent success of the parties in luring the women the latter have gone in with certain reservations and will not be so amenable to discipline on the part of the machine as the men are and as they hope the women will be. For myself, I prefer to remain on the outside for awhile, studying the situation and awaiting with interest the final ratification of the Amendment and also the action of the two party conventions on our program.

GRACE JULIAN CLARKE.

Indianapolis, Ind.

The Irony of It

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IT seems a curious irony of fate that after working for suffrage in New York State from 1894, and, through the 1915 campaign active in Albany where I then lived, having since then done my bit in Missouri, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Chicago in brief residences there, and finally here in Washington in our splendid triumph in Congress, I now should be a resident of a city where not only women, but men, are quite voiceless. Although my husband has never voted since leaving Albany in 1916, and we still consider ourselves citizens of New York State, where I was born, the "powers that be" decreed that as we have sold our property, we have no voting privileges. It seems to be a difference of legal opinion which we can only settle by going up to the primaries and having our votes challenged, hardly an agreeable situation.

Does the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which I have been a member and an active worker (or the League

of Women Voters), contemplate doing anything for women (or men) in this our Capital City? I should like to see the voice of our millions of voting women behind us in our struggle "up the hill." Now their voices (backed by their votes) might be listened to as never before.

BESSIE TINNER RICKER.

Washington, D. C.

Kansas Law

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN your issue of May 29th, page 1329, you publish Kansas as a state that has never abolished the dower and courtesy common law rule. I beg to refer your compiler to revised Kansas statutes, 1915, section 3850, which shows that it was abolished in 1868, and reads as follows:

"Estates of dower and by courtesy abolished. All the provisions hereinbefore made in relation to the widow of a deceased husband shall be applicable to the husband of a deceased wife. Each is entitled to the same or portion in the estate of the other, and like interests shall in the same manner descend to their respective heirs." In *Andrews v. Alcorns* 13 Kans. 351 the Supreme Court also held that dower and by courtesy was abolished, by this and other statutes of the same date.

So here you have a copy of the statute and also the reference to the interpretation by the Supreme Court.

In Kansas both husband and wife are heirs of each other and entitled to one-half of the estate of the other if there are children and if none the survivor takes all of it.

I wish you would make this correction in your next publication as we do not wish to have Kansas in the list of the backward states in this respect.

MAGDALEN B. MUNSON.

Pittsburg, Kan.

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Organization and Reorganization Another Great State League

Last and First

WOMEN of Nebraska will meet in Omaha the middle of June to say farewell to one of the hardest pressed suffrage associations in the whole United States. Its honorable record of "carrying on" until victory was won, is written into the woman movement of the whole United States.

"The last convention of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, and the First State Congress of the League of Women Voters" will be held at the Hotel Blackstone. With these two meetings will be joined a memorial service for Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, national chairman of the League of Women Voters and Mrs. George Gellhorn of St. Louis, national vice-chairman and regional director for Nebraska; Mrs. Solon Jacobs of Birmingham, Alabama, and Mrs. R. E. Edwards of Peru, Indiana, secretary and treasurer of the National League, will be speakers at this Congress. Other regional directors, Mrs. F. Louis Sade of New York, Miss Katherine Ludington of Connecticut, Mrs. James Paige of Minnesota, will help launch the new state league.

Special features scheduled for the occasion are the banquet at the Happy Hollow Country Club on June 14, the Pioneer Luncheon and the Conference Luncheon at the Blackstone Hotel on the 14th and 15th.

The Blackstone Hotel, a hostelry of distinction, is provided as a place of meeting for the women by the Commercial Club of Omaha. Its entire eighth floor will be given up to the women's convention. The Commercial Club has also paid for the delegates' badges, and the hotels are paying for the invitations, all very practical ways of welcoming women into the state affairs.

Two conventions of men, are to be held in Omaha at the same time which will make it more possible for women to get there; for many will come with their husbands. Presidents of eight state organizations of women—Federation of Clubs, W. C. T. U., Farm Women's Congress, Business Women's Congress, Business Women's Federation, Y. W. C. A., A. C. A., "War Mothers" and Women's Educational Club, will be present and give greetings from their associations.

Another interesting feature will be short talks by women office holders of Nebraska. These include a mayor, a county attorney, a member of a city council, clerks of the district court and a candidate for the state legislature.

In Massachusetts

A NEW milestone in the woman's movement is marked by the announcement that the Massachusetts League of Women Voters has succeeded the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and will henceforth be the active body of the state through which all women will work together for a more enlightened citizenship and a broad program of legislation.

At the fifty-first annual convention of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association held in Boston May 27th and 28th, the delegates voted to continue the association as a "skeleton organization" pending ratification and in order to meet the legal requirements of its permanent dissolution and transfer of property to the Massachusetts League of Women Voters. After these resolutions were passed, and it had been voted to continue the officers and executive committee elected one year ago, until the affairs of the association were finally wound up, adjournment was secured, and the incorporators of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters invited the delegates accredited to the Suffrage Convention, the officers and councillors of the Association and fraternal delegates present to join them in adopting the constitution and electing the officers of the league.

Launched with great enthusiasm, the new league has adopted a broad program of education and endorsed the platform of the National League of Women Voters.

Wishing to give all honor to their former leader, the Convention made Miss Alice Stone Blackwell the permanent honorary president of the League, and these officers were elected:

Honorary President, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell; Chairman, Mrs. George R. Fearing, Jr.; Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Arthur G. Rotch; Clerk, Mrs. George W. Perkins; Treasurer, Mrs. H. Addington Bruce; Directors at Large, Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird; Mrs. Robert L. De Normandie; Miss Mabel Gillespie.

Regional Directors—Norfolk County, Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman; Middlesex County, Mrs. A. A. Lawson; Suffolk County, Miss Fanny C. Osgood; Essex County, Mrs. C. H. Masury; Worcester County, Mrs. S. B. Woodward; Hampden & Hampshire, Mrs. Eliza R. Whiting; Franklin & Berkshire, Mrs. Arthur Potter.

Starting with a gift into its treasury of \$6,000 voted to it by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, the first act of the Massachusetts League was to vote to give \$1,000 to the National League of Women Voters.

**The Woman Citizen will continue the Carrie Chapman Catt
Citizenship Course until the November Elections**



It began its legislative campaign by endorsing the principle of maternity legislation; approving the enactment of the Smith-Towner bill for a secretary of education as a member of the President's cabinet; and urging Congress to take promptly the most efficient steps to relieve the terrible conditions of starvation now existing in Europe; and calling upon all the legislatures of the states that have not yet ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment, especially Vermont and Connecticut, to take steps to secure such action at once.

With or Without

CONNECTICUT suffragists will enter the fall election campaign "with or without the vote" according to a statement made by the Executive Board of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association.

The statement says:

"We declare that, feeling our political responsibility as never before we will, either with the vote or without, take part in the coming campaign and, that unless the Republican Party calls a special session immediately it will force out of its ranks loyal Republicans."

One of the first steps which will be taken by the Association in putting its organization actively into the election campaign will be to send an open letter to each candidate for the office of Governor in both parties asking his attitude on ratification and a special session for that purpose.

Meet Mr. Bailey

WOMEN of Texas have met Mr. Bailey. They have been meeting him in and out of Texas for some years now. They used to meet him in the House of Representatives of the U. S. Congress, when with emotional vibrations in his voice he was wont to say concerning the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment: "Gentlemen, do you want to add to the electorate ignorance rather than intelligence, darkness rather than light." One of his most sobbing complaints was that women are too emotional to vote.

The women of Texas recently met Mr. Bailey again, or rather he met them. It is possible that it may take him some time to recover politically from the encounter. It seems that Mr. Bailey wants to be Governor of Texas, and Texas is some little slice of the United States.

For some reason or other Mr. Bailey is as afraid of the woman's vote, as the devil is of

holy water. Therefore he wanted to keep women from electing delegates from the county and precinct conventions to the state convention. As usual, Mr. Bailey was opposed to women, just naturally agin 'em.

He was determined, for reasons of his own, to keep them out of the elections; but they wouldn't stay out. They came on in hordes, just as they did when they had another little job to attend to, the job of defeating ex-Governor Ferguson—one of Mr. Bailey's props.

In Mr. Bailey's own precinct where he was present and led the fight in person, he was beaten to a standstill. The convention even refused to make him a delegate to the county convention.

The political forces with which the women were lined up gained a sweeping victory over Mr. Bailey. They elected fifteen hundred delegates to his one hundred.

"The women and the preachers did it," he grumblingly allowed as he went back to Washington to think up his next move. Whatever that move may be, it does not seem to have much motion on it as yet, for the state convention gave the women a notable place on its delegation to San Francisco. What gave point and emphasis to the whole matter was the choice of women on the delegation.

Among the four women delegates-at-large is Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, formerly president of the Texas Equal Suffrage League, who has been foremost as a leader in the Texas fight for the enfranchisement of women. The other three are Mrs. W. E. Spell of Waco, Miss Margie E. Neal of Carthage, and Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Georgetown, chairman of the Texas League of Women Voters. These four women, with twelve men, will make up the Texas delegation-at-large, sixteen in all, the largest yet reported.

In addition many women are included as delegates and alternates from the various districts. Women district delegates are Mrs. Cone Johnson of Tyler, Miss Florence Sterling of Houston, Mrs. T. M. Snell of De Witt.

Alternates are Mrs. J. C. Reagan of Tyler, Mrs. E. W. Harrison of Greenville, Miss Ruby Terrell of Commerce, Mrs. C. M. McCallum of Rockwall, Mrs. H. B. Moore of Texas City, Mrs. J. W. Cook, Lavaca; Mrs. E. T. Harris, Fort Worth; Mrs. C. R. Johnson, Cooke County; Mrs. C. H. Woodson, San Antonio; Miss J. Browning, Lampasas; Miss Della Scarborough, Abilene; Mrs. R. S. Thompson, Potter County.

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Personal

DEAN ELLEN SPENCER MUSSEY, whose birthday, May 13, fell upon the same day with two other famous women, Queen Victoria and Florence Nightingale, had a wonderful birthday party arranged for her by practically all of the women's organizations of the City of Washington. She had a cake with seventy candles. She was showered with honors and with congratulations from men and women in high places.

Among the numerous letters read was one from Justice William R. Day, of the U. S. Supreme Court and President of the Ohio Society, with congratulations on her honorable place "in the profession of law and along educational and patriotic lines." Mrs. Matthew T. Scott, Honorary President General D. A. R. read her own tribute to Mrs. Mussey.

Among the guests were men and women who had worked with Mrs. Mussey in official, educational and philanthropic work and who wished her a prolonged life of use and happiness.

Mrs. Mussey was born in Geneva, Ohio, May 13, 1850, and came to Washington in September, 1869, to take charge of what was then known as the Ladies' Department of the Spencian Business College. Though still in her teens she had made a reputation as an educator. In those days General Spinner, who had introduced women clerks into the Treasury Department, was wont to say "It is said that in less than two years more than a thousand women came under her instruction."

In June, 1871 she resigned to become the bride of General R. D. Mussey, a veteran of the Civil War and a member of the local bar. When her second son was two years old General Mussey was stricken with a lingering illness. Mrs. Mussey went into his office and studied law, practicing at the same time to support their family until her husband recovered. From that time she practiced law with him until his death in 1892.

Mrs. Mussey is known as the dean of women lawyers. She established the Washington College of Law in 1896, assisted by Miss Emma M. Gillett, and was dean of this institution for seventeen years, being the first woman to occupy such a position and to confer degrees in law.

Among the achievements of her long and valuable life are these:

She was largely instrumental in obtaining legislation which gave mothers the same rights as fathers over their children, and for giving married women control of their own earnings. She was appointed to the Washington Board of Education in 1906; she established an atypical school for defective children; she helped secure the passage of a teachers' retirement and pension bill; she was for twenty-five years attorney for the legislations of Sweden and Norway; she founded the Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia and is its honorary presi-

dent; she is chairman of the committee on the legal status of women in the National Council of Women.

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Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

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AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. L Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JUNE 19, 1920

No. 3

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JUNE 19, 1920

NUMBER 3

Into Which Parlor?

WHILE the National Republican Executive Committee and the National Republican Convention have been endorsing and urging the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, Delaware, a state with a Republican Legislature, has defeated ratification in the Lower House and the Governors of Vermont and Connecticut, both Republicans, with Republican Legislatures, persist in their refusal to call special sessions so that their states can ratify.

Worse still, in order not to hurt the feelings of those two governors, the urging to ratify, as put forward by the National Republican Executive Committee, pales into "earnestly hoping" in the convention platform plank on woman suffrage.

Thus is woman's entry into the electorate blocked on the threshold of final success, while the Republican band played at Chicago and Republican politicians were saying to the woman voter, "Will you walk into my parlor?" and Republican women, who are Republicans before they are women, are saying, "Do not think of what women can get from the party but what they can give." Heaven save the blurb!

Presently the scene will change. San Francisco will be the place. The time will be the last week of June. The National Democratic Executive Committee and the National Democratic Convention will be endorsing ratification. The Democratic band will be playing and the Democratic politicians will be saying, "Mine is the nicest little parlor ever you did spy. Do come in, ladies." And excessively Democratic women may be pointing out that it is woman's province to give not to get.

This week ratification has been defeated in both the Senate and Lower House of Louisiana. By July it may reach the North Carolina Legislature and be effervescing there. Good Democratic states both with Democratic governors and Democratic Legislatures.

Meantime women in general are standing around in an awful weariness, not unaware of the fact that there is no sign of a chair in either parlor.

To Set Your Mind at Rest

TO set your mind at rest, we reprint below a letter received by Miss Hay from Judge Hughes, who is the N. A. W. S. A.'s counsel, adding a further word of reassurance concerning the Supreme Court's decision as to the validity of referenda on federal amendments:

My dear Miss Hay:

I have received a copy of the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Hawke case, and I am glad to say that the newspaper reports of the decision are correct. The Supreme Court holds that no state has the power to provide for ratification of an amendment to the Federal Constitution in any other manner than that for which the Federal Constitution itself provides; that the term "Legislatures" in Article V of the Federal Constitution refers to the representative legislative body as known at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and that when an

amendment to the Federal Constitution has been duly proposed and has been ratified by a vote of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the states it is not subject to a referendum to the people in any of the states as a condition precedent to its validity. It follows that when the proposed Nineteenth Amendment shall have been ratified by the Legislatures of thirty-six states it will be effective and no proceedings for a referendum under the constitutions of any of the states will have any validity.

Very sincerely yours,

New York.

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

What Congress Did

CONGRESS has adjourned without passing the legislation asked for by the National League of Women Voters, the National Consumers' League and many other organizations, to curb the profiteering of the great meat-packers. It has referred the matter to the next Congress.

Many disgusted women are saying that this Congress has failed to do anything adequate to relieve the economic situation, either here or abroad, but has done several things which are likely to make conditions worse. This suggests Mary Twain's reply when asked to contribute to an orphan asylum:

"I am sorry not to be able to make you a financial contribution. At the first opportunity, however, I will send you a couple of orphans."

Many of the state Legislatures have disappointed the women equally. In Massachusetts, for instance, the maternity benefit bill was killed in the last days of the session.

For our encouragement, let us remember what Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt once said: "The material always whips out the moral in a short run. It is only in the long run that the moral can win."

Now is the time for women to question all the candidates for Congress, and learn from them definitely what they will undertake to do, if elected, in regard to the measures of most interest to women. So far as it depends on us, let us see that the next Congress shall be better than the last.

A. S. B.

The Alliance Will Continue

THE International Woman Suffrage Alliance will continue.

This was its decision on June 9, when it was decided to broaden the scope of the association and work for equal rights, political and civil, for the women and the men of all nations.

The amendment to Article II of the Constitution, which was adopted, reads:

"Resolved, That the object of the Alliance shall be in the future to secure enfranchisement of the women of all nations by the promotion of woman suffrage, and also such other reforms as are necessary to establish real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women."

The delegates declared their belief that the action would be

received happily by the Parliaments and men of all countries as well as by the women.

The irresistible pressure brought to bear upon Mrs. Catt prevailed over her decision to retire from the presidency and she was unanimously reelected.

Among the decisions made early in the day at the Congress was the adoption on June 9 of the "Woman's Charter." This was originally proposed by Dutch women and sent out early in the year by Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland. It was printed in its original form in the *Woman Citizen* of March 20. It includes equal rights, both political and civil, for men and women; equal guardianship of children; the right of a married woman to choose her own nationality; equal professional, educational and industrial advantages for women and men; adequate economic provision for the service of motherhood, abolition of white slave traffic, and extension of protection of the law against slavery in all countries, Europe, Asia and Africa, so as to include women.

When Mrs. Catt went to Europe, it was with a determination not to retain longer the presidency of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance which she has held for sixteen years. When this was known in Europe, delegates from many countries sent petitions to her requesting her to change her mind and continue as President.

On June 9, the American delegation went into executive session, Mrs. Stanley McCormick of Boston, chairman, and Mrs. Jacob Baur, secretary, and adopted a resolution urging Mrs. Catt to reconsider her refusal.

Mrs. McCormick said:

"If we give up the presidency the result will be that America practically will drop out of this international organization. I think it is high time the women of America assert themselves and take their proper place in international politics. The men of America are washing their hands of world affairs. It is for American women to place America in the position which is rightfully hers and which the men of America are allowing to slip out of their fingers.

"I am convinced this delegation of women has the international point of view. Let us therefore not shirk our clear duty; let us assume our responsibilities. We American women have the courage and ability to take a leading part in this international organization of women and to bring to it our own American ideals. We cannot afford to allow another nation to take the presidency or else we will drop out of this organization, just as we have dropped out of the League of Nations."

The women from the Latin countries seemed particularly keen about having America retain the presidency and assume a dominating position in the International Alliance.

Personalities at the Congress

LADY ASTOR was a magnet for all eyes as she stood on the platform and, in a frequently applauded speech, talked straight common sense to the women of thirty-one nations who were represented in this Congress.

She wore a black gown, severely plain, with a string of pearls its only ornament. Her lovely blond hair was coiffed low. She spoke as a woman member of the British House of Commons, and told how and why women, as legislators, could help the world. She said she was glad she had made her first parliamentary speech on the liquor question, "because every woman knows how much sorrow and suffering drink brings into the home." She expressed the opinion that women have a great responsibility to the world for humanitarian measures, and called upon women to make themselves fit for their new tasks.

Her attitude toward the war and League of Nations was equally sane.

The war, Lady Astor said, had made those who had been in it impatient of unrealities and "tired of pious opinions." She appealed to all nationalities "to try not to keep alive the bitterness of the past."

"War," she continued, "is a terrible wrong, but not necessarily the greatest wrong. I am not sure that slavery, oppression and intolerance are not even greater evils."

Discussing the League of Nations as one of the outstanding questions of the world, Lady Astor suggested: "Let us avoid talking cant about the League. The ideal is fine, but unless the peoples and nations are just toward each other the League is utterly useless." She declared that the League merely provided machinery which could help prevent wars.

She said that woman suffrage is a question of justice. Women, she concluded, must "see to it that their children are educated in such a way that they will not grow up with a materialistic view of life."

No figure at the Congress was more noticeable than that of Frau Marie Stritt, one of the three members of the city council of Dresden, and the official representative of the new Republic of Germany. She is the widow of Albert Stritt who sang operatic roles at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York as long ago as 1886. This is the first time that Frau Stritt has been outside of Germany since before the war. She said her heart trembled at the idea of meeting women of the Allied countries, but when she met Madame Schlumberger of France, Miss Crystal McMillan of Edinburgh and Mrs. Catt of America, at a board meeting, there was no reference to the past.

Frau Stritt reported that women in Germany are taking an active part in politics.

"Our national assembly," she continued, "has had thirty-nine women members. Besides, there are 155 women parliamentary members in Germany; that is, women belonging to parliaments of the various states comprising Germany."

Frau Stritt said the National Council of Women was making the political education of women its chief aim.

When asked about conditions in Dresden her face fell. It was plain she did not like to discuss the subject. She hesitated and then said, "Just about as bad as can be."

Against Those Who Are Against Suffrage

CONNECTICUT suffragists are redoubling efforts to bring Connecticut into the line of states ratifying the federal amendment even though Governor Holcomb has refused every request to call such a session, including that made by the forty-seven women representing as many states, and the one made by the Legislature itself.

The state Suffrage Association is out in the open to relate that it has rolled up its sleeves for the fall election campaign, with the intention of working against the party that has worked against suffrage. That party, they declare, is the Republican party. The statement adds that "we shall apply this policy logically, that is, we shall make specific exception of all those Republican candidates who are actively helping us, or will pledge themselves to help us."

"We now want to know unequivocally where every man in public life stands," says Miss Katharine Ludington, president of the Association. "We have been played with long enough. If a man is not actively for us he will be considered to be against us. We shall certainly do all in our power to oppose a candidate for Governor who does not announce himself in favor of immediate ratification of the suffrage amendment. This policy will apply to all candidates for state office. The turn for candidates for the Legislature will come later.

"This is what we mean to do: First, we shall find where every candidate for the state ticket stands. Second, we shall find whether he means to do anything that will really help us and do it immediately. We are tired of vague benevolence."

The full statement which gives the policy to be pursued by the Association follows:

"Republicans have had every chance given them to make good their promises and the implications of the resolution passed at the state convention. The resolution was good so far as it went and we do not question the good faith of the men who worked hard to put it through. But, the state convention endorsed and retained in power the group who are working hardest to keep the women out of the November election. Therefore, by their own official act they put the Republican party of the state back of this group in its fight on suffrage, and the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is therefore driven to adopt the policy created for it by the action of the convention—namely, to oppose in the coming campaign the party which is opposing them, that is, the Republican party of the state."

New Rights of German Women

AN interesting glimpse of political conditions in Europe is afforded by a letter which Miss Eva Channing of Boston has lately received from a prominent German woman. Her friend writes:

"As to the new rights of the German women,—we have decidedly gained by the revolution; but with the granting of unlimited suffrage not everything has been accomplished. The men have difficulty in accustoming themselves to grant the women sure positions on the voting lists, so that we have comparatively few women in the Parliaments. The lists for the candidates to the Reichstag are just being posted, and in the last few weeks, here in the local group of the Democratic party, to which I belong, we had a hard struggle to retain the place for a woman on the list, and I am in doubt whether our candidate will have any prospect of election.

"In May I am hoping to go on a speaking tour, to secure votes for the women's measures, but I do not know whether I shall be let off. I am myself a city representative. Here the men have become quite accustomed to our working with them; among 96 city representatives there are ten of us women, and, among these, three Democrats.

"My work is especially on the school committees. It is uncommonly interesting to have a glimpse of the inner life and government of a city like Frankfurt, in a time like the present; and though the individual can do little, I consider it a privilege to be in it.

"In the church the woman's cause is worse off. Not until today (April 24) has the General Synod granted full suffrage in church matters to the women. The majority of our clergy are strongly conservative, and against everything that the revolution has gained."

The reference to the unwillingness to grant women sure positions on the voting lists probably means that there, as here, a woman is less apt to be nominated where nomination is equivalent to election. Even in America we find that the Republicans are more ready to nominate women in districts where the Republican candidate has little chance of election; and it is just the same with the Democrats.

IN the next issue the first ten lessons of the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course as presented in the *Woman Citizen* will be reviewed and summarized, so that those who are following it may get the synthesis which is guiding its presentation.—ED.

Can He Do As He Pleases?

ON that historic date when the Vermont G. O. P. Convention told Governor Percival Clement that it was high time that he took the state out of the obstructionist class and set it along with its running mate, New Hampshire, among the progressive states of the Union which have ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment, General Leonard Wood, who was present, told Republican women some things they will not be slow to act upon. Indeed they are already so busy acting upon them as to surprise many politicians.

"My advice to American women," said General Wood, "is that they go into one of the regular parties, whichever one they believe in; and go in on equal terms with men. . . . If your party is bad, if it needs cleaning up, clean it up. . . . I believe that American women are going to level up our political machine. They are coming in with higher and cleaner ideals. They are going to stand for public and private morality. They are going to control and wipe out, I trust, organized, commercialized vice; and I hope they are going to take the men whom they dominate to the polls and make them vote.

"We have reason to be proud of the work American women did during the war. I do not know of any part of the country where American women did not take hold of the situation with keen energy. They have entered the political arena all over this nation, and they are going to play a very important part in it. They have been dreaming dreams and seeing visions and hoping to do certain things. Now they are going to have an opportunity to do them."

On the platform during this speech by his party leader, sat Governor Clement. He listened to General Wood, he listened to the voice of the party leaders of the state when they passed a resolution asking for a special session, and he listened to its overwhelming adoption with what the *Burlington Free Press* of the next day called "a quizzical expression of countenance which was eloquent in itself.

"He might now undoubtedly say, as he said when the Republican State Committee met at the instance of National Chairman Hays to secure the same result, that the party had made its record right and he could do as he pleased," continued the *Free Press*. "But so long as the Republican party is held responsible for his administration, this can hardly be regarded as the true situation. The sentiment for political justice for women among the delegates to yesterday's convention was plainly overwhelming. We believe the convention reflects the real desires of the great mass of the Republicans of Vermont as to this great issue."

Continuing the Women's Bureau

CONGRATULATIONS are in order to the National Women's Trade Union League and to the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, for achieving the appropriation of \$75,000, which will make the Women's Bureau a continuing boon.

This is an increase of \$35,000 over last year, although it is exactly half of the funds estimated by the Secretary of Labor as necessary. Numerous women's organizations had asked for the full amount recommended.

By the provisions of the Campbell-Kenyon bill the Women's Bureau has now become statutory and proof against points of order on its appropriation. This bill has passed both the House and the Senate. Therefore, the appropriation to protect the Women's Bureau from dissolution this year was included in the Sundry Civil Bill, where it went through various vicissitudes on points of order, but finally passed the Senate early in June.

Whatever Else We Lose, We Must Keep the Home

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

IS there any one of us who does not "talk shop"? Men talk of their business, the office, the mill, the bank, the farm, the ranch; and women talk of their business, which is, for almost all of us, the home.

As far back as we have any records women talked of their household affairs, and if they had any servants they talked of them.

Moreover they always complained of them.

Even in the long ago when servants were slaves, they were still the subjects of discussion and criticism.

They were praised for "faithfulness," called "treasures" if especially competent, and blamed without stint for their shortcomings.

Today there is a new note in our domestic discussions.

We talk neither of their good nor bad qualities, but of the difficulty of getting any.

The kind of worker known as a servant seems to be disappearing from the world.

This trouble has been growing on us for years.

We have fretted over increased wages, increased demands for privileges, and decreased competence.

Then came the great war, with all its manifold disturbances, and in spite of the numbers of women who were forced into industry, we are confronted with an increasing shortage of servants.

This is a most serious condition.

Our only alternatives, heretofore, have been for the wife and mother to do all the work of the house, assisted sometimes by other female relatives; or to have it done by servants.

The limits of the first method are absolute: If the work is all done by one woman we can never have a house larger and more elaborate than one woman can take care of.

And if a woman is expected to bear and rear children at the same time she is acting as maid-of-all-work, either the work or the children suffer—or both.

Fifteen-sixteenths of the families in America are under this handicap, which often results in complete breakdown for the too ambitious worker and too conscientious mother.

The other sixteenth of our twenty million families live in fine large houses which no one woman could "keep up."

Our homes are thus dependent on either the continuous labor of the wife or mother, or, as soon as they reach a certain standard of size and elegance, on servants.

LACK of servants therefore is a direct blow at our family life. It tends to postpone or prevent marriage; for the woman dreads the care and uncertainty of this continually more difficult struggle; and the man dreads the ever increasing expense and worry.

Whatever else we lose, we must keep the home.

Each family must have its separate home, a whole house wherever possible, and that home ought to be a place of rest and comfort to all of its inmates.

The effect of the war has been merely to accentuate and hasten certain causes already operating. We need not look for this to pass and for a return to older conditions.

The large plain fact confronting us is this: working women do not wish to be servants. Also this: the married woman is no longer willing to spend all her life doing housework.

"WHAT!" said Mrs. Gilman, "another article about the home? Surely we've had enough on that topic. Seems to me I can write 'home' articles with my eyes shut, and as if everybody knew, by this time, that housework must be professionalized."

But we assured her that there were still thousands of intelligent women who were unenlightened on this particular subject.—ED.

She still does it, when it is necessary, but there is not the old submission to the idea that that is woman's only business.

We begin to see that wifehood and motherhood are not the same thing as house service.

That it is the duty of the mother to make a home for her children is clear, but that this duty requires her to do the housework with her own hands is not so clear.

In our remote beginnings the woman was the only worker.

Because she was a mother, to meet the needs of her children, she invented all the first industries.

For long ages, while man was still only a hunter and fighter, woman was busy with basket-work, leather-work, needle-work, pottery, all the primitive trades. She is the mother of industry as well as the mother of mankind.

Then man took away one after another of these primitive industries and made a business of it, gave his life to it, developed it, and handed down to humanity a steadily improving art, trade, profession or handicraft.

The woman remained stationary in the home, holding for a long time the whole clothing industry, from shears to loom, from loom to finished garment.

BUT even that has gone from her, in recent times; we no longer spin and weave, we do not boast of our dresses as "home-made," there remain of the woman's early industries only the preparation and service of food, cleaning, mending and the care of children.

Even in that most feminine occupation we have seen nursing develop into a great profession and teaching into a greater.

This great social law of specialization in industry is now reaching after the woman in the home.

The emergence of women into specialized industry is so universal that while some fear and some welcome it, no one can deny it.

What we fear is loss of womanliness, loss of motherliness, loss to the home.

Housework has been so long done by women that we have unconsciously assumed it to be a feminine function.

Spinning, for instance, was so absolutely feminine once that we still speak of the unmarried woman as a "spinster."

But the great mills that now spin for us take no account of sex in their spinners. Spinning is seen to be a human occupation, not a function of women.

Anyone who has ever enjoyed the service of a competent Chinaman knows how well housework can be done by a man.

Any work that is done in a house is, for the time being, housework; but no work is essential to a house, except keeping it clean and in good repair.

THE social law which inevitably leads to specialization in industry is twofold. On the one hand, it is nature's inexorable economy; it is far cheaper to have work done by a few than by a great many. On the other, is the great basic law of improvement; work is done better by one specially trained and practiced than by an amateur.

Women have special talents, just as men do.

As women they should all, if normal, be wives and mothers, but as workers each should do the work she likes best and can therefore do best. This is not from any reasons of self-indulgence or self-expression, but for social service. We each owe our best service to the others.

Here is where social evolution has us in its grip, whether we approve or not.

The women of our time are torn between the universal duty of motherhood, and the special duty of each human being to do his or her best work in the world.

It is not the work of cooking, washing, cleaning and so on, which makes houseworkers so hard to get, it is the "status."

This is hard for us to understand.

We know the labor is lighter and the conditions better than in many other kinds of employment, and yet the girls prefer hard work, long hours, and less pay to a comfortable berth in our kitchens.

But ask any man with a trade or profession if he would as soon be a private physician to one man as to have his own "practice," or to be a private coachman as well as to keep a livery stable.

It is the same with these women. What they do not like is the position of a personal servant.

THIS feeling is not wrong. It shows social advancement. Would any of us who are so desirous of hiring servants be willing to be one? Or to have our daughters choose that occupation?

We try to meet this difficulty in two ways; one the attempt to provide training schools for servants, that they may be more competent and "take a pride in their work," the other in a pathetic effort to "elevate domestic service."

We exhort the servants to feel differently and the employers to behave differently; we seek to alter the names used, the costume required, the accommodations offered; but we refuse to face the real and irremovable difficulty, the objection to personal service.

It is not hard to understand. Each of us has the feeling. Nothing but compulsion, slavery or economic pressure, will force women to be servants. And today they can earn their livings in other ways.

We so love and honor the home, and the home has for so long depended on servants, either a paid servant or a married one, that it is really hard for us to see that there can be any alteration in the methods of housekeeping without injury to the home itself.

As is always the case we accept previous changes with complacency but fear anything further.

But if father, mother and child continue to live in a private house, if that house is kept clean, comfortable and sanitary, if we enjoy good food at our own tables, why should it so greatly matter to us if the service comes in by the hour, and the food is brought to us cooked instead of raw?

WE need not dread any sudden sweeping change, affecting every one at once; the large cities are already seeing the first steps of professional house-service, smaller ones come next, and so on to the town and village; the farm comes last, because of its isolation. It is not the work of a moment, but it is moving steadily on, and our shortage of servants is one of the proofs.

Let us face our historic change more bravely and clear-sightedly than our ancestors did.

The people of today are able to help in social evolution if they will. What is difficult and perplexing for us we may make

easy for our children. Is there any mother who does not dread for her daughter what we call "the struggle with servants"?

Our struggle is to hold back a class of workers engaged in industrial progress. They are emerging from the status of personal service to that of professional service. Professional service is going to furnish us with better homes, not worse.

Let us try to anticipate events and study the home of the future.

EACH growing girl will look forward to her twofold work in the world; first and always that of the mother, her contribution as a female; second, her special kind of industry, whatever it may be, her contribution as a human being.

Some will specialize in this all-important business of feeding the people and keeping them clean and healthy. For such work we need brains, education and experience.

What little we know about dietetics we have learned, not from servants, but from professionals. The general food-standard of the world is very low.

Those of us who live to grow up become used to the kind of food we were "raised on," and continue to eat that kind if we can get it. But any intelligent physician or hygienist will tell us how widespread are the diseases that come from improper food habits.

We cater to the tastes of our dear ones as best we may, but it is very hard to persuade John to eat what is good for him in place of what he has been accustomed to, even if his wife knows the difference.

The mechanical details of this coming change are already shown in our great cities. In New York, for instance, a group of far-seeing capitalists and executives have organized a "Cooked Food Service," which caters to the needs of many families. In Evanston, Ill., one of Chicago's most progressive suburban towns, there is another, called "The Aladdin Community Kitchen." In England, during the war and still successfully continuing, are many kinds of cooked food services—some for the poor, who carry it home, and some for wealthier flat-dwellers, to whom it goes up on dumb-waiters.

The first steps of such a change in long-loved habit as this are necessarily slow, difficult and often unsatisfactory, but the steadily increasing numbers and success of these undertakings show that they have come to stay.

WHEN the cooked food industry is fully transferred from the private cook-shop we call a kitchen to the food laboratory, see what we shall save.

In labor about 90 per cent. Where now a hundred families require a hundred cooks in a hundred kitchens, ten cooks in the space of ten kitchens, with a tenth of the fuel and light, could do the same work and do it better. See how it counts up; 90 per cent of the labor, 90 per cent of the "plant," 90 per cent of the fuel; that means a tremendous saving in money. But that is not all, for there follows all the immense saving of buying at wholesale instead of retail prices, and another economy in the collection of garbage and ashes.

There would come to our doors three times a day, a motor delivering the neat "container" with its insets of hot and cold dishes as ordered, in place of the milk-man, the iceman, the baker, the grocer, the meat-man, the fish-man, the ash-man, the garbage-man, etc.

This would mean a great reduction of horses, and with the absence of horse-litter and garbage cans we should at last be able to combat that real terror of modern life, the kitchen fly. We call it the house fly, but it is mainly a by-product of the kitchen.

The remaining work of keeping a kitchenless house clean could easily be done by trained workers by the hour, also coming by

motor and going through the house in pairs for swifter service. This too is already done in cities, but is at present expensive.

ALMOST everyone sees the need of a higher class of labor to carry on this most important work of proper feeding for mankind, but few are willing to see that the grade of worker we need can not be secured in sufficient numbers to provide one for each family.

We seek to found training schools for servants, but why should they go to them, even if tuition is free, when they can command good wages without training?

We seek to train the schoolgirl for this work, forgetting that women are not all alike. They can no more all do well in the same trade than men could.

The health of the mother is of high importance to the race, but most mothers live under a heavy strain from having to combine the work of childbearing with that of the cook and chambermaid.

None but mothers could do as well as we have done under this unsuitable combination. Suppose a widower wished to engage a tutor for his little boys, would he expect him also to serve as cook, butler, footman, coachman and gardener?

No man can do his best as "Jack of all trades and master of none," and the woman only does it up to a very irregular standard and at great personal sacrifice.

Expert investigation has shown that industrial loss from what are called "faulty assignments" among men costs us \$20,000,000 a day. "Everywhere we find men working on the wrong jobs" they say. "Not fifty per cent of the people in the United States really find themselves."

More than this proportion is thus misplaced among women; because they have had far less chance to develop their special talents.

Any legitimate change which will not detract from the privacy and comfort of the home, yet which will allow of each woman's doing the work she is best fitted for, will do much to improve the health of our women, and the happiness of the family.

The young mother who wishes to devote all her time to the care of her little ones will be enabled to do so when the mere hand labor of the house is done by skilled professionals, and the care of it consists only in the selection of suitable service and the ordering of meals and other supplies.

Those whose children are grown, and we are apt to forget that children are the most transient of charges; those who have missed the blessing of motherhood, or who prefer assistance in this work and are themselves more competent in other lines; and all the single women, now more numerous after the losses of the war, all these may be free to do social service in such trade or profession as they are best fitted for.

THIS gift to the world of the unused talents of women will add greatly to our wealth and progress. As much intellect, talent and genius is given to women as to men, and in as many varieties.

Their own special work, the care and teaching of children, the maintenance of health and happiness in the family, they can do far better when it is seen as world service instead of house-service.

Here is where we need a nobler spirit in facing our present household difficulties. These fall privately on each family, but they are not private conditions which make the trouble, but social ones.

Our feeling in studying them should be, not "How can I im-

prove matters for my own family alone?" but "How can I help solve these problems for the community?"

Everywhere are women complaining of their domestic troubles, and anxiously seeking for some better service for themselves; almost nowhere are women bringing their intellect and goodwill, their money and energy, to bear on the question of "How can we provide better service for the homes of our town?"

The demands for social service made by the war were nobly met by our women. They were tireless and competent. No effort, no sacrifice was too great to make in the service of the country—in war.

Yet that service in peace is just as important, though less exciting. The women who shall gradually succeed in establishing a perfect laundry service, food service or housecleaning service in their town will be deserving of all the medals and decorations ever bestowed on warriors.

Have not our long ages of private amateur house-service fitted some few of us to manage competently some branch of it as a business?

Are there not noble-spirited women who would be proud and glad to help lift this great burden of care, labor, uncertainty and expense from the struggling over-worked mother, and transfer it to the shoulders of the competent professional?

IT is a woman's duty, undeniably woman's duty, to see to it that this work is done, but her methods should be as open to change and improvement as those of man.

He has become the hundred-fold specialist, giving his family the services of all the skilled labor in the world, in art, handicraft, trade and profession.

In this wide growth he has not only benefitted his children by the work of hand and brain, but by the transmission of developed power. Can we suppose that our children would be what they are if all their fathers had followed one primitive trade, each alone in his own house?

The enlargement of women's powers will be registered in her children as well as in her work.

We must look across the morass of our present difficulties to the solid ground of world advance.

Behind us stretch the long ages of hand work in the home.

Recently behind us are the transition years of the encroachments of shop and mill on what was domestic industry.

Today we are beginning to emerge into a period of professional service in every kind of work.

The cook of the past was mother, from the toiling squaw to the proud and competent housewife of our grandmother's day.

The cook of the present is a servant—if we can afford it, and also if we can get one!

The cook of the future already upon us will be a highly-educated well-paid professional, in collaboration with dietitians and experienced buyers, providing for us food of a better quality than we have had before, at far less cost.

The whole art and science of food production will be lifted in such hands, and the health of the people with it.

Motherhood, freed from its long bondage to house-work, will improve also in its general standards of child culture.

And as for wifedom, the man may see a blessing approaching, no longer the weary "house-wife" but a happy and vigorous "man's-wife."

Why should a woman marry a house?

She should marry a man, be the mother of children, and see to it that her share of the world's work is done at the same level of social evolution as the rest of our industries—if not a higher one.

Why It Is a Good Thing for Women to Be in Politics

WASHINGTON, June 7.—The news that the Senate Committee on Public Health, of which Senator France of Maryland is Chairman, has unanimously reported in favor of the Sheppard-Towner Bill for the Protection of Maternity and Infancy is giving the greatest possible satisfaction to the members of the National League of Women Voters. The bill is the direct result of the studies made by the Federal Children's Bureau into the causes and extent of infant mortality in the United States and provides for Federal aid to the states in furthering infant welfare work, prenatal care and instruction to mothers and prospective mothers. It is to be administered by a Federal Board, the executive officer of which is to be the Chief of the Children's Bureau.

It is the dawning of a new day when a Senate Committee in reporting a bill to the Senate makes two such statements as the following, quoted from the Senate report:

"Heretofore Congress has appropriated large sums for hogs and cattle. It is not because men think more of hogs and cattle than they do of babies that they vote \$47,000,000 for them and nothing for the little ones, but because they have been thinking of the father's end of the problem. They have not seen that there was another side to the problem that was just as much the public business, namely, right conditions surrounding mothers and babies at home. Mothers will always think of the baby first. They are made that way; that is why it is a good thing for women to be in politics at this particular stage of the world's history, when conservation of life is so important."

"It has been said that the 23,000 mothers who died from causes connected with childbirth in 1915 and the 250,000 infants comprised a total casualty list that is as large as our total casualty list during the war. Congress should not be passive in the face of this great loss, not only economic but social and moral as well. We believe that the United States should be pulled up from its present ignominious position as a squanderer of mothers and babies. We heartily recommend the prompt passage of this bill."

IN the middle of last week it became evident to the Senate supporters of the packer legislation (Gronna Bill) that action was impossible before adjournment if the appropriation bills were to be passed, but the pressure for action from the outside was so great that on May 28th an agreement was entered into whereby at 2 o'clock on the 5th day of June the Gronna Bill was to become the unfinished business of the Senate. This means that if the Senate meets during the summer or in the fall the packer bill will be the first under consideration. From the House side it is learned that the re-drafted Anderson Bill will not be reported from the House Agriculture Committee before adjournment. The following members of the Committee were in favor of reporting the bill out this session: Congressmen Haugen of Iowa, Anderson of Minnesota, Tinch of Kansas, Voight of Wisconsin, McLaughlin of Nebraska and Rubey of Missouri.

On June 1st, the bill to establish a Woman's Bureau in the department of Labor was passed.

One of the most important pieces of legislation now before Congress in the interests of Government workers is the Johnson-Nolan Bill to provide a minimum wage of \$3 a day or \$1,080 a year for all Government employees. The principle embodied in this bill was endorsed by the National League of Women Voters in February as a part of the Women in Industry program. Last July the Nolan Bill was passed by the House, and last week by the Senate. Next day Senator Thomas moved to reconsider the vote and finally the bill was defeated as a result of a filibuster led by Senator Underwood of Alabama and assisted by Senators Dial of South Carolina, King of Utah, and Hoke Smith of Georgia.

The Sterling-Lehlbach Retirement Bill providing a system for

superannuated public employees was passed by the House and Senate and has now been signed by the President. The principle of retirement legislation was endorsed as a part of the program of the Women in Industry Committee and will pave the way for the proposed reclassification of civil service employees which will be presented to Congress during the second session. The passage of the retirement bill marks the end of a long struggle and the beginning of a program for greater efficiency in our governmental machinery.

On Saturday, June 5th, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the Board of the National League of Women Voters, left for Chicago to attend the Republican National Convention, where she will be joined by the other members of the Board. Mrs. Park has been in Washington during the month of May and has presented personally the Woman's Platform to the important political leaders of both parties in Washington. At her direction, copies of the platform have been mailed to every delegate to both conventions, and in Chicago, the Board of the National League of Women Voters will request a hearing before the platform committee of the Republican party to explain the planks.

Although the Suffrage Amendment has not yet been ratified, it is estimated that more than 16,000,000 women will be voting for President in the fall, and this vote will play an important part in determining the victory at the elections. Public opinion has undergone radical changes since the last election, and it is predicted by the officers of the League of Women Voters who are closely in touch with the political situation, that women will not be satisfied with declarations of issues which are not at present close to their hearts, but demand those which they believe fundamental. The proposed planks cover such subjects as Child Welfare, Education, The Home and High Prices, Women in Gainful Occupations, Public Health and Morals, and Independent Citizenship for Married Women, which in the opinion of the Board are fundamental issues.

Mrs. Park Speaks

CHICAGO, June 12.

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS has made its presence felt at the National Republican Convention by earnest demands which were made at committee hearings by eloquent speakers. On the night of June 9, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, national chairman, in a brief and forceful speech reminded the committeemen assembled for the League hearing what the League was, how significant its planks were, and how mighty the extension of suffrage to women was. This was the fashion in which Mrs. Park put the case for the League to the Committee on Resolutions:

The magnitude of the approaching extension of suffrage to women is as yet little understood. At the present time there are approximately 16,000,000 women of voting age in states where women are eligible to vote in the next national election. About three-fourths of this number, i. e., between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000, are in states which have granted presidential suffrage to women since 1916. These women are likely to be making their party affiliations for the first time.

The total number of women of voting age in the United States is estimated at 27,000,000. Between three and four million of them are in states where women voted in 1916. Therefore about 23,000,000 new voters will be possible when the 36th state ratifies the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

This is the largest extension of suffrage that has ever been made at one time by any organized and orderly government. Revolutionary China and revolutionary Russia attempted to enfranchise a greater number of persons but their attempts were

nullified by counter revolutions. In the United States no one doubts that the extension of suffrage to women will be permanent. For that reason the importance of the woman's vote in the next national election can scarcely be over-estimated.

The great significance of the planks presented by the National League of Women Voters lies in the fact that they have to do with matters in which women are admittedly experts—matters in which their experience as mothers, as home-makers and as wage earners has given them a distinctive point of view. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw used to say: "Men know more about some things and women know more about other things, but men and women together know all that is known about anything." It is precisely these things about which women know more than men that are included in the requests which we shall make today.

Since the planks represent primarily the woman's point of view, it follows that they do not contain requests that are in any sense radical or revolutionary. Women, who are recognized as a great stabilizing force in the community, want chiefly from Government those things which make the community, the state, and the nation safe for children to be brought up in. Child welfare, Education, Home and High Prices, Women in Gainful Occupations, Public Health and Morals, Independent Citizenship for Married Women—these are matters in connection with which women, as a rule, are more directly interested and more active than men.

Rather late in our history these matters are coming to be recognized as concerns not only of the individual home, but of the national home which the federal government controls. Rather late and rather reluctantly, legislators have begun to make provision for the special needs of women and children; but as yet these provisions are so few and so inadequate that the only two bureaus in the federal government which are devoted exclusively to the special interest of women and children—the Woman's Bureau and the Children's Bureau, both in the Department of Labor, have received in the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, according to statistics recently compiled by the Bureau of Standards, only $5\frac{1}{2}$ thousandths of one per cent of the total appropriations made by the Congress for this year. It serves to show how great is the need for such measures as we present and how keen must be the anxiety of the women to have them included in the party platforms.

This generation has lived through the most tremendous events of war history that the world has ever known. As you listen to the speakers today, I ask you to bear in mind that you are taking part in an event which is in a sense a turning point in the history of peace.

For the first time women as potential voters throughout this wide land present to the resolutions committees of political parties the measures which represent the abiding desire and hope of women that the Government of our Nation will not shirk its duty to make this country a place in which every child may have a fair chance, every man and woman an opportunity to share in the upbuilding of a righteous and noble future for the generations that are to come.*

MR. GEORGE GELLHORN, of St. Louis, Vice-Chairman of the League, spoke on the plank relating to "Home and High Prices," and she spoke with knowledge gained as chairman of the Missouri food conservation committee during the war. Appearing in behalf of the plank to promote the welfare of millions of women engaged in gainful occupation, was Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania.

Planks which deal with public health and morals and independent citizenship for married women were presented by Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of New York, who has been actively interested in these problems through her official position in connection with the United War Work Council.

The Child Welfare plan, which relates to the protection and development of children; also the plank on education advocating Federal aid for an improved educational system, were offered by Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Indiana.

FROM Chicago Mrs. Park and the other members of the League's national board are headed toward the Democratic

convention in San Francisco, the two weeks between conventions giving an opportunity not to be missed for the board members to stop at points west and further interest in the League en route.

First Regional Meeting

THE first regional meeting of the League to be held anywhere in the United States was the meeting of the states in the Sixth Region at Omaha, Nebraska, June 13th, 14th and 15th, presided over by Mrs. George Gellhorn, of St. Louis, chairman of the sixth region and vice-chairman of the National League.

It will be remembered that when the League was organized in Chicago last February, the Board was ordered to hold Board Meetings and conferences in each of the seven regions of states with the idea that the National Board and the State League of Women Voters needed to keep in close touch during the year and that it could best be done by personal contact. The work of the League is both educational and legislative and while the congressional end, carried on through the Washington Headquarters, 918 Munsey Bldg., is important and heavy, the state legislative end of the work will be increasingly important from now on.

The educational branch of the work, in the form of Citizenship Schools, has been conducted from St. Louis under Mrs. Gellhorn, who is chairman of the Organization and Citizenship Schools' Department, thus practically providing western headquarters for this most active work of the organization.

This first meeting was notable because of the annual convention of the Nebraska Suffrage Association, which was held in connection with the national conference. Mrs. Charles H. Dietrich, of Hastings, Nebr., the state president, presided at this convention, and the Nebraska organization disbanded and reorganized as the nucleus of a Nebraska League of Women Voters, in pursuance of the national plan.

Interested visitors at the conference and the Nebraska convention were the state presidents and delegates comprising the Sixth Region: Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri.

The Golden Prairie Biennial

THE official program of the Golden Prairie Biennial, now in session in Des Moines, Iowa, shows the large and varied interests of the Federation of Women's Clubs.

On June 16th, the Convention was formally opened at the State House, in the rotunda of which the Local Biennial Board entertained the General Federation officers, delegates and visitors with a reception.

The business sessions of the Biennial began in the Coliseum on Thursday morning, and will continue through the 22nd. "The Festival of Corn," a pageant prepared by Des Moines women, will end an exceedingly full program.

The scheme for the Biennial, as laid out, seems like a huge plant going at full speed and spread over acres of territory. Committees are widely spread over the city, with headquarters in club houses, hotels, State Fair grounds, public library and Y. M. C. A.

At the formal opening in the State Capitol, Hon. W. L. Harding, Governor of Iowa, was one of the speakers. Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles, the president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, also spoke.

Among suffrage leaders who are scheduled on this abundant program is Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, a past president of the Federation, now Chairman of the Child Welfare Department of the League of Women Voters, who is to address the Community Service mass meeting.

* An analysis of the attention given the planks of the women's platform by the Republican convention will appear in the next issue.

The Benchers and the Woman

FOUR women's names were among those reported as successful in the recent examinations of students of the Inns of Court held by the British Council of Legal Education.

Of these four, one passed second class in constitutional law, two obtained a third class in constitutional law and real property and one a third class in criminal law.

These women were Miss M. A. G. Cobb, Miss O. C. Clapham, Miss A. Doherty and Miss C. G. Bruce, all of whom were students from the Middle Temple.

This is in reality one of the first fruits of the passage of the Sex Disqualification Removal Bill, that is, as it relates to the woman barrister. By the terms of this bill passed November 26, 1919, all branches of the legal and other professions were opened to women.

On the day after that on which this bill received royal assent, the benchers decided to accept the application of Mrs. Gwyneth Marjory Thomson as a student of Lincoln's Inn with a view to her being called to the bar.

More than seven years ago Mrs. Thomson, who was then Miss Bebb, began her fight for recognition and admission to the bar. She with three other women brought a case against the Law Society, in which Lord Robert Cecil was one of her defenders. In 1913 the case was decided against her, although she had just been graduated from Oxford University with a "first" in Jurisprudence.

At the same time Miss Helena Normanton, who had applied in 1917 for admission to the Middle Temple, but who had been refused on the grounds of sex and obliged to await the passage of the Sex Disqualification Act, was finally admitted by the benchers.

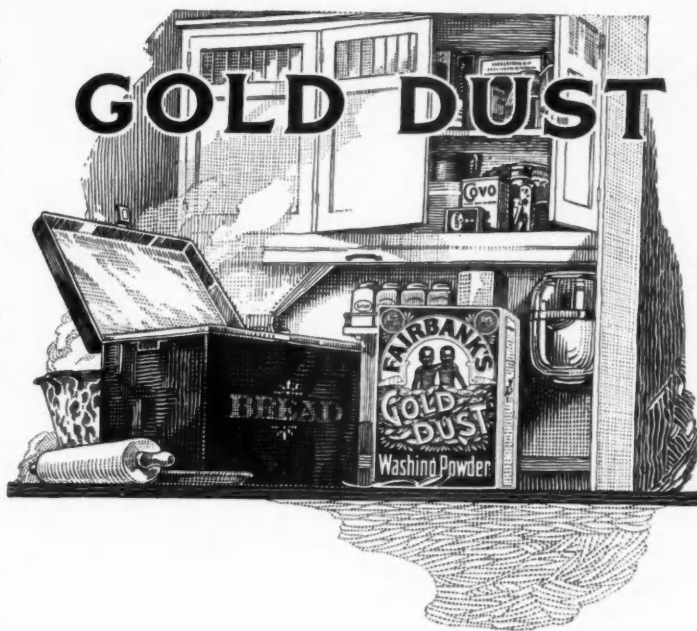
On January 13, 1920, the Middle Temple Hall saw an historic scene when Miss Normanton and three other women students for the first time "dined in Hall." One of the necessary formalities of entering the British bar is the obligation to eat a certain number of dinners in the Middle Temple Hall. The occasion in January is said to have been the first when any woman has been permitted in the hall during dinner since the day when Queen Elizabeth visited it to see the first performance of "Twelfth Night."

MISS NORMANTON gives the following personal account of her own long fight to win a place among British barristers:

"At about the age of 19 I first thought of becoming a barrister. I realized, however, that my ambition could never be realized until women were enfranchised. I therefore took a keen interest in the suffrage movement, and did a great deal of public speaking in connection with it. As soon as the vote was won, I immediately applied for admission as a law student to the Middle Temple. My application was rejected.

"The next step was a difficult one. I looked into all the old documents to try and find a precedent and found that the Lord Chancellor has a visiting jurisdiction over the four Inns of Court, and that anyone who has been refused admission has a right of appeal to him. The next thing I did was to draft, very carefully, a request to the Lord Chancellor asking for a right to appeal. The position, therefore, was this: that either the case would have to come to a public trial or something would have to be done.

"My appeal having been lodged, the Benchers, who are the authority with whom the decision rests, intimated that while they had no objection personally to my admission the law did not permit it. This decision rested on the old common law of the country, and while there is no proof that women have never been admitted to the law, there is equally no evidence to show that



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they ever have been. The Benchers, therefore, declined to admit me until there was a definite law on the subject.

"Obviously if the case had come to trial the whole feeling of the country would have been on my side, and the Benchers would have been placed in a very invidious position."

Miss Normanton's sponsors were Mr. Wells Thatcher, a well known practitioner in the criminal and divorce courts, whose vast experience has shown him the need for women lawyers, and Lord Robert Cecil, known as a champion of woman's rights.

France's Need

THE appointment of M. Justin Godart of the French Chamber of Deputies as official representative of the French Government at the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Geneva was another index finger pointing to the need of the vote by French women.

Although M. Godart was an acceptable candidate, his appointment, as explained by M. Godart himself, was due to the fact that even now after the heroic work of French women in the war, there is no equal representation of men and women in that country.

"We have no women whatever in politics in France, and the selection of a member of the Chamber proves the importance of the Congress in Premier Millerand's mind.

"The inclination of the present government is for giving the women of France the vote. We feel that though many do not want it the country would be helped thereby."

M. Godart's main message to the Congress was the need of women's help to form a powerful organization of the society of nations to prevent wars.

"Women know only too well," he said, "the abominable catastrophe of war. They suffer more even than the men. I am certain we can count on them to help us build a society of nations, but they can be of little help unless they have the right to vote. I do not think that women will follow political factions very closely or take part in reversals of cabinets.

"I believe, however, that women's influence always will be for peace and against war. Had we had their participation in European politics heretofore it is almost safe to say the abominable catastrophe of the great war would have been averted."

The Washington College of Law

THE Washington College of Law is seeking to do for young women what every special and general college does for its young men. It wants to endow a scholarship to aid girl law-students who need help, and it seeks, in doing this, to perpetuate the name of Belva A. Lockwood, who procured the legislation necessary to admit women as practicing attorneys in the District of Columbia and the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is proposed to establish a Belva A. Lockwood Scholarship in the Washington College of Law. This college, while always co-educational, was established in 1896, primarily for women because at that time all the white law schools excluded women. It has always had a woman dean and the faculty is composed of both men and women, all of whom have given their services at great personal sacrifice because of their desire to promote legal education. After many years in inadequate rented quarters it is, through the business foresight of the present Dean, able to purchase a suitable permanent home at 1315 K Street, which will cost, with necessary repairs, \$25,000. Through the generosity of friends it has made the first payment of \$7,000. Whatever is contributed for the Lockwood Scholarship will be put into this permanent building fund and draw 6 per cent per annum, which income will be applied on the tuition of the Belva A. Lockwood pupil.

At the Methodist Conference

AT the Methodist Episcopal General Conference, two acts, respectful of women, were passed by that body. One was a courtesy shown to a lay woman, Mrs. Thomas B. Hughes, "one of the elect women of American Methodism, a woman well versed in the history, policy and personnel of the Church; one who for years shared with her revered husband the experiences of itinerant Methodism."

A resolution acknowledging her services was passed with a request that her son, a bishop of the Church, should escort his mother to the platform and present her to the entire Conference.

On the same day the General Conference passed the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Itinerary:

"Whereas, Today the principle of equality of opportunity, for women is being recognized in all fields of activity; and

"Whereas, This General Conference has gone on record as urging political equality for women by requesting the Delaware House of Representatives to sign the Susan B. Anthony amendment; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the General Conference approve ecclesiastical equality for women, that it remove all restrictions and limitations upon women in the service of the church, and that it instruct the proper committee to make any changes in the discipline necessary to accomplish this end."

Vox Dei But Not Often

THE Presbyterian General Assembly is now about to have a referendum vote as to whether women shall become ruling elders, the highest spiritual officers in the church, after the clergy. Presbyteries are to have a year in which to consider the question and vote as to whether they wish the constitution of the church amended so as to admit "properly qualified and elected women to ordination as ruling elders, with all the rights and duties pertaining to this office." As women are not usually delegates to presbytery, this question will not be settled by the people, but by males, unless the presbyteries turn the matter over to church meetings to be settled by a democratic vote.

The rest of the findings of the Church Committee on the question of women's status are doubtless the most naïve in history. The committee makes the concession to modernity that it can find no place in Scripture which forbids a woman to be either an elder or a preacher.

It even acknowledges, with a sort of pained incredulity, that the voice of God might call some women to preach, and if that happened "it would not be seemly for the man to say her nay." But it rather implies that for any really right-minded woman to turn a too ready ear such a call would be impossible, and that it would undoubtedly be in better taste for the Lord to call a man.

At any rate, there is no overwhelming demand on the part of women to preach, says the committee, and as in other churches where women are permitted to preach, their pastorates are mostly in small fields; the Presbyterians are "on the whole unfavorable to women in the ministry."

It is in the last clauses that the greatest naiveté is shown. To any one familiar with the countless and continuous efforts of Presbyterian, as of other churches, to round up men candidates for the ministry, this excuse that "few women have availed themselves of the privilege" is of all the reasons for refusal the feeblest. Young men are urged to preach, special scholarships are provided for them in theological schools, at stated intervals boards send out speakers to gather in recruits, while nothing but the most grudging reception has ever yet been offered to women even in churches which endure their services.

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the licensing of Mrs. William A. Chapman to preach was treated with stern displeasure. Mr. Robert C. Hallock of the Presbytery of Chemung, New York, had licensed Mrs. Chapman, but his act was accounted "irregular, unconstitutional and unscriptural," and was laid before the Judicial Commission of the New York Synod, which directed that her license be rescinded. This decision was not based upon any count but that of its irregularity. The Church has now acknowledged that it is not unscriptural for women to preach, therefore it could not adduce this as a reason for rejecting Mrs. Chapman.

Here was a woman who heard a call. It was up to the Church to make her vocation constitutional. It has rejected her, and in rejecting her, by its own conclusions, it has rejected a call of God.

From the Lady Commissioner

I HAVE read with interest an article in your issue of May 29 on "Civil Service Laws and Women." I feel that a few words of explanation of the powers of this commission in the examination and certification of women for appointment might be of interest to you.

The law controlling the matter was passed by Congress in 1870, thirteen years before the Federal Civil Service Statute went into effect. This law is:

"Sec. 165. Women may, in the discretion of the head of any department, be appointed to any of the clerkships therein authorized by law, upon the same requisites and conditions, and with the same compensation, as are prescribed for men."

Neither the Civil Service Act nor any later legislation has impaired the discretion thus given to the head of a Department.

The Civil Service Rules from 1883 to the present time have provided that certification shall be without regard to sex, unless sex is specified in the request from the Department. Women are admitted to all examinations, subject as to certification to the legal right of the appointing officer to specify sex. On many occasions, orally and by letter, this office has urged upon appointing officers that they do not specify males in requesting an examination or a certification, but permit the Commission to send the names of the competitors who have passed highest. The following quotation from a circular letter of 1902 issued by the Commission to heads of departments and offices will show the general tone of these pleas:

"The commission has the honor to invite your attention to the fact that there are upon its registers of eligibles the names of women who have attained high averages in civil service examinations, and the services of these women are lost to the Government by reason of the practice, which has become quite general among appointing officers, of specifying in their requests for certification of eligibles to fill vacancies, that males are desired.

"Nearly all vacancies in clerical grades not filled by transfer or reinstatement are being filled in response to calls for male eligibles from registers of persons having special or technical qualifications.

"During the past three or four years from some of these registers many male eligibles who made comparatively low averages have received appointment, while at the same time the stenography and typewriting and some other special registers have been abundantly supplied with female eligibles having high averages; but, owing to the distinction as to sex made in the requisitions for certification, the names of these women remain upon the registers without opportunity for certification until the period of eligibility has expired.

"At the present time the male stenography and typewriting register is almost exhausted; while on the corresponding female register there are more than 80 eligibles with averages ranging as high as 91.53.

"The Commission recognizes the authority of appointing

officers, under Section 165 R. S., and the Rules, to specify in the requisition the sex desired, and is not inclined to urge any action that would not promote the efficiency of any branch of the service. The occasion seems favorable, however, in the present depleted condition of the register of male eligibles, to invite attention to the registers of females, and the suggestion is made that, in all cases in which there seems to be no vital reason for choice as to sex except the mere matter of personal preference, requisitions be made for the certification of those standing highest on the list without other limitations."

The ratio of women to men in the service is an increasing one. So far as the Federal Commission has the power it has used every reasonable effort to secure applicants, without regard to their sex, admission to all examinations and the consideration warranted by the rate obtained in examination.

While there is material in our annual reports, minutes, and letters, and in verbal testimony, for a much longer discussion and elaboration of this phase of our work, I think the foregoing covers the matter in a general way.

HELEN H. GARDENER.
Commissioner.

Washington, D. C.



When Brahmin and "Untouchable" Walk Hand-in-Hand

IN Bombay, women of all classes are taking a leaf from their Anglo-Saxon sisters' book; they are joining in street parades as a protest against the discrimination practised in the municipality of Poona with regard to the education of girls. It is true that education for boys is not moving with any lightning-like speed, but wherever there is any forward movement at all it is always much more strongly supported for boys than for girls.

In striking illustration of popular sentiment are the journalistic comments on the courage of these women paraders. The *Modern Review* of Calcutta says:

"The women of Poona have set a noble and courageous example by marching in procession 2,000 strong to the Municipal Office, carrying banners and singing songs, to demand universal education for girls. One motto was particularly striking. It declared that the putting off of girls' education by three years would mean putting off Home Rule for thirty years. It was particularly noticeable that caste was ignored in the procession. High caste Brahmin women and 'untouchables' (women ranked according to Hindu rules as being below all caste) walked in the procession hand in hand."

"One of the most encouraging signs in the development of Indian political life is the participation of women in public work," says *Young India* for June. "We hear from all sources that women constitute a very considerable number in audiences at public meetings, and take part in discussions of current topics and the passage of resolutions, to a larger extent than ever before. At a recent Punjab Provincial Conference there were over 2,000 women delegates out of a total number of 10,000. A resolution was presented demanding women's franchise and was adopted unanimously."

In the same number of *Young India* appears the following poem by Sarojini Naidu, a high caste Hindu woman, one of the delegates to the International Woman Suffrage Congress at Geneva:

"Springtime, O Springtime, what is your essence,
The lilt of a bulbul, the laugh of a rose,
The dance of the dew on the wings of the moonbeam,
The voice of a zephyr that sings as she goes,
The hope of a bride or the dream of a maiden
Watching the petals of gladness unclose?"

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

WHY TAXES MUST GO ON

LESSON X

I WANT to touch briefly upon the question of expenditure. In the first place, let us not follow the will-o'-the-wisp of cutting down taxation—because we can't do that at all—taxes have to go on. They ought to go on; but as they go on we can introduce certain corrective influences in a variety of ways.

If you are in a business, your wage bill obviously is fixed according to the service which you are given. If you do not get a marketable commodity as a result of labor service you do not want any labor. If you are buying in the market labor you are buying that labor in the market at a price which will give to you, as a result of the services rendered, a reasonable return—that is, the wages themselves, and a reasonable return. Labor has no value except in terms of its product. It is a generally well understood economic principle that there is nothing in existence which has any value except in terms of its use. Labor has no value except in terms of its service.

NOW, when you go into private business, and buy labor, obviously you want a return for your money. Did you ever stop to think that in the great business of government only up until the last few years has there been any attempt to fix the salaries and wages on any basis in proportion to the kind of service we were getting? What was the whole idea? To the victor belongs the spoils. Fortunately, we have got away from that in some measure.

There are just three things that the Government buys with its public expenditure. It buys people. It buys my services just as a private individual might. It buys service. It buys material and supplies, and it buys organization. It buys the ability to organize.

You know civil service examinations, and so forth. You can control the labor that you get. That is the first thing. Be sure you get some labor that is worth buying. The next thing is that you can control the expenditure of the time of the person and his interest, and so forth, when he is on the job. You not only have to guarantee that you get somebody who is worth while, but that your promotion scheme, your ability to get rid of this individual, is definitely taken care of, so you can standardize the product which you buy; and we are doing it. New York city, for instance, is doing it. Chicago

By Professor Secrist

From a lecture delivered by Professor Secrist before the School for Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt in Chicago.

in a measure is doing it. New York city more distinctly, however. Buy a definite product.

How much are you paying for the product? How much are you paying for the labor? You are paying a scale which you have to pay on a competitive basis to get services which are satisfactory. In other words, in public affairs we can standardize grades, we can standardize salaries, just as we do in private business. You can make allowance for promotion, so that you will not only buy labor power, but you buy labor interest. You can standardize your promotion scheme, you can standardize your demotion scheme, too, and you can make provision for getting rid of the fellow or the woman, as the case may be, if he or she doesn't come up to the standard proposed.

I submit to you this generalization: That there are no insuperable difficulties to treating the labor supply of a state, nation or city in exactly the same way that you treat it in a private establishment. There are difficulties, but they are not insuperable.

THE next thing that the city or state or nation buys is what? Materials and supplies. It has only been within the last few years that any city or nation has ever attempted to standardize its purchases, to know whether it was paying too much or too little, to know whether its contracts into which it was entering were fair, were made under conditions of secret bids, or the same thing that you have current in private industries. There wasn't any checking up upon it. So that you can standardize your purchases of materials. If you buy concrete or five or six million dollars of coal every year, what are you buying when you buy coal? New York city has worked out a system of testing coal according to the British terminal unit test, exactly as private individuals do, and saved in 1913 and 1914 in one year's supply of coal \$100,000, simply by testing it.

You see what we are getting to. We are getting to a realization that the amount of expenditure is, relatively, the inconsequential thing, and the result of the expenditure is the big thing.

We all want these good things that come from public activity. We vote for them. We want parks, playgrounds, and so forth, and I submit to you we are going to continue to want them, and want more of them all the time, so the place to begin is to spread the burden. The next thing is to guarantee that the expenditure is economical, scientific and satisfactory.

I have spoken of buying supplies and buying people's services. I haven't spoken of the most significant thing, and that is the budget.

A budget, properly considered, is an account of stewardship. Somebody is responsible. Now, the Legislature is not the responsible party. The Legislature gets the money. The individual, the administrative officer, is the responsible party. He is elected by everybody. He is not elected by a local constituency. He is elected by everybody,—the state governor, the mayor of a municipality, or the President of the United States, so, other things being equal, what we want is an executive budget. You have heard much about that, whether we ought to have a legislative budget or an executive budget. That is a complete financial statement of what the expenditures have been, the reasons for the expenditures, and the justification for them.

WITH this statement, which the executive ought to make, should go along complete plans of precisely how he expects to spend the money. That is the first thing. The next thing is how he advises the money be gotten. Those are the two steps with respect to the future.

Having gone through both of those steps in the budget the next step is a legislative step in which the executive is quizzed with respect to his financial plan for the future, and for an explanation of the uses to which he has put the money in the past, and the Legislature ought to have an opportunity of asking him, or his financial representative, some very pertinent questions.

Now, after the Legislature grants the money, then the next step in the budget is what is called a method of control. That isn't the exact terminology—an administrative document is what we call it.

Here is a document then which has a program, or financial plan. The Legislature accepted it, the appropriation bill has been passed, and we are going on for the next fiscal year, or two years, whatever the period is. How and in what form is that money being expended, the

individual executive being responsible for using each of those funds according to the principle and plan laid down for him when he was granted that privilege?

That is not making it possible for him to make use of this fund and put it into that fund and take out of this source and use it for some other purpose entirely different from what he said he was going to use it for, and for which the privilege to use it had been granted. Next year when the man comes before the Legislature he comes in with an account of what has happened in the past, a request for funds, and it becomes an administrative document again.

Now, we can do much in correcting the amount of public expenditure, and we certainly can cut down relatively the amount of taxation if we have a budget. Many of our so-called budgets, of course, are no budgets at all. Why? Because there is no responsibility.

We cannot have power granted without responsibility being connected with the power. They go hand in hand; whenever there is power granted a component and reciprocal part of that shall be responsibility. Now, if the responsibility is not checked up there ought not to be any power. The corrective things making for a decrease in public expenditure and for a guarantee that full value shall be received for the moneys expended, would be, first, the correction of the study, rather, of purchases of supplies and materials to guarantee actually what you are getting, and at a reasonable price. The next thing is to control the personnel, and see that you are buying your person's interest, and putting all people in the place where they belong. We need a little psychological control the same as in private industry. People who are old in the service ought to be superannuated, and should receive some old-age insurance or something, and get them out of the way. Keep the organization as a functioning organization. If you get that, and then introduce your budget, and get that, it doesn't make any difference to me whether I take money out of my pocket. If we can equalize these agents in a general way, we ought not to be afraid of public expenditure.

HERE is a political machine with which you must work. The state has to be carried on through political machinery. Political machinery is a cumbersome form of organization. We ought to have a business machinery. I have often thought if you could have a political machinery to handle political things, and a financial machinery entirely separate to handle financial things, you would get along very well, but you have to have them one and the same under our democratic institution. You elect a man to become treasurer, and he immediately uses his position, and is bound to use it, in a political way. We have got to tone up our political situation, because, after all, when you are buying somebody, or electing somebody, and most of our financial agents are elected agents rather

than appointed agents, you are working through a political machine. But our ideas must be clarified about the financial side of the political machine. Now, it can be most clearly clarified through the executive. That is, the only place you can actually apply the corrective is through the executive.

We should have more of our officials appointed. Many of our officials who are responsible for the financial side of the government should be appointed by somebody whom we can hold responsible, and the only person we can hold responsible on any scale is the executive, so I think, for instance, Mr. Lowden, or anybody's else suggestion with respect to building up a financial machine and consolidating a financial arrangement within a state or within a nation or within a city, is a move in the right direction, and then each one of those individuals must be responsible back to the executive. It is not only a consolidation of the departments, a cutting-out of overlapping, but it is that very important thing of assignment of responsibility.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

If all resources are taxed now to meet the war debt, where is the money to come from to pay for proposed programs of reconstruction, education, health, industry, et cetera?

I should say all resources are not taxed, and that there is no limit to taxation, any more than there is any limit to the use of my individual funds. The only limit which we ought to impose is to get a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's worth of expenditure. That is the only thing.

There was an article in the New Republic along in the beginning of the war in which Sydney Webb, or somebody, said that the most gratifying thing in the whole situation in England was that the laboring group that came to the Commons came without any prejudice as to the amount of taxation. I submit to you, as a candid proposition, that if we want to do anything as a society, if we want to do anything as a unit, if we want to do anything as a group unit, is there any limit as to whether we can do it or not? All it takes is a willingness, a willingness to do it, and we do it. Money—there is no limit to it. What is money? Money is just confidence between you and me, and that is all it is. Money is confidence, and if you lost confidence in our dollar, how much is it worth? Not a thing. Take the condition in Russia today. Confidence gone. Is the money any good? No, not at all.

What did France do in '71? No limit. So I should say if our reconstruction program is worth anything, if our educational program is worth doing, why, we can do it. We certainly can do it, if it is worth while doing, as easily as we can buy other things with these dollars which we get.

Is it better to drop reconstructive programs in order that the people may pay less taxes?

I say by no means, by no manner of means.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of taxing incomes?

I have answered that. (See preceding issue.)

What are the advantages and disadvantages of the protective tariff?

Let me tell you one thing about a protective tariff, just one thing. I have heard, and you will hear more—we heard in 1908 at the time of the Presidential election of the so-called scientific basis for fixing taxes,—the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. Well, as an academic man, I would say that there is absolutely no science in that, and it is vicious in its suggestion, absolutely. A protective tariff isn't a thing which has advantages or disadvantages separate from the will of the group. If you want a high protective tariff, and I want a high protective tariff, then we should have a high protective tariff, but every protective tariff that you have is simply an additional hill over which to climb in doing the thing. Every additional protective tariff is just an additional inconvenience in doing a particular thing. The higher the tariff the more the inconvenience. Take it in your own examples of everyday life, you certainly would never support a principle in your ordinary daily life which made it hard for you to do a thing. We do the thing, if we are rational beings, in a way in which it is most expeditious. A protective tariff on the difference in cost of production at home and abroad would put a tariff wall so high around our country as to make it advantageous to raise lemons in Maine or to produce some other tropical thing in America.

JUST think a moment. Elongate, or widen, rather, the Ohio River between Illinois and Kentucky. Put Illinois in a foreign country and Kentucky in a foreign country. Now, if you want Illinois and Kentucky, lying side by side, as they are today, both to prosper what do you do? Why, you have Illinois raise things she can raise best, do you not? And Kentucky do the same thing. I don't cut my own hair. I couldn't do it as well as I could buy somebody's else service to do it, and if I do everything for myself, and disavow the whole thing, the whole principle of diversion of labor, then I would be following exactly the same principle as erecting a tariff wall at the Ohio River and saying Illinois is absolutely self-sufficient, and Kentucky must be self-sufficient, and in order to climb over that tariff we shall have to pay a tax on something.

Economically, a tariff is without the slightest justification, absolutely without the slightest justification, because always a tariff suggests an equalizing influence. You do not want to equalize things with respect to costs. If somebody has an advantage, let him work out that advantage, and trade the result of his product to somebody else who has an advantage in something else; trade them back and forth.

How about the division of labor in the fac-

(Continued on page 90)

Organization and Reorganization

The Tie That Binds

AS a universal solvent, start a League of Women Voters in your city. It will immediately follow, if Plainfield, New Jersey, is a typical instance, that all barriers of class and race will fade away before the magic touch of a common citizenship.

When Mrs. Henry White, of Plainfield, appointed regional director of the State League of Women Voters for her section of New Jersey, called together the women of her community, she found no longer indifferent people or antis, but citizens all, alert for political education. The Plainfield Woman Suffrage Association was the hostess for the initial meeting, and among the other organizations which fell into line for better citizenship were the Y. W. C. A., W. C. T. U., the missionary societies, all church societies, literary clubs, D. A. R., Eastern Star, Daughters of Rebecca, etc., etc., bringing together women both colored and white.

After a discussion of the question a resolution was passed to the effect that "there shall be a League of Women Voters in our city." A committee was appointed to arrange for a mass meeting to organize the new league.

The mass meeting where the league was really launched, was held in the auditorium of the high school. A good local orchestra played popular music, the Mayor gave his greeting and the League was set going with dues so low that the poorest could come in.

A citizenship school was planned for the week following and, so, as a community affair, in which the whole town had a stake and in which every woman was wanted, the Plainfield League of Women Voters weighed anchor and started on its career as the one great organization of the town which ignored every difference of position or opinion and united to learn how to serve.

TO locate the Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association's victory convention in the House of Representatives at the State Capitol was one way of squarely expressing the fact that complete equality of men and women in state government has come to that state.

The new League of Women Voters, which grew out of the Association, was, therefore, born in the very place where government of the people has its home.

Mrs. George Fort Milton, president of the Tennessee suffrage association, presided over the convention, and Miss Mary Boyce Temple, Regent of the D. A. R., over the League's first conference.

Chairmen of the national women's divisions of the two major parties were both

present. At the victory banquet these two chairmen spoke and used two famous leaders as texts for their speeches. Mrs. George Bass's hero was "Old Hickory," the great Democrat; Mrs. John Glover South's was "Lincoln, Kentucky's Gift to the Nation."

Some features of the program emphasized the ready wit of southern women. "Men, Women and Co., Inc.," was the clever title of the speech by Mrs. James S. Beasley, state chairman of the Tennessee Republican Women's Committee.

The singing of songs provoked much merriment, particularly one directed at the senior Senator from Tennessee, John K. Shields, who was one of the Senate's implacables when the Federal Suffrage Amendment was held up in Congress. The song follows:

"When Johnny comes marching home again,
Hooray! Hooray!"

When Johnny comes marching home again

He'll stay! He'll stay!

He'll never get back to his Senator's seat
Because woman suffrage he tried hard to beat.
And it's 'spurlos versenkt' for an epitaph neat
When Johnny comes marching home."

Mrs. John M. Kenny was toastmistress. Beside her sat Mrs. Leonard Wood, wife of General Wood.

What One League Did

IF there is a League of Women Voters anywhere in the United States—or a club of any sort, for that matter—which can beat the record of that of Mitchell, South Dakota, the *Woman Citizen* will camp on its trail for a full report of its doings. The League in Mitchell is a veteran League. That is, it is as old as any League can be, for its founder, Mrs. Myra P. Weller, set it going more than a year ago, just as soon as she got back from St. Louis in 1919, where the National League was born.

It started with a full line of officers and all the departments possible. It called upon the public library for help and borrowed its librarian, Miss Edla Laurson, for president. It got a teacher of civics, Miss Amanda Johnson, from the Dakota-Wesleyan University, to head the Americanization Committee, and she carries on a school of citizenship.

Other departments were equally active. The Food Supply and Demand Committee chairman was also chairman of the State Committee and kept the local League well informed.

Mrs. Chas. Weller, the head of the Child Welfare Committee informed her department of the conditions in every institution of the

state where children are kept—the blind asylum, reform schools, etc. To prepare for the presidential elections, the chairman of the Laws Committee, Miss Laura Lindley, prepared lessons on all the different parties, and just before the state primaries gave an explanation of the Richard's Primary Law and conducted a straw ballot to show the women what to do. Men from each of three parties gave talks to the League on their political aims.

When presidential candidates began to appear on the horizon the Mitchell League made of itself an informed hostess. Luncheons being a thing in which they were highly specialized, the women entertained, first General Leonard Wood, and afterwards every candidate as he swept through the state.

"We had a Lowden Luncheon, a Hiram Johnson Luncheon, and a grand dinner," writes Mrs. Weller, its founder and second vice-president, who is also chairman of the County League and naturally proud of Mitchell's progress. She explains that while the members of the Association are of all political parties, all are non-partisan, of course as a League. "In totalling the luncheons," Mrs. Weller continued, "we find we served 1,130 plates."

The Mitchell League furnished women, politically educated, to serve on election boards as judges and clerks.

"We are now using the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course as a study program," continued Mrs. Weller, "and are following it from week to week in the *Woman Citizen*. And each department chairman will be asked to conduct a lesson under her particular topic. We have a live up-to-date class of women and the plan is to get every woman in Mitchell to become a member of the League and a subscriber to 'The *Woman Citizen*'! We have placed the *Citizen* in the library and in the Elks' Home where it is read by a great many people.

"A leading lawyer of this city told us that he considered the *Woman Citizen* the very ablest magazine published as regards the facts of woman's progress.

"We are proud of the fact that our state president, Mrs. John L. Pyle, was one of the 'Flying Squadron' to Connecticut, and we are also proud that Miss Dorothy Rehfeld of Aberdeen, South Dakota, is one of the delegates to Geneva. We hope to have a state conference soon and our Local League will conform to whatever plan is outlined by the state board. Here's hoping we will be able to report good work for this year and acknowledging our indebtedness to the *Woman Citizen* for inspiration and help."

Tried Suffrage and Like It

HOWEVER the Georgia Legislature may have balled up the situation and misrepresented that state to the world, their objection to woman suffrage is not sustained by Atlanta men, whose Democratic City Executive Committee has again voted overwhelmingly to admit Democratic women to the city primaries on July 26.

If it is proper for men and women to go together to the theatre and to church, it is proper to go together to the polls. "We can't hurt you at the polls and you can't hurt us," was the burden of the plea of Mrs. Mary McLendon, pioneer suffragist of Atlanta, Georgia, who with a half dozen other women of her city went before the City Committee on Tuesday, June 1, and asked that it again extend to Democratic women of Atlanta the right of primary suffrage.

Mrs. McLendon told the committee that the Atlanta spirit animated Atlanta women and that the men would always find them standing shoulder to shoulder for civic betterment. She said women had enjoyed the taste of enfranchisement given them last year and were coming back for more.

Mrs. McLendon was one of the very first Atlanta women to start organization for suffrage. Twenty-five years ago she helped bring a convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to Atlanta and has long been president of the Georgia Equal Suffrage Association.

To her plea, were added those of Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall, president of the Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association; Dr. Grace Kirkland, Mrs. M. A. Hale, a practising attorney.

This year the women's request was backed up by Mayor Key, who asserted that to deny the request of the women would be a backward step, which would damage the city in the eyes of the nation. This, said he, was particularly true in view of the fact that the time is so soon coming when women will be full-fledged voters.

The vote for granting women primary suffrage stood 29 to 4. When Lawyer Nalley, one of the four opposed, tried to side-track the women's admission on the ground that during the administration of Governor Hoke Smith, an amendment made it unconstitutional for Georgia women to vote, Walter A. Sims answered: "That applies only to general elections and not to primary rules, which the Executive Committee has the right to formulate. Let's give them the ballot."

This year the women will vote for a mayor, who is to be nominated in the primary. Last year they voted for councilmen, aldermen and members of the Executive Committee; but this will be their first mayoralty election.

First Directors' Meeting

THE decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that no referendum can be taken upon resolutions passed by state Legislatures to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment gave an optimistic and joyful tone to the proceedings of the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters.

When the chairman, Mrs. George R. Fearing, called this body to order for the first time Thursday morning at State Suffrage Headquarters, 585 Boylston St., she opened a new chapter in the history of women's political and social activities. These members were present:

Alice Stone Blackwell, honorary president; Mrs. George Winslow Perkins, clerk; Mrs. J. Addington Bruce, treasurer; Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, Miss Mabel Gillespie, directors at large; Mrs. A. A. Lawson, regional director, Middlesex County; Mrs. Charles Masury, Essex County; Mrs. S. B. Woodward, Worcester County, and Mrs. B. F. Pitman, Norfolk County.

The special business was the completion of the organization by the appointment of chairmen of the Standing Committees under whose direction the various lines of work of the league are carried on. These were appointed: American Citizenship, President Mary E.

Woolley; Finance, Fanny C. Osgood; Food Supply and Demand, Mrs. Schuyler F. Heron; Publicity, Mrs. True Worthy White. Action was deferred on the appointment of chairmen for these departments: Industrial, Legislative and Social Hygiene.

The plan of organization of the League calls for a manager with a vote on the board. This office is undoubtedly most important to the League, second only to that of chairman. The selection of the manager is left to the Board of Directors, and much satisfaction is felt that the directors have chosen Mrs. George Winslow Perkins manager for the first year of the League's activities. Mrs. Perkins has been for several years clerk of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. She is a graduate of Wellesley College and has served women's organizations in the state as President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs for three consecutive years. Perhaps no woman knows more thoroughly the women of the state and their capacities and specialties than does Mrs. Perkins. The new League is fortunate in having the advantage of her extensive acquaintanceship.

Mrs. Bruce, the treasurer, reported that the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association had given the league \$6,000 to begin its work, of which \$1,000 had already been sent to the National League of Women Voters of which this league will be a branch.

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The Missouri League

REPORTS of the various state conferences of the League of Women Voters show that the national program is being effectively operated.

Among the official acts of the Missouri League in session at Joplin, last month, was the endorsement of resolutions proposed by the Committee on Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents.

This committee reported that there is now no proper state care of dependent children and that the need of some provision for them is pressing. It therefore offered the following resolution:

"We, the Missouri League of Women Voters hereby urge the establishment of a state detention Home for children and the employment of sufficient agents to accomplish the systematic placing of dependent children in private boarding homes and in foster homes and to supervise the care of children in these private homes."

The same committee, in conjunction with those on Public Health and Child Welfare, asked that bills for social legislation should not be side-tracked for lack of appropriations. The resolution of these joint committees follows:

"Whereas, In past sessions of the Legislature, bills of great social importance have failed to pass or have been vetoed because they carried an appropriation, and

"Whereas, Many and grave evils have resulted from this fact; therefore

"Resolved, We, the League of Women Voters in Congress assembled, hereby denounce the false economy which withholds money only to incur thereby unnecessary suffering and evils, and to pile up more costly problems for the future."

Other measures advocated by the Joplin Conference were: Adequate provision for the feeble minded, "the establishment of clinics to give mental examinations, special classes for the instruction of the feeble-minded; adequate provision for institutional care of this group, and the application of modern methods of dealing with them."

The conference went on record as adopting the Smith-Towner bill, as unanimously supporting the legislative program of the State Teachers' Association, the calling of a Constitutional Convention, the county unit plan, equal taxing privileges for rural districts, an adequate school tax separate from general taxes, and unanimous support of the bill for direct citizenship for married women.

The Table vs. the River Dumps

THE Food Committee of the Missouri League of Women Voters is so earnest in its determination to root out profiteering that its Investigatory Committee is about to retain the services of a secret service man who will supervise the wholesale districts of

the cities "with special effort directed towards the wastage of the river dumps."

Model propositions for committee work were adopted by the state League of Women Voters at its convention in Joplin May 18-20. The proposed conduct of committees: Legislative, Educational, Investigatory demonstrate that a long view of the situation is being taken by the League, and that no snap shot legislative methods are to be recommended.

The Investigatory Committee is to do actual field work. It is to make an intimate survey of conditions of food distribution in the state.

Initial steps will be to find what laws governing food supply and control are on the books of the city and state and to ascertain the exact amount of food used, how often market reports are issued—just what is being done, for example, by the market bureaus. In other words, this big group of women voters—St. Louis having more than 10,000 in its organization—is going to set out, like good housewives, to know what is in the larder and what is not. Then it will begin to take account of market possibilities. It is proposed to keep "a regular watch on the curb markets with the purpose of determining whether their original purpose of facilitating distribution directly from producer to consumer is being carried out, or whether they are deteriorating into a mere conglomeration of retail shops."

The Educational Committee will put the facts when ascertained before the public, making special efforts to present them to churches, schools and clubs.

The Legislative Committee will back such existing bills as will make for legislation in harmony with the Kendrick-Kenyon-Anderson food bills, and will interest itself in enforcement of food laws.

"Under the Legislative Committee it is further proposed to organize a committee of lawyers, both men and women, with the purpose of redrafting desirable bills that failed of passage in the Missouri Legislature and before the Board of Aldermen, especially of cold storage and weights and measures laws, adding to these, in accordance with the resolutions passed at the recent national convention, legislation to prevent profiteering, waste and improper hoarding."

A fourth committee will be created as a general State Food Council to which the following organizations will be asked to send representatives: Labor Unions, Farmers' Associations, Women's Committee of the Department of Justice to Reduce the High Cost of Living, National Consumers League, American Live Stock Association, Farmers' National and State Councils, and, if possible, the Missouri State Grange.

The following resolution was endorsed by the Missouri League of Women Voters:

"WHEREAS, in addition to the results of inflated currency due to the war, the high cost

of living in the United States is increased and the production of necessary food supplies diminished by unduly restricted private control of the channels of commerce, markets and other distribution facilities by large food organizations and combines, and

"WHEREAS, if our civilization is to fulfill its promise it is vital that nourishing food be brought and kept within the reach of every home, and especially of all the growing children of the nation, and

"WHEREAS, the power which the packers have exerted over the food supply of more than a hundred million people is altogether too great to be vested in the hands of a few private individuals, and

"WHEREAS, although the packers have voluntarily come under court injunction and have agreed to dissolve the combine which has existed between them, nevertheless the public safety requires definite anti-monopolistic and anti-profiteering laws faithfully administered, Be It Resolved that the principles and purpose of the Kendrick-Kenyon-Anderson Bills now pending in Congress, for the regulation of the meat packing industry, be endorsed for prompt and effective enactment into laws."

The Kenyon-Anderson Bill No. S-2202 is endorsed by the Farmers' National Council, the Live Stock Association, the National Consumers League, the Federal Trade Commission, the National League of Women Voters. The bill provides for a licensing system under the Department of Agriculture, designed to accomplish the following results:

1. To remove the stock yards from the control of the packers.
2. To limit the packers' control over industries producing unrelated food products.
3. To put refrigerator-cars on the basis of common carriers and make them part and parcel of the carrying system of the country and subject to such rulings as are made from time to time to prevent unfair competition and combines under interstate commerce laws.
4. To establish throughout the country stor-

age and marketing facilities that will permit competition with packers' branch-houses.

In Philadelphia

One hundred and twenty women from the Thirty-fourth ward of Philadelphia have organized a local of the League of Women Citizens. The organization was effected at the Patterson Memorial Church, Sixty-third and Vine streets. The following officers were elected: Miss Maude B. McCall, chairman; Miss Catherine Dey, secretary; Mrs. William Reed, treasurer.

Mrs. George A. Piersol, county chairman of the league, made a short address, instructing the women as to how to prepare their ballots in the coming fall elections.

The Tennessee Chairman

May I call attention to an error in the name of the Chairman of the Food Supply and Demand Committee for Tennessee? The name was printed "Mrs. John L. Wicks." The correct name is "Mrs. John L. Meek." Doubtless Mrs. Meek would appreciate the courtesy of a correction.

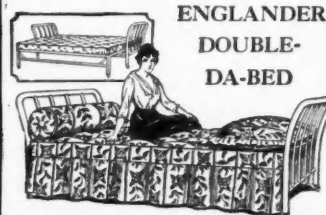
MABEL C. COSTIGAN,
Chairman Food Supply and Demand Committee.
Washington, D. C.

High Marks

THE highest marks in mathematics and physics at the final honor examinations of the faculty of arts of McGill University, Montreal, were given to Miss Allie C. Douglas, who was awarded the Anne Mobson gold medal. This is the most coveted of all the honors bestowed by faculty of arts upon its graduates.

And it used to be said that a knowledge of arithmetic would destroy woman's charm.

Miss Douglas went through the physics and mathematics course in spite of the time she gave her country overseas where she worked on the clerical staff of the War Office in London. For this patriotic service she was awarded the Order of the British Empire.



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Women In Politics

MRS. PETER OLESEN, of Cloquet, will be one of Minnesota's four delegates-at-large to the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco. Mrs. Olesen is an orator who made her debut in the East as an after-dinner speaker at the Jackson Day banquet, Washington, D. C., in February. She is a member of the advisory council of the Minnesota League of Women Voters. Among the alternates-at-large to San Francisco from Minnesota are two women, Mrs. Stiles Burr of St. Paul, also of the State League and president for Ramsay County, and Miss Jessie E. Scott of St. Paul. In addition there are three women district delegates and eight district alternates, making a total of fourteen Minnesota women representatives at the San Francisco national convention, as against one delegate at the Chicago convention, Mrs. Manley Fosseen, leader of the Republican big four and six district alternates, 7 in all. Minnesota Democrats are rejoicing that their party has doubled the woman representation of the Republican party.

It is also pointed out by the Minnesota Democratic party, that out of Minnesota's twelve Democratic presidential electors, seven are women, and that but two women Republican electors are named.

The seven Democratic presidential electors are: Mrs. Albert R. Hall, St. Paul; Dr. Flora Louise S. Aldrich, Anoka; Mrs. E. M. Stanton, Thief River Falls; Mrs. H. J. Grannis, Duluth; Mrs. C. F. Equing, Wheaton; Mrs. E. H. Gipson, Faribault; Mrs. Frank H. Krueger, New Richland.

MRS. GUY P. GANNETT of Augusta, a worker in the Maine State Suffrage Association, was one of the three women assistant secretaries of the National Republican Convention. Mrs. Gannett was in the group of the "immortal forty-seven" who took part in Connecticut's Emergency Protest Week.

She has come into political prominence rather recently as state chairman of the Republican Women's Committee. She was active in the Republican State Convention in Bangor, and comes naturally by her political bias. Her father, Hon. George E. McComber, was once Mayor of Augusta, and her husband's father, Hon. William Gannett, served in the Maine Legislature. Her husband, state Senator Guy P. Gannett, is already spoken of as a possible gubernatorial candidate in the near future.

Mrs. Gannett was for a time president of the Augusta Suffrage Association. During the war she worked for the Red Cross and was Kennebec County Chairman of the Liberty

Loan. It was partly through Mrs. Gannett's earnest efforts that Maine stepped so briskly into the ratification column of states.

WASHINGTON Democratic women who appealed to their State Convention for representation got it. Not the least of their satisfaction being that they ran far ahead of the Republican record. The latter allowed two women alternates, but the Democratic delegation-at-large, elected May 17, 18, included Mrs. Ernest Lister of Pierce, Mrs. J. M. Simpson of Spokane, and Mrs. Emma C. Hansman of King. They will have a half vote each shared with the men of the delegation. Among the district delegates from Washington is Miss Edna Crangle. Mrs. M. B. Harker, of King, was nominated as a presidential elector.

Thus the convention recognized women by voting them three positions on the delegation-at-large to San Francisco; one district delegate, and one presidential elector.

Mrs. Elizabeth Christian, of Spokane, was the unanimous choice of the women delegates in caucus, for national committeewoman. This is the choice position allotted to women in the Democratic organization. The selection of Mrs. Hugh C. Todd as state chairwoman was also by unanimous consent of the women.

A MEETING of the State Central Committee of Michigan held May 16, was presided over by Mrs. Ellen R. Anderson, Vice-Chairman, because of the illness of the chairman. The convention itself was called to order by Mrs. Anderson, and for the same reason. This is the first convention in Michigan that has been opened by a woman official, and possibly, the first throughout the United States.

Thirty per cent. of the delegates in the State Convention were women, and who entered actively into all the deliberations. It was, unquestionably, the best convention the Michigan Democrats have ever held.

DR. EMMA E. BOWER, Great Record Keeper of the Ladies of the Maccabees, is one of the four delegates-at-large from Michigan to the National Democratic Convention.

With her was elected Mrs. Frances E. Burns, Great Commander of the Ladies of the Maccabees, as first alternate.

At the banquet of 500 guests on the eve of the Michigan Democratic state convention in Grand Rapids, Mrs. Burns gave the address of welcome in behalf of the women of the party, an address characterized by the press of that city as "one of the most constructive talks of the evening."

MRS. PERCY FARRELL of Detroit, president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association during its last successful state referendum which gave full suffrage to Michigan women, has been recently appointed a vice-chairman on the ways and means committee of the Republican National Committee for Michigan.

Books

AN old friend is out in a new dress. "The Common Cause" has now become the *Woman's Leader and Common Cause*. It is to be published under its double name by the Common Cause Publishing Company, Limited. Of the directors of this company, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett is chairman.

The journal in its older form was largely the propagandist newspaper of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies of Great Britain, which like its American sister society, expanded after the vote was won. The British union is now called the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

With its expansion into women's far-reaching interests, has come a need for a magazine of wider horizon. This also is akin to the enlarged reach of its American sister—the WOMAN CITIZEN. The *Woman's Leader* has by mutual consent severed connection with the British Union. It will continue to promote the objects and program of the Union, but its scope will include all the political, industrial, professional and literary interests of women. It will be the woman's magazine of political opinion on the other side of the sea.

ONE of the most charming little books for children on the market is Agnes Godfrey Gay's *Chansons, Poésies et Jeux* (Brentano) a book of French songs and games. One finds in it a lot of life-long friends, like "Sur le pont d'Avignon," "C'était un roi de Sardaigne," and "Il était une bergère, et ron, ron, ron, petit patapon." One of the most fascinating is the story of Briquette. This is the French version of "Pig won't go"—"Briquette ne veut pas sortir du chou" is the burden of complaint in the French song, so in order to drive her out of the cabbage patch the dog is called upon to bite Briquette. After this the tale goes on with the stick, the fire, the water, the butcher, etc., just as in English.

There are children's poems too, by Theophile Gautier and by Victor Hugo, poems which seem odd and stilted compared with Stevenson, Eugene Field and James W. Riley.

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Correspondence

Economic Illiterates

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I NOTE in my article published in the last *Woman Citizen* a mistake in the quotation from Frank A. Vanderlip. It should read "A nation of economic illiterates." Will you kindly make the correction as I would be sorry to misquote.

Brookings, S. D.

ALICE B. LOOMIS.

Dower and by Curtesy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

SINCE writing you about the Kansas property rights laws for women I have looked over the other states given in the *Woman Citizen* of May 29th, and I find that all of the states except Pennsylvania have abolished the "Dower and by Curtesy" laws, unless Pennsylvania has abolished it within the last five or six years. The other 12 states no longer have this common law rule. It was abolished in Maine in 1895, Mississippi in 1880, Nebraska in 1907, Minnesota in 1875, Kansas in 1868; in Connecticut property laws of husband and wife were made equal in 1877, and in Wyoming, Colorado, Indiana, North and South Dakota, and Oklahoma the Dower and by Curtesy law no longer prevails. I cannot give the date of the statutes abolishing it as I have not the statutes before me, but have other authority from which I have taken it.

In all of these states the distribution to the surviving heirs differs more or less, but the laws affecting the property of husband and wife are the same in all. In some of them the survivor takes one-half absolutely if there are children, and all if there are no children, and in some of the states the survivor takes one-third if there are children, one-half if there are none, and father or mother is living. I will not go into detail as it would take too much space.

I hope you will make these corrections after you have confirmed my statements, which you can do in any law library having the statutes of the various states.

Pittsburg, Kan. MAGDALEN B. MUNSON.

[Mrs. Boyd, of the Research Department of the National League of Women Voters, points out that the trouble in the paragraph at issue is undoubtedly typographical. It begins (see page 1329 issue of May 29), "Thirteen states never abolished dower and curtesy," etc. There follows an enumeration of these thirteen states: California, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Wyoming—everyone of which has abolished dower and curtesy. Manifestly the paragraph in the copy supplied by Mrs. McCulloch for this article should have read: "Thirteen states have abolished dower and curtesy," etc.—Ed.]

A Pioneer Indeed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN 1870 I subscribed for and read, as long as it continued, the "Revolution," edited by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and later the "Woman's Journal," edited by Lucy Stone and her daughter, till that Journal merged into the "*Woman Citizen*," which I now take and enjoy. I also wrote articles on suffrage for publication.

Many years ago, during the administration of Gov. John S. Phelps of Missouri, I worked in connection with his wife, an enthusiastic suffragist in the cause, circulating petitions for suffrage in this city, and was told by parties at headquarters that I had the largest petition of any sent in at that time.

Still later I became a member of the Springfield Suffrage Society, in whose ranks was another pioneer worker, our own dear Neva Thomas, one of Springfield's brightest, most earnest up-to-date and up-to-the-minute workers, and now president of the League of Women Voters, a society to which I also belong; and as I will be 83 the coming 4th of July, you see I have been interested in the work a long time, and hope to keep up my interest while I live.

Yours for the cause

Springfield, Mo. MRS. JULIA A. HOVEY-COLBY.

U. S. Public Health Service

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I REGRET that in the *Woman Citizen* for May 22, 1920, "M. S. B." did not quote enough from the 1919 report of the U. S. Public Health Service to give the value of that official statement. As it stands at present, her quotation gives a reader the impression that war stopped all work by officers in the child hygiene section save routine. But M. S. B. stopped in the middle of a sentence—just before the word "except." And the exception is worth noting. In spite of limited appropriation, in spite of the assignment of officers of this as of all other parts of the Service to war duty, effort was concentrated upon regions within the Extra-Cantonment zones, and Service officers examined 168,357 school children, more than 25,000 of whom needed medical, surgical or urgent dental attention, in addition to frequent cases in need of minor dental services. Social and epidemiological follow-up by doctors and nurses gave opportunity for education in the homes. Infant clinics and dental clinics were established in eight of the Extra-Cantonment zones.

Cooperation from volunteer agencies is also recorded in the report mentioned. Further activities yet to be reported, though planned and begun even during the war restrictions, are:

1. The analytical survey in Missouri—a demonstration of state-wide cooperation in child hygiene;

2. The study in Cecil County, Maryland, contributing, with findings in other places, to standards of physical development;

3. A study in Baltimore, in cooperation with Johns Hopkins University, of mal-nutrition in infancy and childhood;

4. A scientific experiment in Boston of the nutritional value of dried milk;

5. In Oregon, cooperating with the State University, a survey of dependent, delinquent and feeble-minded children is under way, the object of which is recommended legislation affecting the feeble-minded. This is in response to resolution of State Legislature;

6. In West Virginia, facilities for oral hygiene of school children are being developed in cooperation with the State Department of Health;

7. At the request of the Juvenile Court of District of Columbia, officers of the Service have been detailed to study cases of delinquency and feeble-mindedness that come to that Court, and to recommend measures of protection and prevention;

8. Delaware, where the Reconstruction Commission has appropriated \$25,000 for two years for child welfare, has asked the Service to appoint an officer as medical director of the hygiene and public health aspects of that work. In addition this officer has been appointed Director of the School Medical Inspection Service of the State, by the State Department of Education.

HELEN GUTHRIE MILLER,

At Last

THE granting of degrees to whom students at Oxford University, England, has a length been achieved.

For some years the university has been attended by women students, but they were never technically admitted to membership, and came without the hope of obtaining degrees. Their curriculum was modelled almost exactly upon that of the honor schools, which lead Oxford men to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts. Now the university decrees concerning degrees will apply equally to both sexes; and members of the women's faculties will sit with equal rights upon examination boards and committees.

Outwardly, this revolutionary change will make little difference at the university. Women will continue to do the most of their tutorial work under the facilities of their own halls and colleges. And the sharply marked separation of the sexes, which was an essential condition upon which women were originally allowed to attend the university, will in no way be altered.

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Why Taxes Must Go On

(Continued from page 83)

tory? We do not have everybody writing his own letters. We have expert stenographers, expert machinists. Suppose everybody made machinery, where would we be? Back in the middle ages, and before. The whole principle of modern civilization has been one of differentiation, cutting down costs and taking advantage.

I say economically a protective tariff hasn't the slightest justification. Moreover, it is vicious because it is based upon that idea of equalizing opportunity.

Now, politically, a tariff has many justifications. In other words, there is a difference between the pure economic principle and the political principle, because, after all, we have to live as a group, as a unit, and it may be good policy for us to discriminate against some country, against some product, or it may be desirable, from the standpoint of the body politic, to set up a tariff wall to get revenue, if we can't get it some other way, but economically, from the standpoint of the greatest good to the greatest number, there is nothing at all to be said for a protective tariff. If we should build a tariff in America on the basis of the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, then we would be giving a subsidy to every industry; the difference in the price represents the subsidy you give, that is all. If you want to give a subsidy to some industries, to sugar or something else, if you want to subsidize them, then do it, but it isn't a thing which can be arrived at scientifically.

I should say that the advantages and disadvantages of a protective tariff should be considered from the standpoint, first, of the economic principles in it, and, second, the political principles in it. It may be a good policy for us now to put a tariff in our country against German dyes. That may be good policy, good politics, from the standpoint of future wars, but then you must consider that every protective tariff that you put on gives a subsidy, and the subsidy is represented by the degree of the protection, and the difference in the price which you would have under the present conditions and the difference in the price which you would have under other conditions.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of tariff for revenue only?

There is no such animal as a tariff for revenue only. Every tariff that is imposed is protective. Every tariff that is imposed diverts labor from industries into which it would go normally into those which are protected, and to that extent it is protective.

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Now, I have roughly gone over the fundamental American system of state taxes. I haven't said very much about federal taxation, probably nothing, nor about constitutional provisions which make it possible for the nation only to do certain things.

We now have a federal income tax, and most of the states have some income taxes. I have told you something about public expenditures, and how these moneys should be expended, incidentally touching on the budget, and last but not least I have given you my philosophy of a protective tariff.

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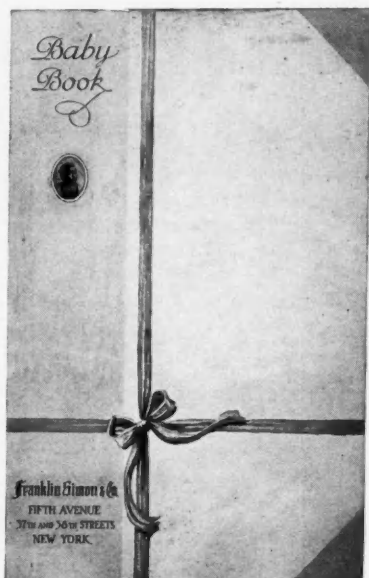


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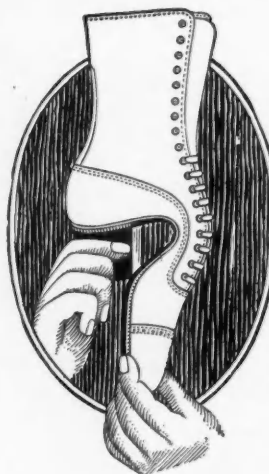
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

FOUNDED JUNE 2, 1917

TEN CENTS A COPY

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. L Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JUNE 26, 1920

No. 4

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JUNE 26, 1920

NUMBER 4

Insuring An Interesting Election

EVER since the Republican party went on record through its leaders back in the sixties as being of the mind that "the women should wait" lest woman suffrage complicate the enfranchisement of the Negro, that party has had a load to carry in any appeal to the woman voter. But in the last decade it has piled up heavy offsets in the way of claims for services rendered in the suffrage struggle. In the successful effort to get the Federal Amendment passed by Congress, it was Republican Senators and Republican Representatives who cast the majority of affirmative votes. In the ratification campaign it has been Republican governors who have called the majority of the special sessions to ratify the amendment and Republican legislators who have given the majority of ratifying votes.

Yet the woman voter finds it difficult to forget that it was the Republican leaders in the Senate of the 65th Congress who discovered that, though thirty-three votes had been hitherto assured on the Republican side for the passage of the amendment, only thirty-two could be counted at the crucial moment.

THE woman voter is finding it no easier to understand why the Republican party should have brought the amendment to the verge of complete ratification only to let it stop just short of the 36th state.

That the Republican party has done just that was one of the special emphases of the Chicago convention. The woman voter cannot have failed to note that when the steam roller of the anti-suffrage leaders of the convention had passed over the resolution urging ratification, all the urge had been ludicrously flattened out. She cannot have failed to note that to the Republican leaders of the convention it was more important not to wound the feelings of the governors of Vermont and Connecticut by calling on them in no uncertain terms to stand by the party's mandate than it was for the party to have a clear record on a question of essential justice and obvious political expediency.

No woman of any political sagacity whatever is in the least deluded by appearances in the political game, or by kind talk, or by expeditious efforts to recognize the woman voter only in so far as getting her vote is concerned. No woman who knows politics is in the least expecting any political party or any leaders of approved political stamp to give to the finish of woman suffrage one inch more of headway than must be given. But every woman who has a vote to put in the ballot box next November must have had her attention arrested and held by the way in which the leaders of the Chicago convention kept the party back from the realization of its full program on ratification and threw the ball to the Democratic convention in San Francisco in a way to insure an interesting election in November.

What the Democrats will do remains to be seen. They had a great strategic opportunity in the 65th Congress. They lost it. Since then the men who were responsible for losing it have, one

by one, nearly all come around to endorsement of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. With the National Democratic convention in session, with North Carolina about to go into special legislative session, again the Democrats have a great opportunity. Will they grasp it or lose it?

THAT there is an inhibition in the political mind when it comes to finishing the suffrage fight is apparent at every step. At every step the cliques of leaders in each of the major political parties have been slow to avail themselves of what was so obviously a strategic move for party profit as to leave people gasping when it was allowed to go by default. Yet it is easy to understand that in general terms your politician does not want women in politics. Easy to understand, for your politician resents having any new and untried elements injected into the electorate.

But in view of the fact that every politician in the land concedes that all the women of America will be voting by 1921 it is hard to understand why there should be any determined opposition to keep women out of the presidential elections of 1920. Hard to understand, yet the conundrum has its answer.

For what shall it profit a politician if his party gains and he loses? Back of party profit there is personal profit. In every case where the advance of suffrage is blocked, where party enthusiasm is allowed to wane, and strong language is allowed to become mild and pale in the advocacy of suffrage, search for the political leader whose own private and particular game would be imperilled by the advent of women into the electorate. That leader has no concern for his party's profit to compare with his concern for his own profit. You need not, for instance, talk to Senator Brandegee of Connecticut about the party profit to accrue from the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment when his own personal political fortunes are bound to be in jeopardy the minute Connecticut women can vote. What has Senator Wadsworth ever cared about endangering his party's chances in New York state as against his fear of what the women voters would do to his personal chances if ever they found his name in the vicinity of the ballot box?

NO, the political party leader dickers, barter, twists, impresses and suppresses, with his weather eye cocked for self first and party second. Again and again have both major parties been swung from their true and logical suffrage course by the wire pulling of leaders who pulled for personal, not party, reasons.

This deflection was a marked feature of the Chicago Convention.

It remains to be seen how the San Francisco convention will be marked. If the Democrats do no better than the Republicans, the way will be open for the woman voter to an interesting question of balance at the November elections.

Those Planks

OF the six planks of the woman's platform which the National League of Women Voters asked to have incorporated in the Republican National platform all received some attention.

The six points upon which women asked for constructive legislation are: Child welfare, education, home and high prices, women in industry, public health and morals, and the independent citizenship of women.

Their requests were specific, not general. The Republican planks in only a few cases follow the particular requests of the League.

For example, the League asks for three concrete measures for child welfare. The Republican platform has gone on record as supporting but one of these measures.

It has pledged itself to a Federal Child Labor Law, but has made no mention of an adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau, and has entirely ignored the women's request for "the protection of infant-life through a Federal program for maternity and infancy care."

In educational matters the women also asked for three specific measures. But one of these has the Republican platform included and that not so definitely as the League requested. "We endorse," says the party platform, "the principle of Federal aid to the states for the purpose of vocational and agriculture training." "Where Federal money is devoted to education such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States."

This last paragraph is not explicit and leaves the whole question of education for citizenship suspended. What the League asked for was: "Federal aid where necessary for the removal of illiteracy and for the increase of teachers' salaries."

"Instruction in the duties and ideas of citizenship for the youth of our land and the newcomer to our shores." The League's request for a separate Bureau of Education is also ignored.

IN the *Home and High Prices* plank of the women, there were two distinct measures advocated: "Increased federal support for vocational training for women and federal regulation and supervision of the marketing and distribution of food."

The Republican High Cost of Living plank defines and condemns more than it constructs. It makes a pledge to reduce prices by "avoidance of future inflation in Government borrowing, by deflation of over-expanded currency, by encouragement of production, prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war imposed taxes."

The Women in Industry plank of the Republicans follows more nearly the plank of the National League of Women Voters. Both recommend the permanent establishment of a Woman's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor. The party plank does not, however, make the purposes of this Bureau as wide as does the League and it dodges the little matter of adequate appropriation entirely. It also avoids the following requests of the women: "Appointments to the Mediation and Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor and to other industrial commissions and tribunals; a joint federal and state employment service;" making in its stead the statement that "federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special attitudes and needs of women workers," a statement too vague to be of any binding value.

The Republican plank does, however, cover some of the points of the League's request that discriminations against sex in industry shall cease.

The party planks specify equal pay and limitation of hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry—the produce of which enters into interstate commerce.

The paragraph of the League's plank is much stronger. It asks for a "reclassification of the Federal Civil Service with the merit system of appointment and promotion, free from discrimination on the ground of sex, and with a wage or salary scale determined by the skill demanded for the work and in no wise below the cost of living as established by official investigation."

These measures would benefit men as well as women, would establish the merit system and would set a minimum wage standard for both sexes in the Civil Service.

THE woman's plank for public health and morals is practically ignored. It asks that "the wartime campaign for prevention of venereal disease and sex hygiene education be continued."

There is nothing analogous to this in the Republican platform. There is in its place a provision for physical education for all children up to nineteen, including health supervision and a unification of the public health activities of the Federal Government.

The sixth plank of the League is practically adopted in full by the Republicans, their plank advocating "the independent naturalization of married women." It further states that "An American woman should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien resident in the United States."

Even here the women were clearer. Foreseeing the danger of too easy citizenship for alien women, their plank pointed out that "alien women should not acquire citizenship by marriage with Americans, but rather by meeting the same requirements as those provided for the naturalization of alien men."

Is Mystery a Defence?

DR. JOHN GRIER HIBBEN of Princeton University has warned the graduating class of 1920 that it is going forth into a world where the fences are all down and there are no more of those comfortable barriers which traditions once set up. What the war didn't demolish, the modern young woman is out to tear down, mourns Dr. Hibben. Scandalized, he complains that "there is no longer an aura of mystery about the woman of today, a mystery at once her defence and her glory. Whenever in the history of the race this divine prerogative of womanhood is lightly regarded or recklessly scorned, it has always proved a symptom of decadence far-reaching and disastrous."

It is the frankness of the modern young girl, her readiness to talk on any sort of subject with any sort of person, her eternal jazz, her cheek-to-cheek familiarity, but, above all, the scantiness of her clothing which worry Dr. Hibben, and his frank dismay at the present state of the world is a mood easy to catch. There are times when the insistent display of the feminine spinal column becomes distinctly boring to all of us. It is putting it mildly to say that the world is tired of studying the anatomy of backs. They are too seldom lovely; they are so often fat and bulgy or something. But why call them vicious? There is nothing either immoral or indecent in shoulder blades.

The point where Dr. Hibben warns the young man off seems psychologically wrong, even dangerous. His last words lead one to believe, for instance, that the woman who coyly suggests an ankle or a shoulder and a half withdrawn interest in the real facts of life is a safer proposition than the one who wears her skirts to her shoe tops and baldly hunts matrimony.

There is something neither safe nor sound about such reasoning. One rather suspects it not to be reasoning at all, but impulse and distaste.

Religions have been kept alive by holding them up as mysteries. So have Browning Clubs and Ibsen's plays and wars and Wall Street manipulations and international diplomacy. It seems as if

it were about time to get women and all the rest of these things out of the ouija board class. If reality isn't a surer footed place to step out upon than illusion, the world is to be pitied. Probably the girl of today thinks a lot of things that shock her father and mother. If so, she and they will be better for a frank airing of those stifled imaginings which have done enough harm in the past.

Senator Hoar's Belated Credit

A VAST number of women in the United States already have a vote in presidential elections, by the action of their state Legislatures. There is no doubt that their possession of this right has been a powerful factor in the pressure that the suffragists have been able to bring to bear both upon Congress and upon the political parties. As Dorothy Dix says of the changed attitude towards women at the National Republican Convention, "For the first time in history women have something else to deliver besides sympathy and enthusiasm."

For more than thirty years Henry B. Blackwell was the chief advocate of presidential suffrage. At national and state suffrage conventions, from the platform and through the *Woman's Journal*, he constantly called attention to the fact that the highest form of suffrage was the easiest to get; that the women of any state could be empowered to take part in the great national election by a simple majority vote of the state Legislature. Some years after his death this line of work was pushed with marked success, and it has had much to do with bringing nation-wide suffrage to the very verge of triumph.

We have never known to whom Mr. Blackwell was indebted for the idea that he urged with so much eloquence and enthusiasm. Not being a lawyer, he was not likely himself to have detected the legal loophole.

This point has just been cleared up. The Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association the other day held its last annual meeting and voted to dissolve. Its members marched in procession to the State House and presented its record books, from 1868 to 1920, to the State Library. The Rhode Island suffragists of all organizations then formed themselves into a League of Women Voters. A reception and tea followed, with various women representing the pioneer suffragists.

On this interesting historic occasion, Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates was present. Crippled by a fall, she had not been out of the house for fourteen months, and she had to be carried to the meeting; but when there she spoke with all her old-time wit and eloquence, and was happy in the victorious culmination of her many years of faithful labor. Afterwards she informed me that Mr. Blackwell had told her the idea of presidential suffrage had been suggested to him by the Hon. George F. Hoar. It was he who first pointed out this weak point in the Chinese wall that excluded women from the ballot. As United States Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Hoar was a powerful and faithful friend of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, his great talents and high character making him a tower of strength. His best help was always at the service of the cause, both in Washington and in his home state. He deserves the historic credit of originating this interesting and fruitful idea of presidential suffrage.

A. S. B.

Are We Too Easily Satisfied?

UNDER the caption "Why It Is a Good Thing for Women to Be in Politics," in the *Woman Citizen* for June 19th, a Washington correspondent says: "The news that the Senate Committee on Public Health, of which Senator France of Maryland is chairman, has unanimously reported in favor of the Shepard-Towner bill for the Protection of Maternity and Infancy

is giving the greatest possible satisfaction to the members of the National League of Women Voters." (The italics are mine.)

Are the members indeed so lightly pleased? If they feel "the greatest possible satisfaction" though the bill is still in Committee in the House, how would they feel if the measure had become a law? If the long, slow process of federal aid to reduce the deaths of mothers and babies were really about to begin, instead of being indefinitely postponed?

Senator France, I am morally certain, is far from feeling "the greatest possible satisfaction," though he did all that the powerful chairman of a Senate Committee could do to cut short the delays of a Congress which continues to let mothers and babies die by tens of thousands from causes which it could help to remove. For Senator France every delay detracts from "the greatest possible satisfaction."

The bill is still to be passed. This can be done in December if the American people care as much about babies as they do about postal employes;—or even one-tenth as much, measured in time and in dollars. The postal employes obtained for themselves by a publicity campaign of less than one month (May 15th to June 7th) salary increases amounting to 33 million dollars for the year beginning July, 1920; 38 million, beginning July, 1921; and 43 million beginning 1922-23.

The babies' bill begins with a small sum rising gradually to four million.

The postal employes were entitled to all they obtained and more. Their salary increases had been shamefully delayed. But the letter-carriers, the postal clerks and rural delivery drivers were not dying. On the contrary, they were admirably organized. They knew exactly what they wanted and how to get it. They did not themselves canvass or lobby. They neither struck nor threatened to strike. They merely quit the service by scores and hundreds, taking their valuable skill with them forever. Congress and the President acted in three weeks after full publicity.

But babies have no skill. On the contrary, their lives depend upon the skill of others. Babies carry on no publicity campaigns. They and their mothers die obscurely. Is not this the reason Congress still lets them die, after three annual Congressional hearings, just as though there had been none, as though the gruesome facts had never been laid before it?

Can it be really true that women voters are feeling "the greatest possible satisfaction" though the babies' bill lies slumbering in the House Committee until December, while the postal employes will begin on July 1st to draw their new salaries from their newly appropriated 33 millions, after their three weeks publicity campaign?

May not the readers of the *Woman Citizen* hear from the League members themselves what they propose to do next, besides rejoicing despite this most cruel defeat? Is not now the time to get votes promised in writing for next December, when Congress meets after the elections?

FLORENCE KELLEY,

General Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

The Library Association

AT the forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Library Association recently held in Denver, Colorado, Miss Alice L. Tyler, director of the Western Reserve University Library at Cleveland, Ohio, was elected president.

Women as presidents of the Library Association were for long years unconsidered in spite of the fact that about 80 per cent of the profession are women.

When Miss Mary Wright Plummer was made president four or five years ago, she was among the first women to be so honored.

Party in Power in Legislatures That Have Ratified

Ratified		Not Ratified	
Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
Arkansas Arizona	California Colorado		Connecticut
	Illinois Indiana Idaho Iowa Kansas Kentucky Maine Massachusetts Michigan Minnesota	Florida	
Missouri	Non-Partisan Legislature, but Republican in presidential elections.		
	Montana Nebraska Nevada New Hampshire New Jersey New Mexico New York		
Texas Utah	North Dakota Ohio Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island South Dakota Washington West Virginia Wisconsin Wyoming	North Carolina	
Oklahoma		Tennessee	Vermont
6	29	3	2

Rejected

Republican	Democratic
Delaware	Alabama Mississippi Georgia South Carolina Maryland Virginia Louisiana
1	7

Of Twenty-five Special Sessions Called to Ratify
Including Delaware

By Democratic Governors

New York.....Smith
Missouri.....Gardner
Arkansas.....Brough
Utah.....Bamberger
Montana.....Stewart
Nevada.....Boyle
New Jersey.....Edwards
Oklahoma.....Robertson
West Virginia.....Cornwell

By Republican Governors

Arizona.....Campbell
California.....Stephens
Delaware.....Townsend
Idaho.....Davis
Indiana.....Goodrich
Iowa.....Harding
Maine.....Milliken
Minnesota.....Burnquist
Nebraska.....McKelvie
New Hampshire.....Bartlett
New Mexico.....Larrazolo
North Dakota.....Frazier
Oregon.....Olcott
South Dakota.....Norbeck
Wyoming.....Carey
Washington.....Hart

(9)

(16)

It is the 36th state that counts. It is the Democratic party that will have the real claim on the woman vote in November if North Carolina comes in ahead of Vermont and Connecticut. It is by bringing Vermont or Connecticut into the 36th place that the Republicans can make good on their ratification schedule.

States That Have Ratified

R—In Regular Session (10)

S—In Special Session (25)

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R	June	10
2. Wisconsin.....	R	June	10
3. Michigan*.....	S	June	10
4. Kansas.....	R	June	16
5. Ohio.....	R	June	16
6. New York.....	S	June	16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R	June	24
8. Massachusetts.....	R	June	25
9. Texas.....	R	June	28
10. Iowa.....	S	July	2
11. Missouri.....	S	July	3
12. Arkansas.....	S	July	28
13. Montana.....	S	July	30
14. Nebraska.....	S	Aug.	2
15. Minnesota.....	S	Sept.	8
16. New Hampshire.....	S	Sept.	10
17. Utah.....	S	Sept.	30
18. California.....	S	Nov.	1
19. Maine.....	S	Nov.	5
20. North Dakota.....	S	Dec.	1
21. South Dakota.....	S	Dec.	4
22. Colorado.....	S	Dec.	12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R	Jan.	6
24. Kentucky.....	R	Jan.	6
25. Oregon.....	S	Jan.	12
26. Indiana.....	S	Jan.	16
27. Wyoming.....	S	Jan.	27
28. Nevada.....	S	Feb.	7
29. New Jersey.....	R	Feb.	9
30. Idaho.....	S	Feb.	11
31. Arizona.....	S	Feb.	12
32. New Mexico.....	S	Feb.	19
33. Oklahoma.....	S	Feb.	28
34. West Virginia.....	S	Mch.	10
35. Washington.....	S	Mch.	22

Failed to Ratify

1. Alabama.	5. South Carolina.
2. Georgia.	6. Virginia.
3. Maryland.	7. Delaware.
4. Mississippi.	8. Louisiana.

Pending in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed
North Carolina (special session scheduled).....July

Regular Session in 1921

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Connecticut.....	January
Tennessee.....	January
Vermont.....	January
Florida.....	April

(Delaware, South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia also have regular sessions in 1921. It is expected that North Carolina will ratify at its special July session. The Legislatures of the other three states defeated ratification in 1920. But the Legislatures of 1921 are to be elected in November, so that there will be another chance for ratification in 1921 in each of these states.)

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama.....	January
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Recapitulation

Ratified.....	35
Failed to ratify.....	8
Special session pending for 1920.....	1
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	4

*Michigan's Legislature was in special session when the amendment was passed. It promptly ratified.

Women's News from Europe

The Far East at Geneva

IT was with profound relief that the women of the world finally achieved Mrs. Catt's consent to remain president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Her Executive Committee includes: Mme. Schlumberger, vice-chairman; Miss Chrystal MacMillan and Miss Eleanore Rathbone, of England; Dr. Ancona, of Italy, Anna Lindemann and Adele Schreiber, of Germany, and Mme. Vieille and Mme. Girardet, of Switzerland.

At the request of Mme. Dewitt Schlumberger, president of the French Union of Women Suffragists, and of Deputy Justice Goddard, who was the French government's representative at the Geneva Convention, it was decided to hold the next session of the Alliance in Paris in 1922 unless the French suffrage bill shall have passed within the coming year.

The consensus of opinion of the international women leaders is that it is better to hold their congresses in the countries where women are unenfranchised.

Among the questions postponed for discussion at the 1922 Congress were two articles of the Woman Charter, those which ask for pensions for all mothers as a recognition by the state of the value of motherhood to society, and the demand that illegitimate children shall have the same rights as legitimate children.

The women of the various nations discussing this subject were not prepared to commit themselves on these two subjects. Not wishing the Alliance to stand for hastily drawn conclusions, they postponed action until 1922.

ONE of the impressive features of the International Congress was the participation of the Far Eastern women. At the hugely attended mass meeting on June 10, they took their part as speakers, proving, as Mrs. Catt, who was presiding, said, that if anyone is still so backward as to think that the women of the Far East are in any way inferior to the women of the rest of the world, they must now be convinced to the contrary. At this meeting the Indian delegates, sitting on the platform, wore gorgeous costumes of silks, richly embroidered with gold and all cut alike, much in the fashion of flowing tea gowns, except that yards of material were used as a picturesque shawl effect over the head. Three made speeches in perfect English, with perfect poise, and especially did the Indian poetess, Mrs. Naidau, win a great ovation. The only hint given of India's desire to be an independent nation was Mrs. Naidau's opening remarks. She regretted she could not speak in her native language, but had to use the language of those who now rule India.

MRS. CHANDRA SENNA, who has appeared before committees in the House of Commons, and Mrs. Tata, of Bombay, told something of India's past and of her present desire to live up to her traditions. Much to everybody's surprise they spoke of suffrage societies in India, that Great Britain had accepted the principle of woman suffrage for India, and that the assembly to be formed will have to pass on the matter. They spoke of the exaltation of peace and the enthronement of motherhood in their country as a climax to woman's existence, and said they were glad to have found the same idea common among the women of the West at the convention.

Two Japanese delegates in native costume also spoke. One is a professor of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Japan. The other is secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association.

Her Right to Speak

A LITTLE while ago when the *Times* had run out of missiles to throw at women, but being in its usual pleasant mood of rudeness towards them, it picked on Madame De Witt Schlumberger's German sounding name, as if it hoped to scent something in that to throw suspicion on her address in Geneva in which she said that if women all over the world had voted in 1914 there would have been no war.

For the benefit of all those, who like the *Times*, fail to remember the loyalty of the Alsations, these facts about Madame Schlumberger, president of the *Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes*, and one of the foremost women of France, are cited.

She is a granddaughter of M. Guizzot, who was prime minister to Louis Philippe. She married an Alsatian and went to live in Alsace. When her five sons were grown to be seventeen, they were commanded for service in the German army, the alternative being that they should leave the country.

Therefore, ten years ago, the family left all its rich interests in Alsace and returned to Paris.

All of Madame Schlumberger's sons and her son-in-law served as officers in the Great War. One was killed and one is now in this country.

If there is any woman who, having suffered from a German militaristic government and having given her all to France, is able to say what she believes about the effect women's votes might have had on the war, that woman is certainly Madame De Witt Schlumberger.

The Dutch League of Women Citizens

WHEN we obtained our enfranchisement we felt that, as citizens, we were responsible for the deeds and neglects of the community, the actions of municipality and state. Though at the time of the last election we had not yet won votes, only eligibility, yet the fact that 101 women (63 of whom are Socialists) hold office in governing bodies made us feel the importance of the duty incumbent upon the mothers of the country. So the League of Women Citizens set to work to guard against bad laws and to urge good laws.

There was a bill before the States-General which had for its object a reorganization of education, so that the state was to pay for religious denominational schools, as well as for all the other popular schools, and the Minister of Education had taken the opportunity of assigning to women teachers the three first classes of pupils under nine years of age, while leaving the upper classes to fully competent teachers, for whom a much better training will be provided than they have had up to now. Of course the women subordinate teachers were meant to begin work at 10 years and never to have more than one-third of the salary of the better qualified teachers, mostly men.

This regulation was vigorously opposed by the women. They objected to being relegated into an inferior rank in the profession and as mothers they disapproved of having only half competent teachers for their children in the first years of their school time. The protests of the League of Women Citizens were followed by those of many other women's and teachers' associations. Yet the majority in the Second Chamber of the States-General would not go against the Minister, and so by 44 to 36 votes it was decided that the inferior rank in the teaching profession was to be reserved for women.

Our first steps, therefore, proved unsuccessful; yet the campaign throughout the country was not without fruit, for it insured the better understanding of what an unpolitical, non-partisan league of women prospective voters has to do with legislation.

OUR second step will be directed towards better marriage laws. The whole country is convinced that the Code Napoleon under which we live cannot exist any longer. The League of Women Citizens has appointed a Committee to work out a better system which we may propose to our legislators. A draft appeared in the League's organ and immediately some big newspapers showed their curiosity. However, they will have to have patience until the Committee's plan is adopted at the General Meeting of the League, before they can begin to criticise it.

On May 17 we had our first experience in voting for women. The town of Maastricht had to incorporate three contiguous rural districts and there was an election for a new Municipal Council. There is compulsory voting in our constitution, so there was no fear of obstructions and no bringing up of electors to the polls; only there was no end of canvassing. This is not the League of Women Citizen's business but the political parties', and we may say that our constant prediction came true; the votes cast for each party augmented proportionally with the increase of the city.

In July we are going to have the first General Meeting of the League of Women Citizens. It will then be resolved how we shall celebrate the anniversary of our enfranchisement. It is already understood that it is to be by undertaking something for the protection of children.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

Apeldoorn, Holland.

Women's News from Latin Lands

What Suits the Men of Porto Rico

A SOMEWHAT pathetic reminder of history's repetitious habits is found in a letter from Porto Rico wherein Ana Roque de Duprey, "directora administradora" of the *Women's Herald* of San Juan, says sadly, "Our women do not want to be feminists, because the men have a very bad opinion of feminism, since it does not suit them."

In a flash one sees the Porto Rico women being put through the long slow torture of misunderstanding and disrespect which have made the effort for political freedom hard to women's feet everywhere.

All the old familiar screeds are connoted in the phrase, "it doesn't suit them." One hears in it the echo of man's age-long distaste at any change which seems to threaten male dominance.

Of course the Porto Rican men are solemnly disclaiming—with an air of originality, too, very likely—all the old stuff about woman's place being in the home; about its being immodest for her to know the alphabet or count up to five; about its being immoral and indecent for a wife to own her own earnings or a mother to have equal control over her child. Without a doubt they are menacing their daughters with the threat that the very hour when a woman votes she immediately becomes old and ugly so that no man will ever want to marry her, and that man's natural chivalry just dies in a fade-away at the approach of an enfranchised woman. No doubt they are going through the mental stage when they tell women that voting coarsens the complexion and kills mother love.

All the men who ever lived have said these things to all the women who ever wanted to take a forward step. American men said it. Some mental octogenarians of all ages still say it, still think it. After the men of Porto Rico and Argentina get over their first terror-stricken idea that a woman can't cook a beefsteak

after she has once voted, the men of Asia Minor and of Abyssinia and of the Congo, and the North Pole will all have to go through the same hysterics.

What brave women those have been in all countries who have stood up against the type of childish nagging and won out in spite of all the little souls yapping at their heels!

Some day the psychoanalysts will get busy fishing for the atavistic bugaboo which lies buried in the souls of men who are afraid of progress and afraid of women.

A Message from Argentina

THE first birthday of the Argentine contemporary magazine, *Nuestra Causa* (Our Cause) has just passed. Although it has met enormous difficulties, this young review, devoted entirely to a representation of the interests of women, has weathered its first year.

It is unique of its kind in South America, having correspondents in all the countries south of the Equator, in the United States and in old Spain.

Its departments of sociology and education, of art and literature are well staffed. Adela Garcia Salberry, one of the editors, is a well-known literary figure in South America and a poetess. Dr. Petrona Eyle of its staff is the president of the Argentine association for combatting the white slave trade.

The American correspondent of *Nuestra Causa*, Mr. I. Gozeli, has sent to the *Woman Citizen* the following impassioned plea for the progress of women of his country:

"Ours is not only the cause of the women, but of all those who come under the laws of justice; of all those who, guided by self respect, realize the meaning of the inequality which modern society is facing on account of the limitation of the right of women. No liberty can reign while laws made by men exclude those who were and are as capable as men.

"The question is not whether woman is better or man is worse, but whether she is capable, and that cannot be denied. Go back to the recent world war and glance at the social machine which was kept moving mainly by women in Europe and to a great extent in the United States. Those who oppose the granting of equality, supporting their poor arguments with such words as 'capacity,' are dishonest with themselves.

"We all know that there are still human beings who, afflicted by the wrath of Nietzsche and many others of the past, are amusingly repeating the nonsense which describes woman as a toy or a beautiful jewel belonging to themselves.

"We all know that there are still beings who accept as an axiom the creation of the woman from a 'crooked rib' and consider her therefore full of sins, and lacking something by virtue of that 'rib.' Could foolishness reach greater silliness?

"To grant to women all the rights which men already have is the elevation of man's own dignity, his affirmation that woman is an integral part of society.

"History will severely denounce those who, while vociferating the name of liberty, put a shameful stain upon an entire generation by refusing women the right to march arm in arm with men in the vanguard of the struggle for civilization.

"Is it logical to grant rights to badly educated men, or even to uneducated men, while refusing privileges to women who are educating others?

"Why is it that women graduated in law and medicine, women of great intellectual development, are refused equality, the real symbol of brotherhood? 'It is because the Law is not just,' proclaims *Nuestra Causa*, just emerged from the midst of unrighteousness, the elimination of which women all over the world are fighting for. Great are their services, to a great cause which may be obstructed but never be annihilated.

"Our cause is a strong stream which cannot be detained, just as the rising of the sun cannot be avoided.

"So the coming of the glorious day, the day of justice, day of real equality between man and woman, may be delayed but by no means effaced by the guardians of an antiquated and decaying system.

"And the struggle against the oppression of women will continue as long as that oppression exists; as long as the vestiges of this great injustice remain."

In Montevideo

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I BEG to enclose a check for my subscription and postage to the *Woman Citizen* for this year 1920-1921.

I am glad to congratulate you for your great victory on the vote for the American women.

In Montevideo there is nothing to be expected on the vote for women. There is, it is true, a bill for the municipal suffrage of women which was before Parliament six or seven years ago, but this bill seems to be doomed to an eternal sleep.

Women here are not educated for the struggle. Few, very few indeed, are those who interest themselves in political work, still the only way for the enfranchisement of women. We must be at work for many years yet, I am afraid.

Assuring you once more of my sympathy with the aims of your paper.

Montevideo, S. A.

JOSEFINA G. LUISI.

A Famous War Correspondent

MR. HENRY W. NEVINSON, the famous war correspondent, now visiting America, deserves a warm welcome from the women. In the thick of the fight for woman suffrage in England, he and H. N. Brailsford resigned from the staff of the *London Daily News*, as a protest against the way in which the women were being treated. It was a rare demonstration of chivalry.

Professor John Graham Brooks, in introducing Mr. Nevinson to the Twentieth Century Club of Boston the other day, mentioned that Mr. Nevinson many years ago had been out with the British Legion fighting for Greece; and that in the late war he had seen service on all the fronts, except that of Russia. Professor Brooks added that when he had first met Mr. Nevinson, that gentleman was a young reporter with his arm in a sling. He had been assigned to find out whether it were true that the girls who made Cadbury's Chocolate worked under inhuman conditions: their employers objected to having the conditions investigated; and the injury to his arm came through the rough handling he met while getting his information!

Mr. Nevinson may be addressed in care of *The New Republic*, New York city.

A. S. B.

John Bull for Healthy Babies

IN 1918 grants made by the national government in support of infant welfare work in England and Wales amounted to about \$1,150,000, which represents one-half of approved expenditure for welfare centers, "health visitors," maternity care and similar work for mothers and children.

The number of health centers increased from 850 in 1917 to 1,550 in June, 1919, over one-half of them supported entirely by public funds. Attendance at the centers has also shown a phenomenal increase. One center in Gloucester, which in 1918 received 263 expectant mothers, had 932 on its rolls in 1919.

As a result of public protection of maternity and infancy, the infant mortality rate for England and Wales for 1918 is 94. There was no increase over 1917 even under the adverse conditions of war and influenza.

Getting Even with the Government

THE general public has an interest in the report of the United States Senate investigating committee on the high price of paper. This is a matter which involves the rights, not of publishers only, but the public.

For several years there has been an alleged shortage of paper. Prices have been raised enormously, and in consequence hundreds of newspapers have had to cease publication. Many cities which had formerly several daily papers have now only one, and hence only one side of current questions is presented to their citizens.

This situation has been and is particularly hard on the progressive papers. In the great fight that is now on between the profiteers and the people, the newspapers which are covertly on the side of the profiteers have strong financial backing, which the reform and progressive papers have not. Many of the latter have died, and those that are left are having a desperate struggle.

Not only are the prices of paper high, but a deliberate effort is being made in certain quarters to kill off the progressive periodicals by charging them more than others—a sort of selective starvation. In one big western city, the only progressive daily is forced to pay more than four times as much per pound for paper as its competitors, the reactionary dailies.

This situation has been well known to publishers for some time. Now the report of the Senate committee brings the facts within everybody's reach. After full hearings and extended investigation, the committee finds that the alleged shortage of paper is mainly an artificial shortage, due to manipulation and profiteering. They say:

"All the evidence of the various witnesses and the substantial and absolutely authentic information we have obtained from official reports, seem to indicate that many of the newsprint paper makers here and in Canada were acting in collusion, with the apparent intent to bring about restraint of the normal flow of trade and engage in unfair competition by methods in many cases of creating an artificial supply and in others of resorting indirectly through their bureaus of statistics to an actual fixing of price. Indeed, there is sufficient evidence to warrant the finding that there has been a deliberate curtailment of newsprint paper upon the part of some newsprint paper manufacturers to 'get even' with the Government for its prosecution, and also to hold up prices.

"Although the committee has considered the various disturbing elements that the newsprint industry has been subjected to during war time and the subsequent period of quickly rising material and labor costs, and has also taken into account increased consumption of print paper, the apparent scarcity of wood pulp, and numerous other unstabilizing forces common to all business of today, we feel that the scarcity of the product was more the result of artificial obstructions than of the natural laws, and that the market prices and the uniform contract stipulations were arrived at through the shortage of production, the efficient work of the manufacturers' bureau of statistics, and the use of a virtual gentlemen's agreement.

"We believe that the profits taken by several of these concerns were totally out of keeping with the best business practices, that some manufacturers were and are guilty of breaking the spirit, if not the letter, of their own previous agreement with the Government, and that they took advantage of a condition attributable for the most part to their own manipulation in order to make gains far out of proportion to those of fair legitimate business profits. That the practices were unjust, illegal and discriminatory is established beyond any doubt, and also that the prices charged for newsprint paper are both excessive and unwarranted.

"This committee is not convinced that over one-third the price



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now asked in the spot market is warranted, and in fact there are some well-regulated firms who, as the evidence has shown, consider four or five cents per pound a thoroughly fair and reasonable price for their products.

"There is no doubt that it is the manufacturers who have spot paper to sell that have been and are reaping the large profits and have placed such severe penalties upon the country press. There has been evidence presented which would show that jobbers and brokers and commission men are receiving very large financial returns as a result of existing high prices, though many of them frankly admit their disgust with the existing unhealthy and immoral conditions of trade, and candidly admit that they are ashamed to sell newsprint paper for the prices current today."

Publishers of small newspapers were declared by the report to be in the hands of "unscrupulous profiteers and exploiters," while "even the large newspaper publishers are at the mercy of the manufacturers." The report added that it "was not and still is not safe for a publisher in any way to criticize or protest to a manufacturer," that the "big publishers, not having mills of their own, are in a 'hold-up' market while the small publishers are being driven from the business by threatened bankruptcy."

The Senate recommends that the Department of Justice institute proceedings under the Sherman and Clayton acts against print paper manufacturers. Other recommendations made by the committee include:

Establishment of a Federal Newsprint Board "to supervise the manufacture and distribution of print paper," should Government efforts to maintain a reasonable price fail;

Amendment of the Lever Food Control Act to penalize profiteering in newsprint paper;

Imposition of an excise tax of ten cents on Sunday newspapers weighing more than 1.28 pounds a copy so as to limit such editions to eighty pages until an adequate paper supply can be secured;

Appropriation of \$100,000 for the purpose of experimenting with substitutes for wood pulp;

Establishment of a rate of 1 cent a pound on sheet print paper to any part of the country when sent by parcel post regulations;

The establishment of a newsprint paper mill to supply the Government's needs, any surplus paper to be sold to small consumers.

The report concludes with a protest against the adjournment of Congress without enactment of legislation to relieve the print paper situation.

Starving the public of information is almost as bad as starving it of food. Artificially boosting the price of provisions and that of newsprint paper comes in the same category.

Before election let the women question the candidates for Congress as to what they will do about this matter.

A. S. B.

The Mothers of Kanab

MORE evidence about all-women town councils flows in. It appears that such matriarchates are not so uncommon in these United States as one would think, for the story of the five women councillors who ran the town of Kanab, Utah, and gave it a clean government antedates either Jackson Hole, Wyo., or Valley Center, Kansas.

On January 4, 1912, these five women who had constituted municipal authority in that town for two years, gave over their records and the keys of the city to their male successors. "Thus closed an administration that from the standpoint of integrity, ability, and enforcement of ordinances has never been equalled in Kanab," said the Kane County *News* of the day.

Kanab is a town in the southern part of Utah which had been dominated by a certain set of strong business men, rather too much dominated, thought some of the restive younger men. This restless faction decided to turn a trick and put up a full municipal ticket of women, the wives and daughters of the very men then in office. The women went into office with a sweeping rush.

"And then what happened?"

"THE women themselves possessed their own sense of humor," says the historian of the mothers of Kanab, "and proceeded to do things. They were considerably surprised and perturbed, but naturally their thought was to clean up the town.

"They set themselves to do it first—where do you think?—to clean out and make beautiful the city cemetery—where their babies were buried. Men had to stake out their lots and have regular deeds to them. Next, they passed a stringent estray-pound law, setting a fine of \$1.50 on every cow found wandering in the streets of Kanab. The men were now rather indignant. What? pay one dollar and a half to get a cow out of the estray pound? The cow which had grown up on the streets of the rural city? Not a man proposed to pay. So the cows were driven in to the pound by the city marshal, and when not redeemed, were milked, the milk sold, and the cows finally sold or driven into other counties. The fines were paid soon after a few trial cases, and as men had to hunt for their bovines in their own fenced pastures, Kanab lost its sidewalk fringe of placid cows browsing along the edge of the irrigation ditches. A dog law followed, and other improvements were projected.

"One amusing phase of this case is that the women had to hire a city marshal—a man. A big, brave, courageous man. No coward or weakling need apply. For he had—not arrests to make—but jeers and slurs to face from his fellows. He was twitted about being under petticoat government. They skimmed and saved from every other avenue of expenditure in order to pay the comparatively enormous salary they were obliged to offer to the man for the job of city marshal. And after a few weeks or months of being the town joke he gave up and another marshal was found. But Kanab was a model town under these careful, economical, sober mothers of men. A clean-up day was appointed in September, 1912, and prizes offered for the best kept street and sidewalk; the board tendered to Governor Spry and party a reception, September 15, 1912; a 'Greater Utah' meeting was held under the auspices of the board, May 15, 1913; September 10, 1913, a fruit festival was tendered in honor of the Utah Automobile Club, which was making the pioneer trip of the Grand Canyon.

"IN addition to these things, the Board wrote to the Post Office Department asking that intoxicating liquors be not allowed transportation on the mail carriage. The letter received prompt and favorable reply.

"Bridges were built over all the street crossings, and sandy places capped. The streets in the cemetery were graded, the fences repaired, and new gates put in.

"Indian camps were removed from the city for sanitary reasons. The Indian agent was asked to use his influence to stop the sale of liquor at Fredonia, Arizona.

"The Board stood half the expense of building the \$1,000 floodway to protect the town from floods.

"All of the public mothers were private mothers, too, with from two to seven children in each home. They were plain, intelligent women who attended to their own household duties without neglect. They were citizens of quality, on an equality with the best men of the community."



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To Liven Things Up

NEITHER Jackson, Wyoming, nor Valley Center, Kansas, has anything on Jewett, Texas, where there is not only an entire feminine city administration, but one elected under unique conditions. Each of the five women of the city council was a candidate against her own husband. When the lady mayoress—the only one who didn't run against her husband—was asked if the election did not cause domestic friction, she said she had heard of none.

The most interesting feature of the election was that no woman voted, as Texas women have primary suffrage only. The city's all-woman ticket was put in entirely by the votes of men, many candidates winning by a large majority.

The lady mayor is Mrs. J. T. Adkinson, who presides also over the City Court. The five councillors are Mrs. R. H. Evans, Mrs. V. L. Smith, Mrs. F. P. Harrison, Mrs. Coakey Evans and Mrs. Robert Cotson.

All of the women are just plain housewives and home makers. They are without political axes to grind, and their campaign was run on a basis of town improvement.

"The women did not enter politics because of any particular abuse," Mrs. Adkinson explained, "but because things had been lagging in a civic sense and they believed they would be able to liven things up more than had the men." Their first act was to clean up the city, which they say is to be kept as they would keep their own houses.

It seems that the Jewett woman election beat Jackson's by a month. Jewett is a town of 1,000 people, about 150 miles north of Houston.

His Lovable Land

NOW that Sir Edward Carson has recommended to Ulster that it abandon its opposition to the Irish Home Rule, St. Patrick must find himself more bewildered than ever over a country where bewilderment has become a normal state. Anyone who expects to offer a book to the public which explains Ireland will find himself not so much disappointed as hated. No one wants to understand Erin's Isle, least of all does Erin herself. While Canon Hannay makes a brave effort so to correlate facts as to offer the foreigner a chance to put two and two together, and formulate an Irish philosophy—if he dares, or cares—he is too wise to formulate one himself.

Before Canon Hannay became George A. Birmingham, he took his world seriously and wrote impassioned articles about Ireland for the edification of Irishmen. But one of the things Ireland doesn't want is to be edified. It doesn't want ideas, says Birmingham humorously, but also somewhat bitterly, one fancies "Ireland dislikes ideas, being, indeed, a little afraid of them. Nothing is secure in a country if ideas once get loose in it. Not even churches and parties are really safe. And, unfortunately, it is impossible to have literature without ideas of some kind. They are the food on which literature lives." "In Ireland," he continues, "we pay—heavily—for our politics . . . we pay—still more heavily—for our churches . . . we pay—most heavily of all—for our horse races. . . . We want politics and churches and horse races. We do not want books. Why on earth should we buy them?" Therefore, although the young idealist could not get his ideas across to any reading public when he was didactic—after he stopped trying to teach or preach, he conveyed to two continents all that was in his mind by means of the most rollicking humor that ever crept into print.

Yet there is no observant person who has not seen the ghost of suffering Ireland behind such fooleries as "General John Regan."

Canon Hannay's *An Irishman Looks at His World* (George H. Doran Co., New York) is a new attempt at seriousness concerning the land its author loves with passion and exasperation. It makes no such mistake as to attempt a preconceived theory about Ireland's republic, but it does give a sequential account of the growth of the Sinn Fein movement since its inception in 1899, when Mr. Arthur Griffiths established the *United Irishman*. From this was started the Sinn Fein doctrine, the outgrowth of a series of articles in 1904 on the "Resurrection of Hungary."

Canon Hannay's second chapter, "New Parties in Ireland," is, in a way, what uncommitted Americans have long sought—a fair explanation from within the island, of what the Sinn Feiners hope to attain. What Americans do not generally know is the paradoxical position in which Irish Labor finds itself between the Sinn Fein, which looks back to the Gaelic state, and the International Labor Party which looks forward to a Socialist state. "In seeking an Irish Republic," says Canon Hannay, "the Sinn Feiners are seeking the opportunity of re-establishing the Gaelic State and so winning for the workers the good they crave, not by way of going forward but by going back to an age, golden perhaps, certainly remote. The primitive communism of the clan system seems very distant. It must surely be easier to struggle forward a little than to slip back as far as that."

But let no one think this book an attack on the Sinn Fein, nor yet on any other party, nor on any one of Ireland's many "movements." Its tolerance, humor, despair, tears and laughter are due to the fact that the author sympathizes with and loves all the adventures to which modern Ireland has committed itself, and is himself half dazzled with hope and half doubtful as to whither—or whether—Ireland is going. "Indeed," he says in conclusion, "I am more interested in Ireland than in anything else and I love every sod of it. But for a solution to the problem . . . a scheme of settlement, I have no such thing to offer. I think that all the solutions, answers, and schemes there are have been proposed already. . . . There are perhaps two hundred different ways of governing Ireland. They have not all been tried. Indeed I doubt if any one of them has been tried. But they have all been proposed and recommended. I cannot invent another, because there is no other to be invented."

But if Canon Hannay has not invented a two hundred and first way of governing Ireland, he has presented a delightful, lovable and revealing picture of a much disputed land. Americans who read it will not be so cock-sure that all the hopes of Ireland are centered in Mr. de Valera, and they may be a little humbler about advising Irish politicians across the sea how to run their land, until Irish politicians this side of the sea demonstrate a new efficiency.

Women in the Ministry

MISS ALICE N. WHITTAKER, duly appointed co-pastor of a Baptist Church in the North Woods of Maine, says that \$1.87 a day isn't a large enough salary for a clergyman or clergywoman. She and Miss Etta J. Nash, said to be the only two feminine Baptist preachers in New England, were sent into the far north to serve as pastors during the war when men were scarce. They do not think of themselves in any temporary capacity, however, for they say the time has come when the woman pastor is much needed in all denominations and that she has no expectation of under-cutting the man's salary.

"Women entering the ministry," says Miss Whittaker, who has filled a pastorate of five years in the far north of Aroostook County, "will not be content to live on less than a day laborer receives, nor should they. Conditions in America today do not warrant the practice of such self-denial."

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

LESSON XI

A Review

IF you will look back over the first ten lessons in the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course, including the lectures on taxation in the issues of June 12 and June 19, and check up and compare, you will find that you have been following government from practice to theory along certain defined lines. We haven't wanted to make too much of the lines, *per se*, but they have been there just the same.

In Lessons I, II, III, IV and V you were concerned with questions of the organization of parties and the practical technique of voting. We said in the beginning that we would take up government at exactly the point where it was touching life in the liveliest way at the moment, the most practical way. That was in April and the point was the primary. In some states the presidential preference primary was on the program. In others the direct primary. The primary was, therefore, the place to begin for anyone who wanted to begin just where political life stood on April 3—the first issue to carry the Citizenship Course.

Being up against the primaries we learned what a primary was, its purposes, how the primary had evolved in sequence to the caucus and the convention, which states had the direct primary, which had the presidential preference primary, the uses of the primary and the convention, their weakness, and their strong points. As one votes in a party primary the same as in a general election, we came on to the technique of voting and considered the range of our voting prerogatives in November.

WE could not go far in the story of a political primary or convention without discovering that they were expedients, agencies, through which something back of them was operating. That something we found was party organization and we made room in our consciousness for the fact that when we talk about government in this country or study government, we are talking and studying about government through parties, in other words, we are in the thick of politics.

Apropos to that fact we considered some of the abuses of politics, the use of money in political campaigns and the frauds that can make voting itself a byword—the money feature in the campaigns of various presidential candidates neatly punctuating those lessons as we went along. We also considered political parties in reference to their platform-making function.

From the Practice to the Theory

NOW, keeping in mind that the object of this course is to relate us, you and me, directly to the government, that is, follow step by step from us to it, from the little to the big, from the immediate thing to the remote, and having gotten as far as the discovery that the power of government in this country functions through party, you will admit that the next step was bound to be to find out what we mean when we say "power of government." All of us have all along known that the power of government is distributed in some sort of uneasy balance between nation and state and between state and municipality. Therefore, to track down this balance became our business.

So we took next the story of the effort to establish and maintain the balance between federal and state government. In Lesson VI, in the discussion of the functioning of the legislative, executive and judicial powers we stuck almost wholly to their state manifestation. In Lesson VII, Mrs. Brown considered the functioning of the executive, legislative and judicial powers in their federal forms, and in Lesson VIII, we considered the judicial power in detail in both its state and federal manifestations, under the title "The Power of the Courts and the Power of the People."

We still had not had, however, any word as to the power of government as it functions locally and municipally. That we got in Lesson IX, which dealt with the "Woman Voter and Her Home Town."

As the taxing power of government touches the woman at every angle, municipal, state, federal, we interpolated Professor Secrist's view and review of systems of taxation and his, to many, amazing insistence that what we need is not less taxes but more, on the same theory that it is not the money put away in the stocking that does us good but the money that we spend for service, or product, or education, or entertainment, or put out to earn other money.

HERE, in brief summary, are the main points on taxation as a theory, the expedients for raising taxes not being considered at the moment:

a. Taxes are the medium through which all businesses and all individuals pay back to the government some part of what they make, or possess, because of the protection of the government.

b. The government, local, state or national, is the public housekeeper, and expends the money paid to it by the people as its share of their money, for which, in return, it must give them those things it has agreed to provide.

c. "Public Expenditure" is the use to which the common housekeeping fund of the people, raised by taxes, is put. It is what is done with "the money in the ginger jar." It pays for all the things society carries on as a group.

d. Taxation for maintenance of the social order and for common benefit is a purely business arrangement. In our modern life where many things can no longer be done individually, it is more and more necessary to manage necessities through a collective agency. To do this the agency employed by the people, that is, its government, should have at its command enough money to make it a solvent, or going corporation. All business is really based on an assured taxation. Governments, like people, must meet interest when it comes due, pay public servants and operate as a high-class business corporation. More and more, matters of housing, education, health, protection and a thousand other things tend to become centralized under government supervision. Therefore taxes will be, must be, greater and not less.

e. Taxes form the revenue which belongs to the state as a *quid pro quo* for the right of private property which the individual enjoys and which the state insures to him. So the state has a right to share in what such property earns.

f. The basis of distribution used to be property. A man was considered to be able to pay into the common fund according as he had much or little personal property, the value on which was fixed or assessed by the government. By that measure, it was the property which paid and not the income from it. Up to 1913 when the XVIth amendment to the U. S. Constitution went into effect, the Federal Government got most of its common fund for national expenses from internal revenue taxes, customs duties, so-called tariff taxes. Since 1913 the Federal Income Tax has been an important source of revenue.

g. Many states now have income tax laws. So that the general trend of taxation is away from property to the income the property yields.

WE have now gone in a fairly straight line from our immediate personal prerogatives in government to the power inherent in government itself. We have come back along the same line, watching that power play down through nation, state and municipality to ourselves. But one thing that we have not yet concerned ourselves with to a sufficient extent is the form which the power of government assumes, the detail of its departments, the province and program of each in their federal, state and local application.

In the lessons immediately to follow, we shall take up and round out the question of the departmentalizing of government, reviewing what we have already had on the executive, legislative and judiciary, and filling in the departmental detail for nation and state, in an effort to get the exact pattern of the United States government, as it has been laid down on the people of the land. In the case of the federal government, for instance, we have had the skeleton outline of the executive or administration, of the legislative or Congress, and, in greater detail, the judiciary has been sketched in. What we want to do next is come to an understanding of the more important departments of the executive and the more important rules and customs governing the organization of Congress, with an inquiring eye on the points at which departmental activity and congressional function touch us as citizens and voters.

Turn to Lesson VII in the issue of May 22nd. You will find in it a cursory review of the federal executive, the duties and powers of the president and the subdivision of his work among his advisory board, or Cabinet. Each of the ten members of this cabinet is responsible to the President for a weighty program of work and on the shoulders of each rests heavy responsibility but in considering the Cabinet program, department by department, you are to consider each as a part of the president's work being carried on by a subordinate whom he has named and whom he can unname if he wants to.

The first department to be considered in detail in connection with the federal executive is the Treasury Department. It will be analyzed in Lesson XII in the next issue as following pertinently the question of taxation, or financing the nation, as Professor Secrist put it. In turn we will take up the other departments of the Executive. Then go to Congress.

The Boston Idea

AS a suggestion to Leagues of Women Voters, one of the most profitable as well as unique programs for citizenship teaching seems to be that of the Boston League of Women Voters. Government at its source was the idea seized upon by the League's Citizenship Committee. The plan was a citizenship day at the City Hall. The many groups and classes that had been having courses of citizenship lectures, were invited to go to the City Hall where

the heads of the various City Departments outlined in short speeches the duties and obstacles attendant on the administration of their official tasks. As an illustration, the City Registrar told most interestingly that Massachusetts was the first state government in the world to establish a department for the record of births. Church parishes had such records, but no political division provided for such information.

The program covered a morning and an afternoon session and included addresses in which the following city departments were represented by officials:

Parks and Recreation—Hugh C. McGrath.
Overseers of the Poor—Mrs. Margaret G. Gookin.
Probation—Herbert Parsons.
Registry—Edward W. McGlenan.
Education—Michael Downey.
Penal Institutions—F. C. O'Brien.
Election Department—Melancthon W. Burlen.
Building Department—John H. Mahoney.
Registration of Institutions—Charles F. Gaynor.
Health Department—Dr. William C. Woodward.

The newspapers of Boston commended "Citizenship Day" and enthusiastically claimed it was a step toward the old town meetings where citizens and officials were brought in understanding touch with each other, and their mutual need for co-operation.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported: "For the most part officials have welcomed the opportunity to frankly discuss public questions with citizens met in an earnest desire to get at facts with the aim of intelligently promoting all movements for civic betterment. . . . Women, as Labor and as the teachers, and as other groups, are apparently awakening to the fundamental need, not of playing politics, but of taking part in government."

In Rhode Island

ONE of the most beautiful ways in which women of America have shown their respect for citizenship was exhibited in Rhode Island on May 17th, when a procession of women marched through the streets of Providence. They were bent on a singular errand. They carried with them the records of the fifty-two years of effort for the vote made by the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. These they deposited at the State House as a part of the history of the people written into its community life—a priceless record.

Rhode Island is one of the states whose work is done and whose fighting women gathered thus publicly to celebrate the end of their position as supplicants for the vote and start all over again as users of the vote.

That little state has achieved everything possible. It led the Eastern states to presidential suffrage, just as New York did to full suffrage. It has ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Its Legislature has prepared all the machinery for the women's vote next fall.

On May 17th, therefore, the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association met in the library of the Rhode Island Medical Society in Providence at two in the afternoon and formally disbanded.

From the library it marched to the State House with its records, and returned to lay its laurels before the feet of its pioneers. On the same day, it passed a resolution of immediate metamorphosis into a League of Women Voters, carrying the clause that the members of the Association be "invited to become members of the League of Women Voters, Rhode Island State Division, and that they be accepted as members upon signing their names to the list of members of the League.

In New Jersey

IN spite of the noble efforts of James Nugent and Company to spare New Jersey women the burden of intelligence, the whole state is now buzzing with schools of citizenship. Upon stylish fastnesses where dense ignorance was all the fashion, the plebeian light of political information is stealing and there is little hope that exclusive ladies can much longer shield themselves from the garish light of democracy. No matter how hard they resist, they will soon know the difference between a coronet and a coroner.

Jersey City has had an efficient course in citizenship running through many weeks, but the School of Citizenship in Newark held in April was one of the intensive sort for normal training. It was specially planned to train workers, and the fruits of it are now being seen in the group schools all over the state.

The Newark School was under the charge of Mrs. Wells P. Eagleton, president of the Women's Political Union, which has just ended its existence as an organization and lined up with the Newark League of Women Voters.

Its last organized effort was its training school in civics. About 550 women went daily to its twelve sessions, lasting over six days. There was no diminution of interest, as the last session of all was the most fully attended.

The Union asked and gained the cooperation of organized women in Newark, and the school was held in the Y. W. C. A. Those who conducted the lessons were experts, among them Mr. George U. Seger, Commissioner of Finance and Revenue, Passaic; Mr. Burdette Lewis, State Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies; Mr. Newton Bugbee, State Controller; Miss Louise Grant, Mrs. Raymond Brown and many others.

Another of the latest developments of civic study in New Jersey is the Citizenship School at Morristown, N. J., conducted this month by Mrs. Brown.

Schools have been taken up by clubs and groups of women who were hitherto frightened cold at the immodesty of betraying an interest in the ballot.

The Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Committee



Reviews Its Activities Since Its Inception

THE campaign to raise \$500,000 for the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial is now in full swing. Committees have been organized in thirty-six states and are actively at work soliciting funds among the women of America in honor of one to whom they owe much of their present political, industrial and professional status.

At the final meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Chicago in February, 1920, this Memorial was given official sanction and all the state and local organizations of the newly-formed League of Women Voters were urged to aid in the collection of the fund. It was decided that the fund should be used to establish two Memorial Foundations—a Foundation in Political Science at Bryn Mawr College of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, and a Foundation in Preventive Medicine at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, two institutions to which the late Dr. Shaw was intimately related, two foundations which will carry out in a large measure two of Dr. Shaw's most cherished ideals—the education of women in public affairs and the conquest of disease.

An explanation is due to the women of America as to the reason for the apparent delay in beginning this campaign to raise the Memorial Fund. Four months have elapsed since it was authorized and the question naturally arises: Why has not this Appeal gone forth some time ago?

At its first meeting, March 11, it was decided by the committee appointed to raise the fund that its campaign should begin on the very day the 36th, or deciding, state should ratify the Constitutional Amendment. Beginning at such a time, the campaign would have had the advantage of issuing its appeal at the precise moment when the women of the nation were in their most exultant mood at having gained the vote and most enthusiastic in their desire to honor one who had done so much to bring about this long-deferred victory.

So, the committee waited. Finally, thirty-four states ratified. Only two more were needed. The Legislatures of Washington and Delaware had been called to act upon the Amendment and there was every reason to believe they would act

On the Boys' Side

Dr. Shaw on the Boys' Side

IN the hitherto unpublished photograph above Dr. Shaw is shown surrounded by a men's and boys' baseball team of Kansas City, Missouri. It was taken just before her death upon the occasion of a visit to the Boys Hotel. She had a vigorous talk with these young men just starting on their business lives. Some were newsboys, some were office boys, some factory hands, all were young, all had been left totally on their own resources.

The boys liked Dr. Shaw so much that they asked her to be their baseball mascot. If you knew her, you know that she said yes.

Whereupon one slim youth said:

"Why, fellers, now we got the Doctor on our side we sure can lick any team in town."

favorably. Within a month, it appeared to the committee the victory would be won and the Memorial campaign launched.

The state of Washington lived up to expectation, speedily ratifying and making the 35th state. All eyes turned toward the little town of Dover, capital of the tiny state of Delaware, where, it was expected, the final act of the suffrage drama would be played.

But Delaware failed. Granted the opportunity to earn the everlasting gratitude of the women of America, the diminutive Diamond State, absorbed in its own petty affairs, allowed this decisive moment to slip by. Local politics, having little or nothing to do with suffrage, killed the Suffrage Amendment. In the middle of the session, the Legislature voted and defeated the Amendment. However, there was still hope. The women who were there to see the victory marshalled their forces and managed to have the ratifying resolution revived toward the close of the session. President Wilson sent a letter to the Democratic members urging them to ratify. Republican leaders were also active with the members of their party. But to no avail. Again the ratifying resolution was defeated and the suffrage forces had to look elsewhere for the deciding state.

There were a number of states which had not yet acted upon the Amendment, but in these, while there was every reason to believe they would ratify, no session of the Legislature had been called, and again local conditions interfered, causing several Governors to refuse to call special sessions. It soon became apparent that the women could not hope to gain the vote until the regular sessions of these Legislatures were held. Of course, there is no doubt as to the final outcome, but nation-wide suffrage has been seriously delayed.

Meanwhile, the Shaw Memorial Committee had been thwarted in its object to open its campaign on Ratification Day. In the interim, however, the members had not been idle, but had perfected their thirty-six state organizations. When Delaware failed to ratify, the question arose as to whether the whole campaign should be deferred longer, or whether it should be started at once. In view of the fact that thirty-six states had been organized and it would be unwise to break up these organizations, it was decided to start the campaign immediately. Hence, it is now under way.

In opening its campaign, the Committee has sent out the following appeal:

The Appeal

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw has won her long fight.

She toiled for four decades that women might be free. All that the women had struggled to attain through the years she gained for their heritage.

That other women might know the joys of achievement, she broke new trails to far horizons. A beloved pioneer, she led in securing higher education and the opening of new professions for women. She always maintained a steadfast and unshakable belief that God created all men and all women equal.

So simple, sincere and true was her faith, it did not matter to her that she traveled so much of the distance alone. Forsaken by her family and friends, she faced cold, hunger and personal sacrifice to become a minister of the Gospel.

From the little parish on Cape Cod, she went to Boston to study medicine. She made the way easier for the women physicians who came after her.

Guiding force of a new era, she faced the endless tedium and dullness of long campaigns that

the message of the political equality of women might go forward. And always, even when she faced the sunset, there was one great inspiration in her life—what this would mean to the women who would follow her.

Anna Howard Shaw was a great figure in the history of the women who have helped to make America. The memory of her life will live in the hearts of women who stand today on the threshold of a boundless future.

To those of us who knew and loved her best, stone or bronze would fail to symbolize her spirit. Her far-reaching vision is better expressed in a living growing memorial which will open other new fields for women in the future, as she opened them in the past.

It is therefore planned to raise Five Hundred Thousand Dollars to establish a two-fold memorial—a Foundation in Political Science at Bryn Mawr College and a Foundation in Preventive Medicine at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania.

This will be the first great national memorial ever dedicated to a woman by the American women she loved and served.

Every woman in America should join in this thank-offering to express her gratitude for the great victory, so hardly won.

Give as your heart dictates.

Anna Howard Shaw gave her best.

The Executive Committee in charge of the campaign is headed by Mrs. John O. Miller of Pittsburgh, chairman, and its members are Mrs. J. Claude Bedford of Media, Professor Susan M. Kingsbury of Bryn Mawr, Dr. Ellen C. Potter of Harrisburg, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers of New York and Mrs. James Starr, Jr., of Philadelphia.

On the Advisory Committee are the following:

Miss Jane Addams, Hon. Henry T. Allen, Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Dean Harriett Bradford, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, Mrs. Frances E. Burns, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Miss Anna A. Gordon, Bishop John W. Hamilton, Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Dr. Mary B. Jewett, Mrs. W. A. Johnston, Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Miss Julia Lathrop, Mrs. Henry P. Lincoln, Hon. Frank O. Lowden, Mrs. J. Willis Martin, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Mrs. W. McNab Miller, Miss Ethel Moore, Mrs. Philip North Moore, Mrs. Beverly Mumford, Mrs. Maude Wood Park, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Hon. William C. Sproul, Dean Lucy Ward Stebbins, Miss Helen Taft, Hon. William Howard Taft, Miss M. Carey Thomas, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Dr. Martha Tracy, Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton, Dr. Emmeline B. Wells, Miss Maude Wetmore.

The state chairmen thus far chosen are:

Alabama, Mrs. Julian B. Parke.
Arizona, —
Arkansas, —
California, Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt.
Colorado, —
Connecticut, Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton.
Delaware, —
District of Columbia, Miss N. Louisa White.
Florida, Miss Elizabeth Skinner.
Georgia, Miss Mary F. Pou.
Idaho, Mrs. Anna Moody.
Illinois, Mrs. Medill McCormick.
Indiana, Mrs. Lewis J. Cox.
Iowa, Miss Flora Dunlap.
Kansas, Mrs. C. A. Hoffman.

Kentucky, Mrs. Edmund M. Post.
Louisiana, Mrs. Eva Lyon Page.
Maine, —
Maryland, Mrs. J. William Funck.
Massachusetts, Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman.
Michigan, Mrs. Wilbur Brotherton.
Minnesota, Mrs. H. C. Harrison.
Mississippi, Mrs. B. H. Trotter.
Missouri, Mrs. George Gellhorn.
Montana, Mrs. J. M. Kennedy.
Nebraska, Mrs. H. C. Sumney.
Nevada, Mrs. R. D. Eschelberger.
New Hampshire, —
New Jersey, Mrs. Wells P. Eagleton.
New York, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany.
New Mexico, Mrs. R. P. Barnes.
North Carolina, —
North Dakota, Mrs. Mary Darrow Weible.
Ohio, —
Oklahoma, —
Oregon, Mrs. M. L. Trenholm Hidden.
Pennsylvania, Mrs. Henry P. Lincoln.
Rhode Island, Miss Mary B. Anthony.
South Carolina, Mrs. Julian B. Salley.
South Dakota, —
Tennessee, Mrs. Guilford Dudley.
Texas, Mrs. William E. Spell.
Utah, Mrs. Clesson S. Kinney.
Vermont, Mrs. Frank S. Locke.
Virginia, —
Washington, —
West Virginia, —
Wisconsin, Mrs. Henry M. Youmans.
Wyoming, Mrs. T. S. Taliaferro, Jr.

National headquarters have been established in the office of the Pennsylvania League of Women Citizens, No. 1606 Finance Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Mother Soul in America

ALL day long at the "listening post," sits the Mother Soul. Every nerve a-quiver, taut, and ready to spring into action.

Whrrr! a tiny sound. Her ear is pressing closely the instrument.

"Yes: —. I am here,—. What?—I cannot believe it. Would they do that?—After all, to hold us up till the primaries are over, then pour an avalanche of ratifications upon us and expect praise?"

"Do they think we are so dull as not to see the Why?"

"Have they forgotten the long ago; the trials, the many industries that we represented to them—these men? Who was it that compounded the dyes that colored the very clothes these men children wore, after the same fingers had spun and woven the wool and linen? Who made the delicate perfumes that many a country dandy was glad to saturate his handkerchief and his hair with?"

"Who watched with careful eyes the grease and ashes gradually become lye, and later on, that lovely jelly-like soap that used to keep spotless the early home?"

"Who made those 'tallow dips' that served to light the dark and to heal the cracks in father's thumb? So many other things this Mother Soul could do.

"Then little by little, first one bit of her many-sided knowledge and then another was

Are Women Inventive?

See Florence King's Article in the Issue of the Woman Citizen of July 3

taken away, and under the experiments of men made into great and separate industries.

"This was the fate of each accomplishment that was Mother's dower, and she said not a word—to protest in New England was sacrilege.

"So Father, Brother, Son, all filched from Mother the wise things she knew, they even built whole cities of them, and Mother praised her darling boys.

"It wasn't long before she saw things were becoming too one-sided to balance.

"These boys and men built schools and colleges for themselves, and said, if Mother can read and write, it's enough to keep the home and babies with.

"Who said so? It never was put to vote. Taking these varied tasks away from women prevented many from keeping in the stream of life, and they were stranded in eddies and whirlpools.

"But the Mother Soul knew what should be done, so parts of her struggled, fought, to make education sexless. To her glory and the greater benefit of men, because through her more intelligent body, they passed to a height which never could have been attained unless her demands for education had been granted.

"Whrrr!"

"Yes: still here waiting for a word. 'You are not sanguine, that they will ratify at all, until it is too late for us to vote?'

"Do not fear altogether about that, for a greater danger lurks within our own selves. Can we keep sufficiently strong to protect ourselves and them from using us as their tools?"

"Oh! the Mother Soul has much to consider, and in the days of Victory we will not forget that to move a large volume of substance, slow, steady, careful watchfulness must be the armor of our leaders, and we, the rank and file, must glory in being intelligent followers."

OLIVE S. CLARK.

Fremont, N. H.



RIGHT in line with the C. C. C. Citizenship Course is *The Relation of the Executive Power to Legislation* (Princeton University Press), a book by Henry Campbell Black, Editor of "The Constitutional Review."

Its main thesis is that executive power in the United States, which was intended by the country's fathers to be merely a force for putting into effect the decree of Congress, has now departed from the plan laid down in the Constitution. Should this growing power now be checked, or should the practice of recent Presidents be sanctioned by corresponding changes in the basic law are questions put by the author.

The President of the United States is to-day so much more of a leader than was George Washington, and occupies so entirely different a relation to the country that if this had not happened as a matter of evolution it would be paramount to revolution. So says Mr. Black. He shows how powers were assumed by Abraham Lincoln, as emergency measures, but were immediately abandoned in time of peace. He shows how, beginning with Wm. McKinley, a great expansion of presidential powers has arisen; how this personal domination was developed consciously under Theodore Roosevelt, and quotes from his own diary to prove Mr. Roosevelt's intentions. "More than half of my work as Governor," said he, "was in the direction of getting needed and important legislation." All the world knows something of the extension of powers under Mr. Wilson.

The twentieth century—with the brief interval of Mr. Taft's incumbency—has seen an enormous advance in legislation initiated by the Executive.

This is a fundamental change from the Constitution's original intention.

THE BOOK STALL

In Great Britain and in France, the Executive initiates most of the legislation; but its power to do so is curbed by a machinery which can change the government, at the will of the people. This is called the parliamentary system.

In the United States, where nothing but impeachment can remove a Chief Executive, it has been accounted necessary to limit the initiating power to the legislative branch of Government. South American republics have attempted to combine the two types of Executive functions, giving their presidents so much power that they easily become dictators and thus induce frequent revolutions.

Mr. Black does not argue for reaction. He says that it would be next to impossible to overcome a tendency that has developed naturally. He does think, however, that there should be greater harmony between the professed and the actual powers of the Executive and suggests several remedies, some of which lie in the power of Congress to apply.

Among suggested improvements are Executive power to suggest amendments to bills, or to revise them, also a partial veto power. "A Committee on Presidential Bills" would also be a possibility, and this is not without precedent.

"Whatever methods we adopt," urges Mr. Black, "let us renounce makeshifts and evasions. Let us take this whole matter out of the realm of haphazard and apparel it with the respectable garments of due process of law."

Destiny Is in You

GOVERNOR COOLIDGE of Massachusetts uses the English language with precision, force and clarity, and the Massachusetts people like it. As evidence, take the fact that his book of collected speeches, "*Have Faith in Massachusetts*" (Houghton Mifflin & Co.) has been read unto its seventieth thousand.

The addresses in this volume have the essential grace of brevity. They are those which have been given at college commencements, before labor unions and in political campaigns. Several are explanatory of his action in the police riots in Boston. Their keynote is a demand for law and order. In this book are included Governor Coolidge's telegram to Mr. Gompers and his proclamation to the Commonwealth concerning the police.

An address to the people on the nature of politics is indicative of Mr. Coolidge's style and type of thinking.

"Office holding," said he, "is the incidental, but the standard of citizenship is the essential. Government does rest upon the opinions of men. Its results rest on their actions. This makes every man a politician whether he will or no. This lays the burden on us all. Men who have had the advantages of liberal culture ought to be the leaders in maintaining the standards of citizenship. Unless they can and do accomplish this result education is a failure. Greatly have they been taught, greatly must they teach. The power to think is the most practical thing in the world. It is not and cannot be cloistered from politics.

"We live under a republican form of government. We need forever to remember that representative government does represent. A careless, indifferent representative is the result of a careless, indifferent electorate. The people who start to elect a man to get what he can for his district will probably find they have elected a man who will get what he can for himself. A body will keep on its course for a time after the moving impulse ceases by reason of its momentum. The men who founded our government had fought and thought mightily on the relationship of man to his government. Our institutions would go for a time under the momentum they gave. But we should be deluded if we supposed they can be maintained without more of the same stern sacrifice offered in perpetuity. Government is not an edifice that the founders turn over to posterity all completed. It is an institution, like a university, which fails unless the process of education continues.

"The State is not founded on selfishness. It cannot maintain itself by the offer of material rewards. It is the opportunity for service. Politics is the process of action in public affairs. It is personal, it is individual, and nothing more. Destiny is in you."

The Woman's Platform

ALITTLE pamphlet containing the *Woman's Platform Presented to the Political Parties*, is published by the National League of Women Voters from its headquarters in Washington, D. C.

This platform contains the six planks which are urged on the political parties. They include: Child Welfare, education, home and high prices, women in gainful occupations, public health and morals, and the independent citizenship of married women.

Each plank is a constructive one. It does more than call attention to an evil. It suggests

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THE BOOK STALL

a concrete remedy. For the Child Welfare work it asks an adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau; prohibition of child labor, protection of infant life, through a Federal program for maternity and infancy care. For the appalling percentage of illiteracy in the country, it calls upon Congress for a Federal Bureau of Education. For the High Cost of Living it asks Federal regulation and supervision of the marketing and distribution of food.

Each plank is thoughtfully laid. Neither haste nor hysteria is suggested in the terms of the platform.

On the inside of the folder are amplifications of the several demands of the women. These are crisp and terse. They tell why the planks are important ones, and why the remedies suggested are adequate.

Love's Second Adolescence

LESS clever writer than Frank Swinnerton would never have chosen to tell the Decameron-like story of the Howard Forsters of Hippleswell. It is the kind of thing one thinks of as accompanied by a satyr's grin. The plot is that of a vulgar comedy, but its author escapes vulgarity. He manages his heroine so well the reader never once abandons her no matter how incongruous her moods.

The novel, Mr. Swinnerton's latest, *SEPTEMBER* (George H. Doran Co.) is less pleasant than "Shops and Houses," less sordidly erotic than "Nocturne." It is skillful, as a painting in shades of one color is skillful, showing mastery of values. That extraordinary tonelessness which Mr. Swinnerton manages expertly is present, as well as the author's perverse habit of telling a story scarcely worth telling for the sheer pleasure of seeing himself do it.

In itself there is nothing but absurdity in the belated infatuation of a mature woman for a youth. The obverse situation, the love of a middle-aged man for a girl, has always taken itself seriously. It is a rather choice theme of men writers who can not envisage themselves as mocked by Cupid even when embonpoint and baldness set in.

Probably it is woman's sense of humor that generally saves her from putting herself in the position of falling in love with her junior. She sees herself panting along at his side, or putting on her glasses to read his love letters and she just naturally laughs the whole business out of court.

So in the ridiculous situation in which the Howard Forsters find themselves, it is the husband philandering with a young girl guest, one of the appallingly sophisticated young girls of the last era, who never sees how absurd he is, and it is the wife, candid, disillusioned, who

looks with distress, self-contempt and mocking amusement at her own sudden passion for young enamored Nigel Sinclair.

This muddled situation of middle-aged erotics is developed by conversations in which Mr. Swinnerton is, as always, at his brilliant best. He seldom analyzes; he portrays.

The characters are so well evoked that the reader feels intimate with them. He cannot even despise stupid old Howard because he feels too well acquainted with him. Marian he holds in respect and admiration through all her self-revealings. Never once does Mr. Swinnerton let her appear ridiculous. Her struggles have a sort of fine idealism which, compared with the intrigues of the too well informed little ingenue, Cherry, keep her as inviolate as Diana.

This story of love's second adolescence might be disgusting; but it isn't. It is restrained, well poised and a marvel of craftsmanship. It shows Mr. Swinnerton's greatest fault, that of using his talent on inadequate situations.

The New Zona Gale

THERE was a time when Zona Gale wrote pretty stories, gently romantic, sentimental, like "Pelleas and Etarre" and "Friendship Village." Then suddenly with no apparent evolution into a new *metier* there appeared a new Zona Gale, who has given the world two novels as different from the first as if another person had written them. But those who find *Miss Lulu Bett* (D. Appleton and Co.) an entire reversal of Miss Gale's method of writing, have omitted "Birth"—that poignant story which appeared last year.

In "Birth," there were, however, still some grave clothes of the Zona Gale who looked out tenderly and with moist eyes upon a world of mischance. There is nothing tender or moist-eyed about *Miss Lulu Bett*; it is as clear-cut as ice. Lulu Bett herself would be the last to ask odds for herself.

When the reading world sees her, Lulu is a self-effacing spinster, one of those aliens in the house of her kinsfolk who do most of the scullery work and are the butt of jokes of the married male or female. The raw situation of the family where Lulu "made her home" is given with photographic clarity; not a detail omitted. Everything from the spoiled child with her tantrums to the grandmother with hers, jumps into view like the pattern on an ingrain carpet.

The coarse and cruel wit of Dwight Deacon at his sister-in-law's expense, the coarse and unlovely marriage of Lulu's sister, Ina, are ruthlessly drawn. Beneath the outward servility of the dependent spinster at the mercy of grudging relatives, there was an unfathomable rebellion, which lacked power of direction until Dwight's brother, Ninian, indicated its path. Once released, what had been a thwarted instinct, kept sullen by circumstances, became a determined purpose nothing could turn aside. It was not just the blind urge of sex; it was a longing for self-expression, for decent independence, for escape from that occidental type of harem life in which women of western origin often live, a colorless subjection to one dominating male without even the fleeting romance of the purdah. Miss Lulu Bett could not buy a yellow tulip, for it was Dwight's money she had to spend. Her clothes were doled out to her, even the one white blouse she cherished to be "laid out" in. She had to borrow Ina's linen duster—the old one—to go to the city.

Accidental marriage set her free and Lulu Bett escaped like a volatile gas. She could no more be collected and put back into the cramped place that had been hers than could an irresistible force of nature. She had come free and she stayed free.

For Decorative Purposes

FOR decorative purposes in a seashore cottage, Joshua F. Crowell's poems *Outdoors and In* (The Four Seas Company) is highly recommended. This volume is presented in excellent taste, bound in a becoming green of chaste simplicity. It would give a touch of color to a porch table, or, dropped carelessly on a swinging couch, it would furnish just that note of cultured ease one strives for.

(Continued on next page)

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As for what is between the covers, there are bits of verse, unexciting, in good form and excellent taste, unprovocative of discussion, pleasant. They would furnish a neutral note in an overheated conversation and any one of them would do to read aloud.

To Cape Cod lovers they carry an appeal, as many are poems to homely little spots all the way from Wood's Hole to Monamoy, not the least lovable being a lyric to Wainno where Doctor Shaw once built her cottage.

The book can be summed up in one of its own quatrains:

"If to the forest of Arden
I never find my way,
I'll love the immediate beauty
Forever and a day."

A Dog

THERE are too many people, too many agglutinative titles and too much erudition in Katherine Lee Bates's *Sigurd Our Golden Collie* (E. P. Dutton and Co.) to make it a real dog story in the same class with "Bob, Son of Battle" or "Rab and His Friends."

Still the dog-lover will like it because the picture of Sigurd shows collielike traits, the college girl will like it because of its Wellesley campus atmosphere, and the lovers of Professor Bates will like it because so much of herself is written into it.

The Good Time Coming

NOW that the "Good Time" is coming (twenty-eight years after!) it may interest some of our readers to know that the sub-joined poem was published in the *Chicago World* of September 3, 1892, and that "Madge" was one of the pen-names of Miss Ida M. Harper, whose early death (Feb. 5, 1902) cut short a career that promised much.

THE GOOD TIME COMING.

(By Ida M. Harper.)

When wimmin "wear the britches,"
An' make the laws 'for men,
An' put their busts in niches,
Will mortals hev more riches,
Less pains an' aches an' stitches—
Will times be better then?

Will the ship o' state sail truer
An' less disaster whelm?
Will her wild leaps be fewer,
An' pirates that pursue her
Reform an' cotton to her
When wimmin's at the helm?

Will home-love be more real,
An' hearts that love avow?
Will lovers be more leal
Unto Love's mute appeal,
An' fetters hymeneal
Be holier than now?

Will poverty be driven
Forever from our Land,
An' all our wrongs be riven
That bar us from Right's heaven,
An' hope's bread filled with leaven
When wimmin do command?

If so, we'll hail the hour
With shouts from pole to pole
When wimmin step in power,
An' use their wondrous dower
To start the purging shower
That speaks them at their goal.

Mt. Vernon, Ind., Aug. 28, 1892. MADGE.

Mother Bickerdyke

"SHE outranks me," said General Sherman concerning Mary A. Bickerdyke, army nurse from 1861-1865.

On the pedestal of the statue to "Mother Bickerdyke" at Galesburg, Illinois, are these words by General Sherman. The statue itself, erected in 1906, shows two heroic figures of bronze, one representing a wounded soldier, the other a kneeling nurse supporting him.

At the request of the State Association of Registered Nurses, the Illinois Department of Registration and Education has just reproduced this statue on the renewal cards issued to the nurses.

The *American Journal of Nursing* claims this as "the first and only monument in this country that dignifies and commemorates the work of the nurse in this exalted manner."

The writer of the article, E. V. Erlandson, R. N., says there are but four other like monuments in all the world, one in Austria, two in England, and the fourth in Toronto, Canada. Of the two in England, one is erected to Florence Nightingale and one to Edith Cavell.

Mrs. Bickerdyke, born in 1817, heard the call of Abraham Lincoln for nurses when she was attending the Congregational Church at Galesburg one Sunday morning in 1861. She had five children, but that never interfered for a minute with her prompt response to service. She went home, arranged with her neighbors to look after the children, gathered together \$5,000 worth of medical and sanitary supplies, and went south.

Her first move was for bath tubs. She took a pile of empty hogsheads, had them sawed in two, and managed that every sick soldier should get baths and clean linen. Her next step was to fit up and take command of diet kitchens. "By whose authority are you here?" said a surgeon to her one day, showing that the rank of the Army nurse was not any better established in 1861 than in 1917. "I am here in obedience to the Lord God Almighty. Have you any better authority? Stand out of my way," said the masterful woman.

Presently right-minded surgeons were begging for her assistance, but a few, jealous of their own authority, would occasionally carry complaints to headquarters. When one of this

type called her "that meddling old woman from the North," General Sherman answered back: "Oh, well, I can do nothing for you. she outranks me."

General Grant gave blanket order to "all guards, pickets and military authorities" to "pass and repass Mrs. Mary A. Bickerdyke from any point within the lines," and to all military railroads and chartered steamboats "to grant her free transportation."

Whatever she set out to do for the needs of the sick men, she achieved. If scurried men needed vegetables, Mother Bickerdyke found them somewhere, somehow. "There seemed to be lint and bandages, clean linen and hot coffee, sugar and milk, wherever she went." The way she mobilized live stock in Illinois is "a vivid memory handed down among the people of that region. In less than twenty days she was able to collect and send two hundred cows and almost 1,000 laying hens to her camp of 15,000 sick soldiers."

For all the years of the war, she gave her services without a penny and not until twenty years later did she get the large tribute of a pension of twenty-five dollars a month, whittled down from an original appeal to the House Committee for fifty dollars.

She died at Bunker Hill, Kansas, in 1901, and in 1903 Grand Army men who remembered her ministrations, and the Woman's Relief Corps together obtained an appropriation from the state of Illinois of \$5,000 with which—in addition to the funds they could raise themselves—the Galesburg statue was erected.

Portuguese Women Rousing

A NEW feminist organ has just reached the WOMAN CITIZEN. This is *Alma Femina*, the official bulletin of the women of the National Council of Portuguese women, and it is published at Lisbon. It offers a comprehensive study of suffrage all over the world as its first article. Another gives a glowing account of the visit of Doctora Paulina Luisi of Uruguay, govern-

ment representative from that country to the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Switzerland. Dr. Luisi disembarked at Lisbon, visited some of the interesting sights of that city and held a conference with the women of Portugal, where her address met with an enormous success. At the conference were present several political dignitaries.

Another Woman for Judge

MRS. HORTENSE WARD, of Houston, Texas, the first woman in the South admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, is a candidate for Judge in the Harris County Court. "The Hortense Ward Campaign Committee" will present her name at the Texas July primaries.

Mrs. Ward was born in Matagorda County, Texas. She studied law while a court reporter for five years in the very court where she now seeks a judgeship. She was admitted to the Bar ten years ago, being the first woman to pass the Bar examinations prescribed by the Supreme Court of Texas, and making one of the highest averages ever made by an applicant. She belongs to the firm of Ward & Ward, her husband being her partner.

Mrs. Ward has been an active suffrage worker, and was one of the drafters of the primary suffrage law which has practically given Texas women political freedom. She was president of the Harris County Equal Suffrage Association in 1917-18, and supervised the war work of that organization. She has worked for the increase of teachers' salaries. During the war she was one of two Texas women members of the United States Employment Board, Mrs. Ward representing female labor for the United States Government in Texas.

In 1913 Mrs. Ward conducted the publicity campaign and obtained the passage by the state Legislature of an amendment to the laws relating to rights of married women in Texas. At the same session she assisted in passing a workmen's compensation act, and a law limiting to fifty-four hours the work of women in industry. Some of her other efforts for working women have been for the bill creating a woman's division in the department of labor; for a minimum wage law; for the right of married women to become officers and stockholders of corporations.

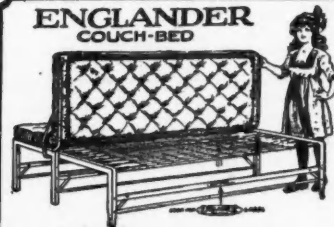
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Smith College

PERHAPS Smith College is a little premature in celebrating the attainment of the vote, but surely it is permissible to be premature in the honoring of pioneers. The Chair of Government, at Smith, is to be made a Memorial to the Pioneers of Women's Political Freedom, and suffrage workers everywhere have been offered an opportunity to share in its endowment. The action is taken to honor "those pioneers who, by their broad vision, their tireless labor, their steadfast devotion, won for American women equal representation in the government of their country."

Sophia Smith, who founded the college in 1871, may well be numbered among the pioneers of women's freedom. When she announced her intention of establishing an institution for the higher education of women the presidents of Harvard, Yale and Amherst rose up and denounced her enterprise as "hazardous, pernicious and unfortunate." Yesterday, the president of Harvard University endorsed her college's campaign for an increased endowment fund as "well deserving the support of the public."

Ever since the days of the courageous Sophia, Smith has been training her students for citizenship. She has at present more students studying government than any other woman's college in the country. She offers her students more courses in government than any other college in the country. The occupant of the Endowed Chair of Government, a Memorial to the Pioneers of Women's Political Freedom, will teach American Government, both its theory and actual operation, presenting the government of other countries in order to give the proper perspective and historical background. Particular emphasis will be placed on the organization and manifold functions of the government of the American States and Municipalities, so that the student may have an adequate appreciation and sound understanding of the forces and methods by which they are operated.

It is difficult to conceive of a memorial more pleasing to the pioneers themselves than this, which takes the form of training every year hundreds of potential voters in the principles and practices of our government, equipping them to understand, appreciate and meet their own responsibilities.

ALICE LORD PARSONS.

Montana Leads

A GAIN it is a full suffrage state which tops the list educationally.

According to the results of a comparative study of state schools, made public by the Russell Sage Foundation on May 23rd, Montana has the best all-around public school system in the United States.

Two other full suffrage states follow: They are California and Arizona.

The Foundation's educational measurement is worked out by taking the official data showing the number of children attending school, the amount of training they secure, the progress they make, the amounts expended for buildings, and supplies, the salaries paid their teachers and other similar items, and combining these factors into a single index number which shows the general standing or efficiency of the school system. This method resembles that used by the Federal Government in indexing the cost of living and prices of commodities.

Thus Montana is rated at 75.8 general proficiency, California and Arizona at 71.2 and 66.2 respectively. There are many states that one is surprised to see with so low a rating. Maryland, Delaware, Vermont, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia are states where the general average is low.

The lowest average salary, \$25.00 a month, is paid in North Carolina; the highest, \$88.00, in California.

Among the states well over the 50 mark of excellency, twelve are full suffrage states.

Her 1920 Honors

MRS. HOWARD VAN S. TRACY, of Evanston, Illinois, took her baby daughter to college with her. She and the baby have just graduated from Northwestern University, snatching away from 878 persons, men and women, the highest honors of the class of 1920. Little Miss Tracy was born, as it were, into collegiate degrees, coming into the world four months after her mother entered college in the fall of 1917. Next year they are going back to get their master's degree. Besides carrying off honors and taking care of an infant, Mrs. Tracy has done all of her own housework. And yet there were once women so inept as to think they couldn't find time from their housework to go to the polls once a year.

In the University of Wisconsin this year women students led the men. According to a table of averages, girls struck an 82.6 average, while men attained only 80.6.

An interesting feature of the reports sheds some light on the social activities of the college girl and the college boy. While the men in social fraternities ran below the general average even of men, the women in sororities ran above the general average of college women—the sorority women making an average of 84.5 as against the 82.3 attained by non-sorority women.

The women's collective college activities seem to have stimulated to attainment, the men's to have retarded attainment.

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Connecticut's Candidates

A NUMBER of replies to the letters sent by the executive board of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association to men who have been mentioned as possible gubernatorial candidates in the coming election have already been received at suffrage headquarters.

The letters were sent to the possible nominees, both Republican and Democratic, as the first step in putting into effect the policy recently announced by the suffragists "To work against the state Republican ticket and candidates for the Legislature with the exception of those men who are definitely pledged to help us get ratification, provided these men agree openly to protest against their party's failure to secure a special session."

The letter sent out aims to line up the candidates for state office with regard to their stand on immediate ratification of the suffrage amendment. The letter says in part:

"Our Association is communicating with all candidates and would appreciate it very much if you would state for publication your attitude toward ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and toward the calling of a special session of the Connecticut legislature for this purpose."

Among the replies received have been those from Representative Schuyler Merritt of Stamford, Lieutenant-Governor Clifford B. Wilson of Bridgeport, Robert Scoville of Salisbury, Republicans; and from E. Kent Hubbard of Middletown and Charles Lockwood, Stamford, Democrats. Most of them disclaim gubernatorial aspirations but all are ready to state their positions with regard to the suffrage amendment.

"I do not consider myself a possible nominee for Governor, but I am in favor of the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and have already done all I could to get the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature for that purpose. Yours faithfully

SCHUYLER MERRITT.

"I believe that the Federal Suffrage Amendment should be ratified by Connecticut. This question has long since ceased to be one of debate and the only concern now is one of granting it.

"I believe the situation in Connecticut, as well as in the country at large, is of such importance as to warrant the calling of a special session.

"Let us indeed have what Lincoln at Gettysburg urged, a 'Government of the people, for the people and by the people.'

Very sincerely yours,

CLIFFORD B. WILSON."

"I have your letter of June 8th, and, while I am not a candidate for any office, I am always ready to express myself on the question of woman suffrage as it relates to Connecticut.

"I am most emphatically of the opinion that this question, which has already been settled in the minds of a vast majority of our population,

should be removed from among the issues of the coming election and that the Governor would be wise in calling a special session to permit the Legislature to ratify the Federal Amendment. I cannot escape the conviction that a special session is created when the half of our population is disenfranchised and that the ending of this agitation is desired by a sufficient number of our citizens to justify a special session of our Legislature. Very truly yours,

ROBERT SCOVILLE."

"The question which has been put to me by your organization regarding my position as to woman suffrage is one which I can easily answer. I think that if you will ask some of your officers you will ascertain that I have been a most interested supporter of this cause. In fact, I think that I am at present a director in one of your organizations for the development of Civic Betterment. I firmly believe that women can do as much at the present time toward the necessary reorganization of this country as can men and I certainly have done and always expect to do all in my power in the behalf of this cause.

Very truly yours,

E. KENT HUBBARD."

The Fulfillment

By Corinne Jenkins

BORN of the spirit of freedom.

The Soul of the Missouri woman came from the

breath that made her first daughter think for herself.

A little Indian maid defying her father, chief of his tribe.

Boldly and unafraid she followed her lover, the intrepid young French explorer.

Yielding in turn to her daughters, Suffering and sacrificing.

Knowing no backward step.

Each new day with its hardships,

Each cataclysm of war that tore the very foundations of her heart,

Spurring her onward,

Her face towards the light of free womanhood.

The vision of homes perfected,

The call of little children answered,

Man seeking his own, and finding not a plaything,

But a mate.

No soft hands to lie idly,

Ever strong, willing to work where humanity needs.

Dedicated to service.

Willing the price to pay.

Knowing "the waste of the lips' red charm,

The glory of hair,

And pride of brow"

Unless used, as our souls know how,

The earthly gift to an end divine.

Dedicated to Missouri's new citizens, at the first State Congress of the League of Women Voters, Joplin, Mo., May, 1920.

THE NEW SUFFRAGE TABLE

Where Women Vote

ABROAD

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Australia	1902
Austria	1918
Belgium	1919
British East Africa	1919
Canada	1918
Czecho-Slovakia	1918
Denmark	1915
England	1918
Finland	1906
Germany	1918
Holland	1919
Hungary	1918
Iceland	1918
Ireland	1918
Isle of Man	1881
Luxembourg	1919
New Zealand	1893
Norway	1907
Poland	1918
Rhodesia	1919
Roumania	1919
Russia	1917
Scotland	1918
Servia	1919
Sweden	1919
Wales	1918

(Twenty-six countries in all.)

* Electoral Reform Bill as passed granted suffrage to widows who have not re-married and mothers of soldiers killed in battle, or civilians shot by Germans.

IN THE UNITED STATES

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Wyoming	1890
Colorado	1893
Utah	1895

(Utah by territorial enactment in 1870. Utah women voted for 18 years under this grant. Suffrage was taken from Utah women by congressional enactment in 1888, Utah being still a ward of Congress. In November, 1895, suffrage was restored to women by the passage of the new Utah state constitution, which President Cleveland signed Jan. 4, 1896.)

Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Arizona	1912
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914
New York	1917
Oklahoma	1918
Michigan	1918
South Dakota	1918

(15 states.)

Women Were Granted Presidential and Municipal Suffrage

in	in
Illinois	1913
North Dakota	1917
Nebraska	1917

Vermont

Municipal	1917
**Presidential	1919
Tennessee	1919

(4 states.)

** Governor vetoed presidential bill.

Presidential Suffrage

in	in
Rhode Island	1917
Indiana	1919
Iowa	1919
Maine	1919
Minnesota	1919
Missouri	1919
Wisconsin	1919
Ohio	1919
Kentucky	1920

(9 states)

Primary Suffrage

in	in
Arkansas	1917
Texas	1918
Ohio	1920

Women Voters of the World!

There are approximately one hundred million women voters in the world today. Seventeen and a half million of them in 30 states have the right to vote for the next president of the United States. This includes Texas and Arkansas, where women have only primary suffrage.

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171 Madison Ave. New York City

Labor's Share

LABOR'S inordinate share of profits is so much talked about these days that it takes concrete instances of underpay to prove to the general public that there are any laborers left who do not have diamond tiaras concealed about their silk-clad persons. Here are some facts about the pay of women workers, recently amassed and published by the industrial section of the Young Women's Christian Association.

In eight states in 1919 where surveys were made, three of them, in Massachusetts, New York and in Pennsylvania, many women were found working for small wages. In Louisiana out of 5,202 women surveyed 48 per cent. received less than \$9.00 weekly. In Georgia many women textile workers were paid last year as low as \$4.80. In Virginia, where 20,275 women were questioned, 52 per cent. of the saleswomen in mercantile establishments received less than \$12 a week.

In Tennessee in 1918, of the 29,152 women surveyed, the average weekly wage was \$9.31. In the Massachusetts millinery industry, in 1919, of 1,672 women investigated, 87.6 per cent. were found to be working for less than \$14 a week.

Out of 32,881 women in New York, 10 per cent. earned less than \$6; 53 per cent. earned less than \$12.

The weekly wage of 1,246 women candy makers in Philadelphia was \$10.30 in 1919 and 77.4 per cent. of all the women candy makers surveyed earned less than \$14 a week, the medium weekly wage being \$10.30.

The Y. W. C. A. bulletin is based on reports of 1918, 1919. It includes a widespread variety of occupations.

In Iowa in 1918 there were women actually working for less than \$3 a week and 64.5 per cent. of 14,035 women were paid less than \$10. Of 95,349 Michigan women surveyed in the manufacturing trades, 56,592 were in 1919 receiving an average of \$13.14. The average weekly pay of 11,674 saleswomen was \$11.16.

In California, before the minimum wage was established, an investigation in 1916 showed 53.5 per cent. of 85,000 women in all classes of industry receiving less than \$10 a week. In 1917, after the minimum wage was established, only 20.2 per cent. received less than \$10.

The survey covered five western, five southern and three eastern states. It seems therefore a fair picture of the general condition of working women throughout the country.

The Marshall Matriarchate

NO, this is not a feminine boom to turn the Vice-President into the President of the United States; it is a bit of information from the Marshall Islands for American politicians.

In these islands, which are small flecks of

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Ave. New York City

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE
AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
WOMEN

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10 Cents a Copy

July 3, 1920

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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. L Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JULY 3, 1920

No. 5

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JULY 3, 1920

NUMBER 5

What's the Matter With Tennessee?

"**N**OW it can be told," as Mr. Philip Gibbs would say. Ever since the decision of the Supreme Court as to the unconstitutionality of state referenda on federal amendments, the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its Tennessee auxiliary have been working on the contention that the court's decision nullified that clause in Tennessee's state constitution which provides that an election shall intervene between the passage of a federal amendment by Congress and action on it by Tennessee's Legislature. Under the terms of the Tennessee enactment no special session of Tennessee's present Legislature could be called to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment because the Legislature was elected before Congress passed the amendment.

To provide that the members of a state Legislature shall be elected with their attitude on a federal amendment before the voters as an issue of the election is virtually to provide for a referendum of the amendment to the people, the very thing the Supreme Court has ruled to be unconstitutional. The Court held that the method of federal ratification could in no manner be altered by any provision of a state constitution. "It is not the function of courts, or legislative bodies, national or state, to alter the method which the constitution has fixed"—so ran the Court's decision.

The question as to the effect the decision would have on the Tennessee constitution was speculated on far in advance of the handing down of the decision, but immediately following the Court's action, Mrs. George Fort Milton, Chairman of the Tennessee League of Women Voters, formerly the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association and state branch of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, completed the testing out of the state's legal opinion on the case.

LEGAL opinion, halting a little here and there at first, has grown stronger and stronger until at last Tennessee lawyers are virtually a unit in assuring the Tennessee League that the Supreme Court decision has swept away the provision in the state constitution inhibiting the calling of the special session.

With that established, the Tennessee League trained its powers of persuasion on Governor Roberts. Governor Roberts is a Woodrow Wilson Democrat. Tennessee generally is Woodrow Wilson Democratic. The President was known to be in favor of immediate ratification. But, owing to local political complications, the Governor did not at once see his way clear to issue the call for the special session.

Mrs. Milton, meantime, had to go to the San Francisco convention. Mrs. Guilford Dudley, third vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and delegate at large to the National Convention, likewise, had to go to San Francisco. That left Mrs. John M. Kenny in charge, as Chairman of Ratification. She is also the Chairman of the League of Women Voters

from the Sixth Congressional District. And she it was who headed a final delegation to the Governor on June 21st. The interview left her convinced that the Governor was unconvinced.

That night she sent President Wilson an urgent telegram of appeal signed by the thirty-two members of the League's Executive Board. On June 22nd, through the added mediation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association's "diplomatic agent," at Washington, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, the President's attention was directly centered on the Tennessee situation and his telegram to Governor Roberts immediately followed. "It will be a real service to the party to have this special session called," wired the President to the Governor.

AND in reply Governor Roberts stood up to the measure of his Wilsonian Democracy. I will do as you ask, he said. I will call the session and I will call it in ample time to allow action by the Legislature so that the women may vote in the 1920 elections. Later he set the date for August 9.

Backing up the President and the Governor comes the opinion of Mr. Frierson, Acting Attorney General of the United States, who rules as follows: "The power of the Legislature to ratify an amendment to the Federal Constitution is derived solely from the people of the United States through the Federal Constitution and not from either the people or the constitution of a state. The power thus derived cannot be taken away, limited, or restricted in any way by the constitution of a state. The provision of the Tennessee constitution above referred to, if valid, would undoubtedly be a restriction upon that power."

Nor is that all. Judge Hughes, counsel for the National American Woman Suffrage Association, adds the weight of his judicial opinion to the rest. In a letter to the National, analyzing the Tennessee case, he says:

"The provision of the Constitution of Tennessee attempts to take away from an existing Legislature of that state the authority to ratify the amendment as proposed by Congress for ratification by the Legislature and to place this authority in a Legislature subsequently chosen. This, in my opinion, is beyond the power of the state. In the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the states assented to the method of ratification by the state Legislature without any such qualification, and the state Legislature sitting as such after the amendment has been duly proposed by Congress has, in my judgment, full authority to ratify."

AAVAILABLE polls of the Tennessee Legislature all point to an inevitable victory for ratification as soon as the session is called. Naturally they would.

No longer ago than June 8th, the Democratic state platform pledged the party to an extra session and urged ratification. The Tennessee Legislature is overwhelmingly Democratic. It has ninety-seven Democrats to thirty-five Republicans in the two

houses, twenty-six Democratic state Senators to seven Republicans, seventy-one Democratic Representatives to twenty-eight Republicans. Moreover, this is that same Legislature which, in 1919, voted presidential and municipal suffrage to Tennessee women. In the circumstances it is hardly conceivable that ratification can lag an hour in Tennessee's two houses. Not to ratify would mean to repudiate the national party, repudiate the state party, repudiate the state's allegiance to the President, and repudiate the earlier action of the Legislature itself.

"What's the matter with Tennessee?"

Oh, Tennessee seems to be quite all right, thank you.

Felicitations to Tennessee

FOLLOWING the announcement from Nashville that Governor Roberts had named August 9th as the date on which he will convene the Tennessee Legislature in special session for action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, Mrs. Catt sent the following telegram to the Tennessee Executive:

"The National American Woman Suffrage Association rejoices at your action in calling a special session of Tennessee's Legislature, thus insuring to your state the chance to render an incomparable service to the women of the whole country. Confident that Tennessee will ratify, we tender our congratulations in advance to you as the chief executive of the great commonwealth that has so tremendous a contribution to make to the cause of American progress."

Women and the Democrats

EVEN though this is written in advance of definite action by the Democratic National Convention it is apparent that the women in the San Francisco gathering consider that they have far more call for self-congratulation on their treatment by the inner party rings than had the women at the Chicago convention. In numbers alone their case is impressive, over three hundred being present, and, as usually happens on the minority side, there seems to be a disposition to give actual instead of nominal recognition to the women delegates present.

On suffrage the convention has now before it the representations made by the National American Woman Suffrage Association as to the kind of suffrage plank that must be inserted if the platform is to have any suffrage strength. Tuesday night of this week Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee, third vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and delegate-at-large from Tennessee, presented the following plank:—

"The Federal Suffrage Amendment, whose passage in the United States Congress was greatly furthered by the efforts of a Democratic president, is one state short of the number required to make ratification effective. In two Republican states, Vermont and Connecticut, where ratification could be at once achieved, Republican governors are refusing to call special sessions. In simple justice to women we Democrats in national convention assembled urge the co-operation of Democratic governors and Democratic legislators in North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, and other Democratic states that have not ratified, in a united effort to complete ratification by the addition of the thirty-sixth state in time for the women of America to participate in the approaching elections."

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, speaking for the National League of Women Voters, early in the week called attention to a marked difference in the atmosphere of the San Francisco convention as compared with conventions of previous years. She found at San Francisco, she said, a great readiness to get women's ideas in party councils. This she considered to be due, in a large meas-

ure, to the increased number of women delegates in attendance. The majority of these women are working members of the League of Voters. The generous recognition of women by their respective states and the widespread interest in the women's measures advocated by the League of Women Voters made her feel that it was inevitable that the six planks of the League's platform would have a friendly hearing before the Resolutions Committee and a ready adoption on the part of the convention.

One dramatic feature in the recognition of women was inherent in the fact that as a member of the Credentials' Committee, Mrs. Dudley is, at this writing, likely to sit on the case of Senator Reed of Missouri.

Senator Reed has had his turn sitting on suffrage.

Turn-about certainly would be pleasant.

Mrs. Catt Returns

ON Monday, June 28, Mrs. Catt, President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, as well as of the National Suffrage Association, returned to her desk at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Referring to the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance which was held in Geneva under her presidency from June 6-12, Mrs. Catt said that 35 countries in all were represented and 16 of them had government representatives. The only countries in Europe not represented were Soviet-Russia and Belgium. All the new republics that have broken away from Russia along the Western frontier were represented. As there are only fifty-two or three countries in the world, the representation of 35 of them at the Congress was phenomenal and indicative of the new value given to women's possible political contribution the world over.

One of the most interesting reports to the Congress came from Roumania. According to information received through the press in 1919, Roumanian women were fully enfranchised that year, but the Roumanian delegates to the Congress brought to Geneva the word that the extent of their suffrage was municipal only. They said, however, that it was a question of a very short time before all Roumanian women must be fully enfranchised, the situation in Transylvania being the key. When Transylvania was returned to Roumania after having been under Hungarian domination for years, the Transylvanians addressed a memorial to the Roumanian government pointing out that they were delighted at the prospects of reuniting with the mother country after so long a time and that they would gladly see the decision awarding Transylvania to Roumania carried out under two conditions:

The first was universal suffrage for men.

The second was universal suffrage for women.

Roumania accepted the conditions so that in the Transylvanian portion of Roumania women have full suffrage while in the rest of the country they have municipal suffrage only, a condition of affairs, which as the Roumanian delegates were prompt to point out, cannot exist very long.

In Serbia, which had been reported as having granted women full suffrage, they have municipal suffrage only, although full suffrage is expected very shortly.

In all the new republics that have peared off the western borders of Russia—Lithuania, Esthonia, Ukrainia, etc.—women have full suffrage.

In much disputed Fiume, suffrage has been given to the women.

Mrs. Catt said that the women of all countries testified to their faith in the League of Nations but were a unit in declaring that it will be a futile experiment unless the United States comes in.

Mrs. Catt will at once resume charge of the wind-up of the ratification campaign.

A Suffrage Intelligence Service

Do Women Vote When They Can? A 50-50 Record

NEW ZEALANDERS keep their election returns with meticulous care. In the New Zealand Gazette of April 29, 1920, the Minister of Justice, J. G. Coates, published not only a record of the votes cast on the licensing amendment act, in the elections of December 17, 1919, but the proportion of votes to the registration, and the proportion of men to women voters. Figures are given in full and by percentages. The returns from the election show that in some sections men and women voted about evenly; in some the women were in the minority; in others men were in the minority. For example, in both Auckland East and Auckland West the proportion of men and women "on the Roll" was: men, 49 per cent, women, 51 per cent; in exactly the same proportion men and women voted at the polls. In Auckland Central the proportion was 54 per cent of men on the Rolls to 46 per cent of women; but the voting proportion was 53 per cent men to 47 per cent women. Here registered women turned out better than registered men.

In Roskill and Parnall about ten per cent more women than men registered and voted. In Manukau and Tarnaki and Wellington South men and women voted 50-50. In the four other districts of Wellington the votes about balanced each other. Women ran ahead of men both on the rolls and at the polls in Wellington East, and men ahead of women in Wellington Central. In the two other districts women were slightly ahead on the rolls and slightly behind in voting.

In both large cities votes were evenly balanced. In smaller places, where the total vote was within 6,000 or 7,000, the men were apt to beat the women.

New Zealand is one of the oldest voting commonwealths. If after twenty-seven years—practically a generation—of trial, women are still showing the same interest in voting as men show, there is little excuse for the opponents of suffrage to continue their silly falsehoods that women do not vote when they can.

ANOTHER interesting feature of New Zealand's carefully kept records is its list relating voters to registration.

Here also the men and women about balance. For instance, in the three districts of Auckland, the ratio was almost identical. In Auckland East 83 per cent of enrolled men voted to 84 per cent of enrolled women. In Auckland Central, 83 per cent of men to 86 per cent of women. In Auckland West, 84 per cent of men to 86 per cent of women. In Stratford the men outdistanced women, 93 per cent of enrolled men voting and only 75 per cent of enrolled women. But in Napier the odds were all the other way, 90 per cent of the enrolled women voting to 73 per cent of enrolled men.

On the whole the balance is so perfect as to become monotonous.

The totals for the whole of New Zealand show 683,420 registered voters in the election of 1919, 355,100 being men and 328,320 being women. The votes cast were 550,327, of which 289,244 were by men and 261,083 by women. This was 80.5 per cent of the total registration, the men voting 81 per cent and the women 79 per cent.

As every American who has ever studied political returns knows this is a remarkable record.

It disposes completely of the myth of women not voting in enfranchised states.

You Get More for Your Money Where Women Vote

FULL suffrage California paid 92 cents per capita in 1913 for conservation of health and sanitation as against Pennsylvania's 69 cents. The infant mortality rates in Berkeley and San Francisco are among the lowest in the country, 56 and 57 per 1,000, while the rate in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was 122, in Scranton 144 and in Reading 202.

According to the United States Census, full suffrage Washington paid 93 cents per capita for conservation of health and Idaho paid 22 cents, while Louisiana and Massachusetts paid 58 cents and \$1.93 respectively, yet the general death rates in New Orleans, La., Fall River, Mass., Lancaster, Pa., Wheeling, W. Va., Wilmington, N. C., and Burlington, Vt., were in 1918 among the highest in the country, from 23 to 27 per 1,000 population.

The lowest death rate recorded in the 1920 *World Almanac* figures was in equal suffrage Seattle, Wash., where in 1917 it was 6.9 per 1,000 population. The next lowest was 7.0 per 1,000 in Boise, Idaho, in 1918, and the next was 7.3 in Berkeley, Cal., in 1917.

Full suffrage Colorado pays \$1.43 per capita for charities, hospitals and corrections as against Florida's \$1.61.

Colorado has 610 prisoners per 100,000 population committed in 1910 as against Florida's 1,307 per 100,000 population—less than half as many.

Full suffrage Kansas pays 19 cents per capita for conservation of health and sanitation as against Connecticut's 90 cents. It pays \$1.26 for charities, hospitals and corrections as against Connecticut's \$2.07.

According to the United States Census for 1910, the number of paupers in almshouses in Kansas was 735 as against Connecticut's 2,244.

According to the same census, Connecticut has the second largest number of paupers of any state in the Union, 201.3 per 100,000, the largest number being in New Hampshire, 230.2 per 100,000. Both of these are male suffrage states. Kansas has 43.5 paupers per 100,000 population. Oklahoma, another full suffrage state, has the lowest record of all, 2.9 per 100,000.

Colorado pays \$4.93 per capita for its schools as against Louisiana's \$3.05.

But Louisiana is 29 per cent illiterate and Colorado is 3.7 per cent illiterate.

Connecticut and Massachusetts each pay more than \$5.00 per capita for education and are 5.7 and 5 per cent illiterate respectively.

Full suffrage Montana has just been officially rated as having the best educational system in the country.

Kansas, a full suffrage state, pays \$13.76 per capita for general cost of government as against Connecticut's \$23.17 and Massachusetts's \$35.09.

WHILE the United States is fiddling over the thirty-sixth state for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, Denmark, which has practised suffrage for five years, has elected women to both houses of parliament, and is now sending a woman to the United States as secretary to the Danish Legation. She is Miss Eleanor Walker, born in America. The family went to Denmark seventeen years ago, as the mother is a Dane. Her father, an artist, died there in 1914.

Two years ago Miss Walker became a Danish citizen in order to accept a position in the Danish Foreign Office.

Party in Power in Legislatures That Have Ratified

Ratified		Not Ratified	
Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
Arkansas	California		
Arizona	Colorado		Connecticut
	Illinois	Florida	
	Indiana		
	Idaho		
	Iowa		
	Kansas		
	Kentucky		
	Maine		
	Massachusetts		
	Michigan		
	Minnesota		
Missouri	Non-Partisan Legislature, but Republican in presidential elections.		
	Montana		
	Nebraska		
	Nevada		
	New Hampshire		
	New Jersey		
	New Mexico		
	New York		
	North Dakota		
	Ohio		
	Oregon	North Carolina	
	Pennsylvania		
	Rhode Island		
	South Dakota		
	Washington		
	West Virginia		
	Wisconsin		
	Wyoming	Tennessee	Vermont
Texas			
Utah			
Oklahoma			
6	29	3	2

Rejected

Republican	Democratic
Delaware	Alabama
	Mississippi
	Georgia
	South Carolina
	Maryland
	Virginia
	Louisiana
1	7

Of Twenty-five Special Sessions Called to Ratify Including Delaware

By Democratic Governors	By Republican Governors
New York.....Smith	Arizona.....Campbell
Missouri.....Gardner	California.....Stephens
Arkansas.....Brough	Delaware.....Townsend
Utah.....Bamberger	Idaho.....Davis
Montana.....Stewart	Indiana.....Goodrich
Nevada.....Boyle	Iowa.....Harding
New Jersey.....Edwards	Maine.....Milliken
Oklahoma.....Robertson	Minnesota.....Burnquist
West Virginia.....Cornwell	Nebraska.....McKelvie
	New Hampshire.....Bartlett
	New Mexico.....Larrasolo
	North Dakota.....Frazier
	Oregon.....Olcott
	South Dakota.....Norbeck
	Wyoming.....Carey
	Washington.....Hart

(9)

(16)

It is the 36th state that counts. It is the Democratic party that will have the real claim on the woman vote in November if Tennessee or North Carolina comes in ahead of Vermont and Connecticut. It is by bringing Vermont or Connecticut into the 36th place that the Republicans can make good on their ratification schedule.

States That Have Ratified

R—In Regular Session (10)

S—In Special Session (25)

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R	June	10
2. Wisconsin.....	R	June	10
3. Michigan*.....	S	June	10
4. Kansas.....	R	June	16
5. Ohio.....	R	June	16
6. New York.....	S	June	16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R	June	24
8. Massachusetts.....	R	June	25
9. Texas.....	T	June	28
10. Iowa.....	S	July	2
11. Missouri.....	S	July	3
12. Arkansas.....	S	July	28
13. Montana.....	S	July	30
14. Nebraska.....	S	Aug.	2
15. Minnesota.....	S	Sept.	8
16. New Hampshire.....	S	Sept.	10
17. Utah.....	S	Sept.	30
18. California.....	S	Nov.	1
19. Maine.....	S	Nov.	5
20. North Dakota.....	S	Dec.	1
21. South Dakota.....	S	Dec.	4
22. Colorado.....	S	Dec.	12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R	Jan.	6
24. Kentucky.....	R	Jan.	6
25. Oregon.....	S	Jan.	12
26. Indiana.....	S	Jan.	16
27. Wyoming.....	S	Jan.	27
28. Nevada.....	S	Feb.	7
29. New Jersey.....	R	Feb.	9
30. Idaho.....	S	Feb.	11
31. Arizona.....	S	Feb.	12
32. New Mexico.....	S	Feb.	19
33. Oklahoma.....	S	Feb.	28
34. West Virginia.....	S	Mch.	10
35. Washington.....	S	Mch.	22

Failed to Ratify

1. Alabama.	5. South Carolina.
2. Georgia.	6. Virginia.
3. Maryland.	7. Delaware.
4. Mississippi.	8. Louisiana.

Pending in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed
North Carolina (special session scheduled).....July

Regular Session in 1921

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Connecticut.....	January
Tennessee.....	January
Vermont.....	January
Florida.....	April

(Delaware, South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia also have regular sessions in 1921. It is expected that North Carolina will ratify at its special July session. The Legislatures of the other three states defeated ratification in 1920. But the Legislatures of 1921 are to be elected in November, so that there will be another chance for ratification in 1921 in each of these states.)

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama.....	January
-----------------	---------

Recapitulation

Ratified.....	35
Failed to ratify.....	8
Special session pending for 1920.....	1
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	4
	48

*Michigan's Legislature was in special session when the amendment was passed. It promptly ratified.

Feminist Fancies by Edith B. Allen

Marriage and a Career

MARRIAGE and a career,
Husbands and, well, say Poetry?
My dear, I would not for the world discourage you; but
Well, here is my story;
I wrote a poem once, a good one, too.
I sent it to a magazine, it was accepted.
I had maintained a modest silence, though puffed up with pride,
Till it appeared,
And then I hurried with it to my husband,
And, with a throbbing heart, stood waiting while he read it.
This he did slowly and carefully.
He gave it back to me without a word of comment
Either upon its content or its artistry;
But, with an injured air—you know the way they do—
He said
"Why have you kept this thing a secret from me, Mary?"
I was a bit dashed, still in my new joy
I got away with it.
But, when again genius laid hold on me
And wrung from out my soul another gem of poesy,
Without delay, I took it to my husband.
Again I stood with throbbing heart and waited.
All this was years ago, my dear; but I can see him now,
An ample man, with heavy rims around his glasses,
Holding that precious slip of paper in his hand
And slowly reading.
He read it over twice, three times;
He turned the paper over as though to be assured
That he had seen it all—
And then he gave it back to me.
He looked me over thoughtfully;
He laid a gentle hand upon my shoulder
And said, in such a kindly voice,
"There, there, dear, that's all right.
Suppose I just don't go to the office today
And you and I will take a good long ride into the country,
The air will do you good."
This thing or something like it happened to me twice, three times;
I've finished now, even a wife can bear only so much,
And now I know that first sweet child of my unfettered fancy
Will never have a little brother.
Marriage and a career?
Husbands and, well, say Poetry?
Was Alice Carey married? Or her sister Phoebe?
Does Amy Lowell have a husband?
And can you mention a second famous poem by Mrs. Julia Ward
Howe?
My dear, I would not for the world discourage you;
But, child, not all the mute inglorious Miltons rest in country
churchyards.

Dishes and a Cigarette

I FACE my day with philosophic calm.
Dishes a mountain high invade my sink
And other tasks unnumbered wait their turn.
What of it, I inquire of the world.
Blithely I mind myself of how Eve span.
Doubtless, I say, even the Gracchi rent their togas now and then
And wrought disorder in Cornelia's house, as do my jewels;
And if Louisa M. Alcott could find a poem

In a great tub of unwashed clothes
Shall my soul quail before a heap of glass and china?
And so I draw a pan full to the brim
Of fresh hot sparkling water,
Choose a persuasive looking cloth,
Apply a bit of soap discreetly
And set to work.
Almost a song is on my lips—
Then suddenly I see it there
Floating on the surface of the water,
Sinister,
Revolting.
It holds me with its eye,
An evil eye,
A ribald eye,
An eye triumphant, for it knows as I do
That its foul polluting work is done.
Moments there are for which there are no words
And crises for which no philosophy avails.
If I had had half the courage that sustained Judas
In his final hour
And a stout piece of rope,
Other hands than mine would have finished washing those dishes.
I am not one to wear my heart upon my sleeve
Or air my family linen on the village green.
And yet I am consumed with a desire to know
If other women's husbands
Park their abandoned cigarettes
In decent self-respecting coffee-cups.

When Mary Reads the Dinner

MARY is a literary person.
She takes her servantless condition casually.
"Though I may not," she says, "loaf in my kitchen,
I can invite my soul."
And so with pots and pans
And all the usual equipment of a kitchen,
One finds in Mary's, books,
Magazines, reviews and newspapers,
And Mary reads while she cooks,
Or, as her husband puts it,
Cooks while she reads.
Naturally there are accidents incident to Mary's system.
And Mary's favorite books
Give indication of her culinary
As well as of her literary tastes.
Nor are the casualties all on one side.
Sometimes great clouds of smoke
And odors that recall
Ancient Judea's sacrificial altars
Issue from Mary's kitchen,
And the neighbors wonder
What Mary is reading for dinner.
When there is company,
Or something important, like a roast, to be cooked,
Mary has to be very careful
What she begins to read.
Those days one usually finds her
With one of the six best sellers.
She says they make cooking interesting
By contrast.

Are Women Inventive?

By Florence King

IN the history of the world it does not appear that women are given credit for any material part of the progress made in the development of the Arts, Sciences, Literature or Music, and nowhere is this more apparent than is shown in the records of the work of inventors.

Until our Government made it possible for the inventive genius to reap a financial reward for his discoveries men did not develop any great inventions. The stimulus of potential wealth has been the magic wand that has caused our nation's wonderful industrial development and commercial achievements.

The first patent system of the United States was created by an Act of Congress dated April 10th, 1790; in 1793 a more elaborate and effective statute was enacted. This continued in force until 1836, when Congress substantially revolutionized the entire Patent System and gave greater protection to the inventor.

The effect of this later statute was magnetic, and from that time to this the American inventor has led the world.

In 1891, 100 years after the Patent System of the United States went into effect, a Centennial was held at Washington, D. C., in honor of American Patent History. During that century there had been granted by the United States Government 443,986 patents. Or that occasion one speaker said:

"Measured by what we learn and see and do and enjoy in a lifetime, we live longer than Methuselah, are wiser than Solomon, richer than Croesus and greater than Alexander."

Thirty years have passed since the holding of that Centennial and the number of patents which have been granted by this Government now exceeds 1,350,000.

WE stand in the doorway of a new century. Has invention reached its zenith? With this vast number of patents it might seem to the casual observer that everything had been invented that could be, but those who know say that the inventive genius is just awakening. This would seem to be undisputed when it is considered that at the present time our Government is granting on an average of seven hundred and fifty patents per

week; and at the time of the Civil War the number of patents granted averaged only one hundred and sixty per week.

It is useless to attempt to estimate the value of all these inventions by what they create, by what they save in cost, by what they add to production; the sum total would be simply incalculable. The products from all the gold, silver and diamond mines in the world do not equal in value the annual income of American patentees.

The story of the work of the inventor is a poem of mighty meaning and wonderful deeds; the inventor is a mightier magician than any other the world has ever known. The limit of human invention will be the limit of human advancement.

When our Government was instituted America was quick to recognize the need for encouraging the inventor within whose brain was the genius that would make this country the leader in

the onward march of the world's future progress.

WOMEN never have been and probably never will be given proper credit for what they have done and will do unless women themselves see that this is done. With the writing of the history of inventions will be written the story of humanity. In the writing of that history the women of America should see to it that women are given credit for what they have done and will do in the future.

The question is asked, "Are women inventive?" Yes, indeed they are. Some men will ask what great inventions have

women ever produced upon which such an answer could be based? Go back just a little further than American history and see who originated the idea of rewarding or granting a monopoly to an individual who created or discovered a new idea which formed the basis of all trade development. Was it a man? No.

It is well known that our laws had their foundation upon the old English laws and our patent system is no exception. To Queen Elizabeth of England must be given the credit of originating the first patent system in the world.

The English patent system had its conception in the sixteenth century in the reign of one of the most constructive and most progressive rulers England ever had. Queen Elizabeth had an

WOMEN do not confine themselves to inventions that lighten their own labors merely. They sometimes lend a helpful hand in man's well known sphere. The man inventor whose ingenuity is called on to revolutionize house work for women gets a good deal of credit. Let's give some to the woman whose inventiveness is called on to help men make hay.

Here are four figures illustrating a Hay Handling Device Invented by May Conner. Patented June 5, 1917.

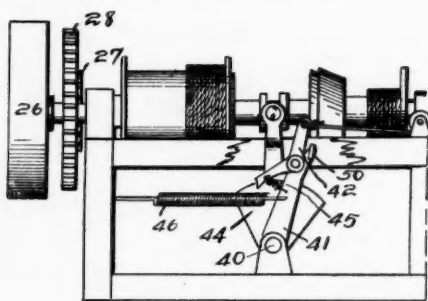


Fig. 2

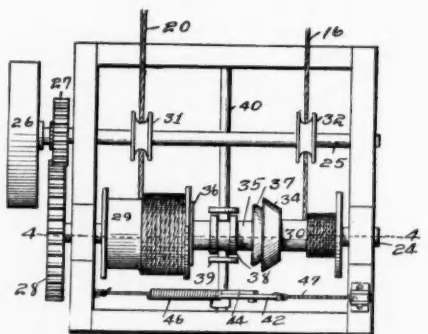


Fig. 3

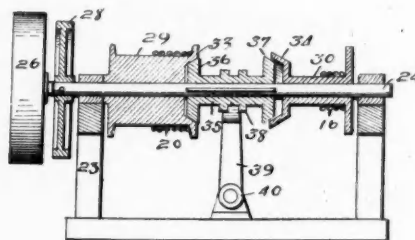


Fig. 4

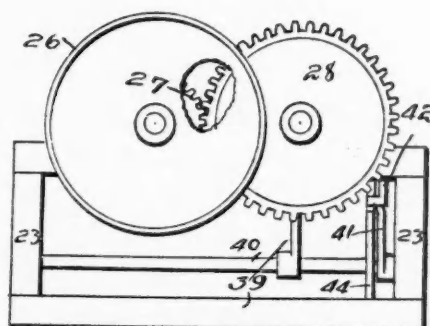
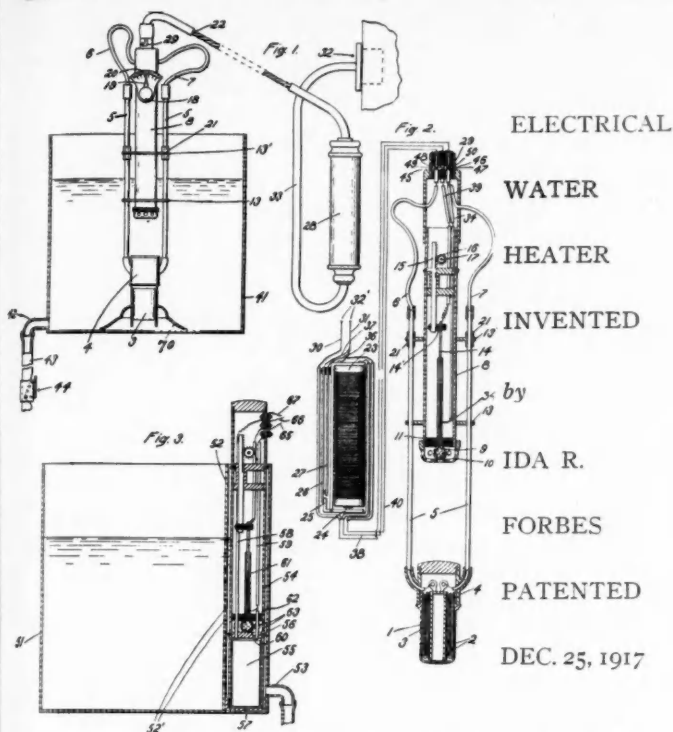
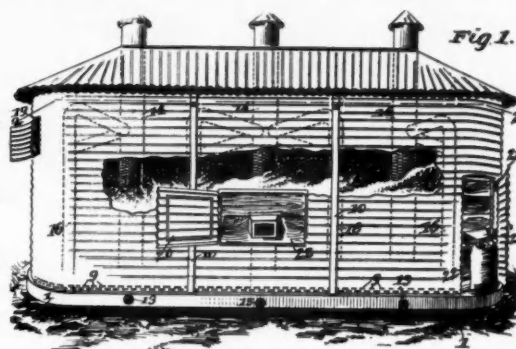


Fig. 5



ELECTRICAL
WATER
HEATER
INVENTED
by
IDA R.
FORBES
PATENTED
DEC. 25, 1917

GRAIN
STORAGE
BIN
INVENTED



by
LIZZIE H.
DICKELMAN
PATENTED
MAY 11, 1920

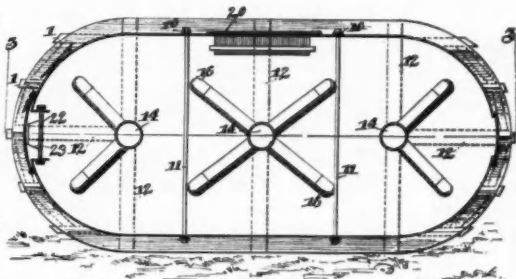
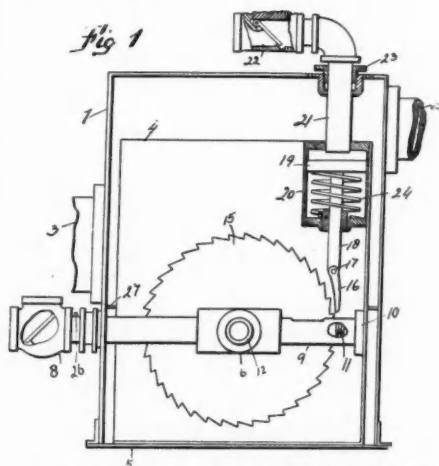


Fig. 2

intense pride in the English people and endeavored to give national character to the various trades and to encourage the introduction of new manufactures in the realm. The story of the development of the patent system during Queen Elizabeth's reign is full of human interest.

The work of the inventive genius has developed as our educational institutions have advanced, and women have entered the field of invention only since they have had the opportunity of greater mental development. One is not required to go far back into history to the time when such work as spinning and weaving was done by hand, as well as sewing, knitting, canning, preserving and many other kinds of laborious work, all of which devolved upon women. During these days there were no opportunities for mental development. The development of inventions liberated women from this field of drudgery and brought about a great change in social and economic affairs.

The inventions made by women are classified under many different heads, that of Wearing Apparel having the greatest number of inventions; next is Culinary Utensils; Furniture and Furnishings; Educational Appliances; Heating Apparatus; Building Appurtenances; Agricultural Implements; Medical Appliances; Motors; Horse-shoes; Plumbing; Printing and Binding; Railway Appliances; Screens and Awnings; Sewing and Spinning Machines; Electrical Apparatus; Toys and Games; Trunks and Bags, Washing Machines, etc. Many improvements on sewing machines have been made by women.



OILER FOR AIR COMPRESSORS, INVENTOR, EMMA C. BARCHARD.
PAT. MAY 11, 1920

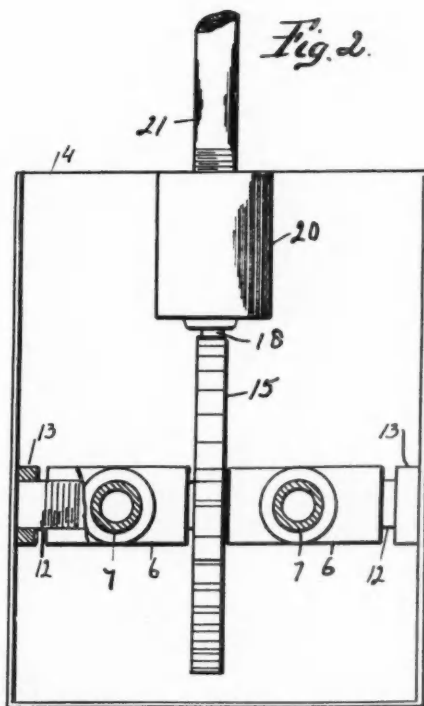
The first patent ever granted to a woman was granted in 1809. This patent was issued to Mary Keyes for Straw Weaving.

In 1905, a farmer's wife living in Gadsden, Tennessee, invented a new process for making butter which she sold for the neat little sum of \$15,000.

GREATEST interest at the present time centers about the inventions women of the twentieth century are making. Here are just a few of them, which should very definitely answer the question, "Are women inventive," in the affirmative.

It was Minnie S. Elliott, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, who

invented a machine for attaching buttons to shoes by delivering the buttons in a single row and placing them one at a time upon a staple forming point, threading a piece of wire through the eye of the button and forming it into a staple, after which the button and attached staple are advanced to a little anvil where the staple is drawn through the fabric to which the button is to be attached, and its prongs clinched upon the opposite side; and there the button will remain as long as there is anything left of the





Riding Habits

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PRECISE CORRECTNESS

Lord & Taylor are displaying an unusually large assortment of summer Riding Habits developed in serviceable lightweight Tweeds, Meltons, Coverts, Gabardines, Pongee, Khaki, and Linen Crash. Each model is staunchly tailored throughout; breeches are re-enforced with buckskin.

\$29.50 to \$125.00

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shoes to be worn. This is all accomplished by the depression and release of a foot treadle. Could any but an inventive genius conceive a mechanism to accomplish this work so easily and simply?

In 1917, May Conner, of Garden Grove, Iowa, patented a device for stacking hay or mowing hay away in a barn. This is one of the labor-saving devices used on a farm to lighten the labor of handling hay when storing it for winter use. This device is so constructed that it is driven by a power-operated mechanism whereby an immense fork may be advanced along a track, carrying with it the hay to be deposited wherever it is to be stored. This device will handle a ton or more at a time, instead of utilizing man power in the old-fashioned way and mowing 50 or 100 pounds at a time.

Ida R. Forbes, of Los Angeles, California, has recently patented an Electric Water Heater. Read one of the claims of her patent and form your own opinion as to whether or not it required thought and study to produce this combination.

"The combination with a receptacle provided with means for drawing off liquid therefrom of a thermostatic circuit controlling device within said receptacle, adjustable for control at different temperatures, circuit means controlled by said circuit controlling device and including electromagnetic means and electric circuit means, including a heating element within said receptacle and also including circuit controlling means operated by said electromagnetic means to open the circuit of said heating element when the liquid in the receptacle reaches the temperature for which the thermostatic circuit controlling device is adjusted."

Most all women are familiar with Gossard's Corset, but perhaps have never associated it with the name of Sarah L. Gossard. A recent patent granted to her on Anatomical Corsets would seem to speak the last word on this familiar subject. She states the purpose of her invention in the following language:

"After a long continued series of investigations, I have discovered that the deleterious effects of the ordinary corsets are due, not to the corset per se, but principally to the fact that the steels of the corset obstruct or impede the natural blood circulation. Briefly stated, my invention consists in so arranging the steels of the corset in such positions that there is no substantial interference with the blood circulation, while at the same time the steels are so placed as to furnish the support necessary to mold the body as dictated by fashion. In carrying out my invention, I take advantage of the fact, well known to physicians and anatomists, that the blood circulation, that is to say, the veins and arteries, are almost invariably aligned with the muscles of a person's anatomy. Hence, in carrying out my invention, I arrange the steels of the corset in such positions that they are located parallel, or substantially parallel, with the muscles, of course selecting and locating the steels over such muscles as it is desired to apply pressure to in order adequately to support the person of the wearer."

An "Oiler for Air Compressors" is a title which does not sound particularly feminine, but it was a woman, Emma C. Barchard, of Chicago, who invented and patented this device, her patent issuing May 20th, 1920. This invention relates to oilers for Air Compressors, whereby the oiler withdraws all condensation from the exhaust of the steam end of the compressor may be operated and the oil rising to the top is automatically delivered to the air cylinder of the compressor for lubricating purposes. This mechanism is also arranged to deliver a varying quantity of this oil to the air cylinder corresponding to the variance in the speed or number of strokes made by the piston of the air cylinder. To conceive and develop such an invention as this required more than a knowledge of the Three R's and a mechanical ability quite above the average.

Should your attention be directed to the Dickelman Mfg. Co., of Forest, Ohio, manufacturers of Metal Grain Bins, do not think of the men who are connected with this Company, for should you have occasion to correspond with them, the reply to your letter would be signed Lizzie H. Dickelman, President and General Manager.

When Mr. Hoover was Food Administrator he was quoted as having said:

"The war would be won with the last bushel of wheat." This woman thought the best way to save many bushels of wheat now being destroyed in storage would be to construct metal grain bins and cribs, with the result that about ten different patents have been granted to her on different constructions of grain storage bins.

With these grain bins the farmers are enabled to store their wheat until they are ready to sell it, and while in storage it is perfectly safe from destruction by fire, molding through lack of proper ventilation, rats, low grading, or any of the other substantial losses to which farmers are always subjected.

The Dickelman Grain Bins are to be found in every state of the Union, as well as being shipped to many foreign countries. To invent a device is one thing but successfully to place it upon the market is another. Lizzie H. Dickelman has been able to do both and her product finds its market among the men.

"The Dress of the Hour" is one of the most attractive, up-to-date practical ideas having to do with women's clothing that has been brought out in recent years. Just consider for a moment one garment designed more particularly for women engaged in manual and industrial work which will meet all of the following requirements:

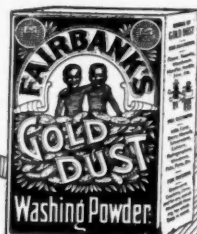
1. A dress permitting the utmost freedom of movement, at the same time clinging sufficiently close to the person that it may not be caught by fixtures or doors or by machinery, belting, etc.
2. A dress which shall be modest, and womanly in design.
3. A dress which will cover the body quite completely, and keep the wearer as clean as possible.
4. A dress with few fastenings so that it may be quickly put on and taken off.
5. A dress so designed that when worn upon the street it will differentiate its wearer as little as possible from other women.
6. A dress required to make a minimum number of pieces and minimum amount of material and be so designed that it can be readily, quickly and easily laundered.

The inventor of this very useful garment, Miss Mae E. Rhoads, of New York, has also built up a large and lucrative business in the manufacture and sale of this garment, which in practical use has become very popular, not only among women industrial workers, but among girls in many other occupations.

Some recent patents upon inventions of more than ordinary interest have been granted to the following:

Mary Jane Reynolds, of St. Joseph, Missouri, Hoisting and Loading Mechanism; Anna E. Gephart, of Mansfield, Ohio, Spring Motor-Driven Vehicle; Margaret J. Corcoran, Scranton, Pa., Egg Washer; Lenora H. Jones, Wichita, Kans., Electric Push Button or Push Button Switch; Vivian V. Clark, Tucson, Ariz., Placer Mining Machine; Ada Cohen, Chelsea, Mass., Alarm Device for Water Levels; Sarah J. Dawson, Albany, Mo., Rail Anchoring Device; Pearl A. Bolopue, Pittsburg, Pa., Chock; Emma M. Anderson, Boone, Colo., Perspective Determining Instrument; Marie J. Cornue, Paris, France, Mercury Vapor Lamp.

These are only a few of the great variety of ingenious inventions being developed by women, any one of which should furnish inspiration for other women who desire to keep apace with the constructive work now being done to rebuild the world.



Cleaner Bottle— Healthier Baby

READ what the maker of a famous baby-food has to say:

"Simply rinsing feeding bottles in water will not do. As soon as the meal is finished, the bottle should be rinsed with hot water and Gold Dust, *otherwise the fatty constituents of the milk cannot be removed from the inside of the bottle.*"

But—be sure it *is* Gold Dust you buy. The name FAIRBANK'S and The Twins are on every package.

THE N. K. FAIRBANK COMPANY

Let the Gold Dust



Twins do your work

For
Women

"Onyx" Hosiery

for
Sportswear

In wool and
camels' hair,
maintains
the distinc-
tion long
held by
"Onyx" Silk
hosiery.

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NEW YORK

For
Children

When a Girl Marries

WEDDING customs are not so different, wherever the wedding. Trousseaus and bragging about presents are as common in one part of the world as another. An American Red Cross nurse, Miss Elsie M. Jessup, of New York city, recently returned to this country, tells the *Woman Citizen* of several interesting wedding ceremonies that she witnessed during her last years' service in Serbia. Miss Jessup saw three distinct types of weddings: Turkish, Serbian peasant, and Serbian debutante of the city of Monastir.

The Turkish wedding celebration lasted for two days and took place before the wedding ceremony. The bride-to-be and all the women guests were gathered at the home of the bridegroom (whom she had not seen). As the guests entered the house they were requested to remove their shoes, but the American nurse and the two women physicians who accompanied her, Dr. Regina Flood Keyes and her cousin, Dr. Mabel Flood, were excused from this. The little Turkish bride was a member of one of the wealthy families of the city, and her wedding was elaborate. She was attired in a white satin wedding gown, of European design, instead of the baggy Turkish trousers, worn by many of the natives. Little silver flowers were pasted on her face, as beauty spots, and she wore white silk gloves, with many rings placed outside.

Displaying the trousseau and wedding presents is one of the most important features of a Mohammedan wedding. The bride's trousseau, including her under and outer garments, were tacked about the walls of the room where the women were walking around, admiring, handling, and counting the articles of value and beauty. Her lingerie was daintily made and of exquisite materials. Hand-woven cotton crepe with colored silk stripes had been used to fashion these underclothes.

Gifts between the bride and bridegroom excite much interest and comment among the guests. Tacked on the wall were long strings of Turkish pounds (normally of the value of the pound sterling), which the bride had received from her ancestors as dowry, to be saved for her wedding day. These now passed into the possession of her husband. Also, she brought him many expensive gifts of wearing apparel, including one dozen white scarfs, embroidered with silver threads, to be wrapped about his waist, to hold his Turkish trousers.

The bridegroom's presents to the pretty little Turkish maiden, whom he had never seen—at least, the chaperon believed he had not, but Miss Jessup reports that Cupid is now establishing headquarters among the Mohammedans, and occasionally arranging clandestine meetings between hopeful young Romeos and Juliets—consisted chiefly of European jewelry of gaudy design.

Rich household linens, including many bed-spreads, sheets and towels, all hand-woven, were displayed on the walls of the wedding-present chamber.

The entertainment of the guests consisted chiefly of chatter about the number and value of the presents and about the latest additions to a neighbor's harem. Turkish cigarettes and coffee were served to the guests, who seemed able to partake of an unlimited supply of both. Cakes, much like French pastry, to which Americans are now accustomed in the Eastern sea-coast cities, were served to the women. Also jars of preserves, with spoons and glasses of water, were passed on a tray. The "technique" of partaking of this delicacy consisted of taking a spoon, dipping into the jam, then taking a glass of water, and after drinking it hurriedly, replacing the spoon in the empty glass, and depositing it on the tray. The Turkish men and women are fond of sweets, and many kinds of preserves and jams are served at each festive occasion.

There was one room to which the guests were not admitted. That was the bridal chamber, which was fenced off by a silk cord. Its doors were opened, and the guests stood outside, admiring the large bed, with its expensive drapings, and the dozens of dresses of the bride, which hung against the walls. This room contained European furniture and rugs, probably purchased in Stamboul, the Turkish quarter of Constantinople.

After the two days' pre-nuptial celebration, the marriage ceremony was performed by the Mohammedan priest, and the husband took his bride to his home. The women guests departed. Turkish men do not have a chance to enter into any of the festivities connected with their friends' matrimonial ventures.

When asked if the former wives of a Turkish gentleman attended the bride's reception, Miss Jessup replied, "Yes, indeed. They are always glad to see a new wife come to the harem. For it gives them one more woman to gossip with. And in a land where women's lives are so closely guarded, and they have so few diversions, the fun of gossiping is not to be considered lightly."

Incidentally, explained Miss Jessup, the harems of Turkish men are much smaller than formerly. Perhaps the H. C. L. (which hits even that part of the world) may be to blame. But whatever the reason, Turkish men, generally, have fewer wives than was the custom a few years ago. Perhaps the European ideas, which many of them have acquired in Western universities, may be partly accountable for this changed tendency.

WEDDINGS of Serbian peasants are conducted on horseback, Miss Jessup said. The entire party rides to the church on horseback, and then back home, for the long, noisy feast. They ride small Macedonian ponies, carrying heavy wooden pack-saddles, rope stirrups and scarlet blankets. An old man, usually the father of the bride, rides at the head of the procession, carrying the flag of Serbia. Then comes a horse bearing the bride's trousseau, followed by the bride, also on horseback. She wears white, with the brightly embroidered apron, bodice and sleeve-caps, and a wreath of fresh flowers twined about her hair. The bridegroom's horse follows, and then the large party of neighbors and friends who will witness the marriage and dance at the feast.

The "kola" is often danced at the country wedding. This is the native dance of Serbia, and consists of a lively and rhythmical "crack the whip." A man leads this dance, and the young men and women fall in, often dancing on the village green. A boy with a flute joins in the dance, and plays the tune, to which all keep time. Many fancy steps and athletic feats are introduced into the dancing of the kola, the young men frequently turning handsprings. Miss Jessup pointed out that a modification of the kola was frequently danced at the Serbian officers' balls in Monastir, with one hundred couples joining in the merry-making.

Miss Jessup also attended the marriage of one of the young Serbian belles of Monastir. This wedding was quite different from the peasant ceremony, which she had witnessed in the village of the North. The bride wore a European wedding gown of conventional white satin, and walked to the church, escorted by her brother. He was in Serbian military uniform, and wore a bright colored chiffon scarf draped over his shoulder. At the church door the bridegroom awaited the arrival of the wedding party, and then proceeded to the altar with his white-gowned bride. Children always lead the procession to the church. They carry long lighted candles, and also the wedding cake, to be blessed by the priest, and then taken home and served at the wedding dinner.



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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

LESSON XII.

QUESTIONS.

- a. Do you know when you are subject to the jurisdiction of the United States Treasury Department?
- b. What are the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury?
- c. How many bureaus are there in the Treasury Department?
- d. What are some of the principal official positions in the Department?
- e. What is the Secretary's relation to the President?
- f. What to Congress?
- g. Where does money to run the government come from?
- h. What is the principal source?
- i. What other sources are there?
- j. How does the government borrow money and who lends it?
- k. Who may manufacture money?

ANSWERS.

a. When you take out of your purse some shining pennies to pay for your excess fare on the street railway; when you ask for American gold to carry abroad; when you pay your customs duties at American ports of entry; when you try to smuggle whiskey or furs over the Canadian border; when, shipwrecked, you send an S. O. S. to the U. S. Coast patrol to save your life, you are coming into immediate contact with the U. S. Treasury Department. You are also in touch with it when you pay your income tax and cut your Liberty Bond coupons. If your boy in the U. S. Navy is taken ill, he goes to a marine hospital, which also is under the Treasury Department. If you are held up at quarantine it is the Treasury Department at which you must grumble. If you are an immigrant, you can not come into the United States until the surgeon-general's medical inspectors have said you may and the surgeon-general belongs to the personnel of the Treasury Department. Likewise it is the Secret Service Division of the Department of the Treasury which will get after you if you pass counterfeit bills, or try a lone hand at minting coins. You may be a fine artist engaged in making drawings for the bureau of engraving, as was Asher B. Durand, or you may be an architect planning public buildings, such as post-offices, and still be under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

b. The Secretary of the Treasury is one of the most important members of the President's Cab-

The United States Treasury Department

inet, ranking second to the Secretary of State. The first Secretary of the Treasury in the United States and one of its greatest financiers, was Alexander Hamilton.

The Secretary of the Treasury is the chief tax collector of the United States. He is the disbursing officer of the public funds. He is supervisor of the national banking system. He makes loans by issuing bonds—as in the Liberty Loan—and he superintends all the various branches of the Treasury Department.

c. There are some eight or more divisions of the Treasury: Currency, Mint, Internal Revenue, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Secret Service, Life Saving Service, Public Building, Public Health Service.

As all revenues are collected by the Treasury Department, it maintains the revenue cutter service to prevent smuggling. The life-saving service is also maintained by the Treasury. The public buildings owned by the United States are under its care. It buys the sites and erects the buildings.

As all custom duties are under Treasury control, it maintains foreign agents who keep track of smugglers, who inform the department when large purchases of jewelry or other dutiable goods have been made so that the customs officials may be on the watch for them when they arrive at a port in the United States. The Treasury Department used to collect the tax on liquors through the internal revenue department.

It has the largest staff of officers of any governmental department except that of War.

d. In addition to the chief secretary there were last year five assistant secretaries. There are also six auditors, and the following officials: The Treasurer of the United States; the Comptroller of the Currency; the Commissioner of Internal Revenue; the Secret Service Chief, and the surgeon-general of the Health Service.

e. The Secretary of the Treasury belongs to the executive branch of the Federal Government—not to the legislative. He is appointed by the President and is responsible to him.

He has only an informative or advisory relation with Congress. His duties are to administer, to advise, and to put into effect the acts of

Congress. When the regular session of each Congress opens, it is met by a statement from the Secretary of the Treasury as to the various sums of money needed to run the national government. This statement is called the "Book of Estimates." It includes, (1) a statement of the receipts and disbursements of the previous fiscal year; (2) an estimate of funds needed for the coming year, made up of the various sums demanded by the departments, and (3) an outline of a fiscal policy for administration of these funds.

Money for all public affairs must come from the people; but the Treasury Department itself cannot go to the people and demand funds.

Not a dollar can be spent or raised without the consent of Congress. "As a matter of practice," says S. E. Forman, "consideration of the estimated expenditures begins in the House of Representatives, where the recommendations found in the Book of Estimates are referred to the proper committees." Here enters one of the most prolific sources of delay, confusion and general scrambling for funds, making no small part in the activities of Congress.

The committees take the Secretary's estimates and modify or change them to suit themselves. They may invite treasury officials to confer with them; but they do not need to do so.

In a word it is Congress itself which is the nation's spender.

It is the House Committee of Ways and Means which must find the funds for the expenditures voted by all these committees. This is therefore one of the most important committees in Congress. Second to it is the Committee on Appropriations which passes upon six kinds of expenditures which come under various designations such as sundry civil bills; bills for expenses of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government; expenditures for the District of Columbia; for pensions; for fortifications; for deficiency. Each of the other appropriation bills is assigned to one of the standing committees, so that there are eight different committees passing on fourteen different appropriation bills without much comity between them all.

Dr. William B. Guiteau in his *Government and Politics in the United States*, says:

"Responsibility for preparing the budget ought to be direct, personal, and complete; but under our practice, this responsibility is dispersed among independent committees of coor-

dinate authority. The fourteen annual appropriation bills enacted by Congress are prepared by eight different House committees, each of which is independent of the rest, and all of which may ignore entirely the ways and means committee, whose business it is to raise the revenue, as well as the Secretary of the Treasury, whose duty it is to suggest a fiscal plan.

"There is no direct relation between the amount proposed to be raised and the amount proposed to be spent in any one year. In most foreign countries, as in the case of our own states and cities, the necessary expenditures are calculated beforehand as closely as possible, and taxes are then levied to supply the necessary funds. Federal finance reverses this process; it first provides revenue without any special reference to the needs of the country, and then considers ways of expending the money raised."

When women run their housekeeping affairs like that, and some untrained ones do, men all point their fingers at them and say, "how like a woman." Yet the United States goes on from year to year running distractedly from one committee to another, snip-snipping a little here and there and trying to squeeze all of the appropriations inside a given total, with the result that money is taken from the babies and given to the hogs, or snatched away from the Woman's Bureau to build post offices.

It is like a household manager, who pays all of her home-keeping money for a new rug and hasn't enough left to pay the ice man.

g. Money comes from duties on imports, from excises, from income taxes. Congress has an almost unlimited power to tax, and uses it.

Originally there were but three restrictions—duties and excises must be uniform; direct and capitation taxes must be apportioned among the states according to population; and interstate customs duties were forbidden.

According to the original provisions for federal taxation, no direct tax could be imposed unless it was apportioned among the states, according to population. The income tax is a direct tax, and could therefore not be levied. In 1894 Congress passed a law levying a tax on incomes, but the Supreme Court pronounced it unconstitutional, therefore Amendment XVI was passed in 1913, giving Congress full power to tax incomes.

All bills for raising national revenue originate in the House of Representatives with the exception of post-office bills, and bills relating to the mints and to the sale of public lands which may originate in the Senate. Any revenue bill may also be modified in the Senate.

h. The tariff is one of the principal sources of income; previously it has yielded most of the nation's revenue.

It is also one of the oldest sources. The first tariff was imposed by the first Congress of 1789, and it has been imposed by every Congress since then. These tariff duties are collected at all ports of entry and on hundreds of articles on an *ad valorem* or a specific basis. That is the duties are levied like taxes on real property on a

certain per cent. of value or else on a specific quantity or number of goods. The customs revenue for the year 1915 was \$205,755,073.

The tariff has been a constant factor in party politics. Its opposed policy, that of free trade, has never yet gained whole-hearted allegiance. Each presidential election sees the tariff question looming large. "Protective tariff" "tariff for revenue only," have been old battle cries. It has been a steady slogan of the Republican party, which has this year reaffirmed "its belief in the protective principle, and pledged itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry."

i. A second source of income is the money from internal revenues. These are taxes on articles produced in the United States. For convenience in collecting internal revenues the country is divided into districts—called internal revenue districts. In each of these is a federal collector and a corps of deputies. These same collectors now take care of the income tax which is also a large source of national revenue. In 1917 the total net incomes taxed in the United States were \$13,652,383,207; and the total tax yielded was \$675,249,450. While it is Congress which levies funds and disburses them, it is the Treasury Department which executes the laws, collects taxes, excises and duties, through its many bureaus and divisions.

j. The government can borrow money through acts of Congress to an almost unlimited extent. One method is to sell government bonds to voluntary buyers. These bonds are promissory notes given by the government instead of an individual or a business house. A recent example of this was the Liberty Loan, which was issued by the Treasury Department. It was the policy of the first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, to make the credit of the national government so good that no one would ever hesitate to lend it money. Hamilton urged his Congress to assume the war debt and the American government began life with a debt of about \$75,000,000. Since then every war has brought a big debt. The gross war debt of the United States on September 30, 1919, was reported by the United States Treasury as \$26,194,997,000. Germany's was \$40,000,000,000 at the end of 1918. Great Britain's was \$37,000,000,000 and France's nearly \$35,000,000,000.

k. The actual manufacture of money—minting of coins—making of greenbacks, etc., is a part of the work of the United States Treasury Department, although it is Congress again that has power to coin money and regulate the value thereof.

Currency, either paper or metallic money, is of many kinds: gold coins, silver dollars, bank and United States notes. These are full legal tender. The subsidiary coins—fractions of a dollar—are legal tender up to a certain amount.

Up to 1834 the United States had what is called *free coinage* of both gold and silver in the

proportion of fifteen pounds of silver to one pound of gold. In that year one pound of gold was found to be worth nearly sixteen pounds of silver, and an over-valuation of silver tended to drive gold out of circulation. To bring it back Congress reduced the weight of the gold dollar and continued free coinage on the 16 to 1 basis until 1873, when the free coinage of silver was discontinued. In 1873 the gold dollar of 23.22 grains—the present dollar—was established.

With several vicissitudes—such as the period of the cart wheel silver dollar which decreased in value to, at most, 85 cents when it was a familiar campaign jest that the motto on the silver dollar should read: "In God we trust—for the other fifteen cents"—the unit of value has continued to be the gold dollar of 23.22 grains. At present the coinage of gold is free. Government does not regulate it. It is subject to the law of supply and demand. Silver dollars and silver certificates are exchangeable for gold at their face value. Redemption is made possible by a reserve fund of \$150,000,000 in the United States Treasury at the command of the government.

In addition to all its other duties, the comptroller of the currency, one of the officials of the Treasury Department, supervises the national banks and is charged with the execution of the national banking laws.

As much of the talk about the high cost of living resolves around the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, students of the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course will want to become familiar with some such study of the way gold dollars are affected by other commodities as may be found in Professor Irving Fisher's *Stabilizing the Dollar*, reviewed in the *Woman Citizen* of June 5, 1920. To evaluate the Republican party's planks on finance it is necessary to know something about the history of the Federal Reserve Banks; the relation of under-production to prices and the need of an executive budget.

Books on these detailed subjects will, from time to time, be reviewed in the *Woman Citizen* for the benefit of those who can undertake such studies.

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Does Our Federal Government Need Making Over?

MR. FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, assistant Secretary of the Navy, says it does. What do you think?

As one of the most vital discussions in American politics at the present is the relation of the executive and legislative branches of Federal Government to each other, the opinion of Mr. Roosevelt, who has been Assistant Secretary of the Navy for the last seven years, ought to be clarifying.

Students of the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course have reason to know by this time that there is much confusion in the various departments of the government at Washington which leads, especially in the matter of appropriations, to waste and bureaucratic delay.

Mr. Roosevelt was approached recently by Mr. Clifford Ireland of Illinois for his views on placing the governmental establishment on a more modern and scientific basis. Mr. Roosevelt daringly answers this by a statement that "the entire system of relationship which exists between Congress and the Executive Department is fundamentally wrong."

He illustrates his point this way: "I made an offer, this spring, to the Appropriations Committee of both the House and Senate telling them that I would tomorrow discharge 15 per cent of the employes of the Navy Department if they, the committees, would give me complete authority to take one-half of the salaries of the employes so discharged and add this one-half to the salaries of the other 85 per cent of the employes left in the department. In other words, I would guarantee a monetary saving to the Government of the pay of 7½ per cent of the employes of the Navy Department if I could use the other 7½ per cent where it would do the most good.

NO DISCRETION GIVEN TO EXECUTIVES

"Of course, under the present system, Congress would not think of giving executive discretion of this kind. Congress, for various reasons, has so tied the hands of the executive officers of the Government that they have no discretion in the fundamental questions of employment. I do not believe, of course, that the civil service system should be wiped out, or that we should return to the 'spoils' system, but there is altogether too much assumption in this Government that executive officers will use their authority for political purposes. My own wonder is that, considering the existing circumstances, the employes of the Government are as efficient as they actually are.

"As conditions exist, Congress legislates for every minute item of employment. It tells me that I can have in a certain office, for instance, ten clerks, of whom one can get \$1,800 per year, two can get \$1,600 per year, two can get \$1,400 per year, two can get \$1,200 per year, two can get \$1,000 per year, and one can be a messenger

at \$720 per year. In the first place, the scale of pay of employes is entirely inadequate, especially so at the top and bottom. In the second place, the needs of different offices vary very much. One office may require a large number of low-grade clerks, another office may require a small number of highly-paid specialists. We ought to have a better system of promotion based on efficiency and not necessarily on longevity of service or on hard and fast rules laid down by appropriation bills from year to year."

As the Citizenship Course takes its way through the departmental divisions of the Federal Government, consider these suggestions:

"After seven years down here in an executive position and after three years' previous experience in a legislative body, the Senate of the State of New York, I cannot help the conclusion that our governmental methods in this country are cumbersome and wasteful.

"For instance, there is a lot of work being done in other departments which ought properly to be under the Navy Department, and in the same way there is a lot of work done by the Navy Department which could perfectly properly be transferred to other departments.

"The Navy Department has to go before the Naval Affairs Committee for its main appropriations. It also has to go before the Appropriations Committee for the money to run the force in Washington, and I can cite numerous instances where the department has fallen between the two fires of the two committees.

"I firmly believe that we need a revision of the present methods of making appropriations. This must come from Congress. We need also a reclassification and redistribution of the work of the various executive departments. This can only come if Congress, working in accord with itself and with the executives, will discuss the whole question simultaneously, and not merely piecemeal.

"If you want a concrete suggestion for definite action, here it is:

"1. Create a true budget system, not the small beginning already attempted.

"2. Consolidate the appropriations in one general committee, with sub-committees to deal with the separate subjects.

"3. Put into law the general principles recommended by the Reclassification Committee's report, together with the authorization of adequate salaries to Government employes.

"4. Invite a conference with the executive branch of the Government looking to a reclassification and redistribution of the work of the departments.

"5. Give by law greater authority to the heads of the executive departments in conducting their executive business, at the same time holding these heads more directly responsible for the successful administration of their work."

Citizenship Classes in Quick Action in Old New England

CONNECTICUT women are not only accepting the fact that they will soon be full voters, they are steadily, quietly, determinedly training themselves to be intelligent voters. The organization most active in supplying this training is, of course, The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, which through its Citizenship Department, financed by the fund raised in the citizenship campaign conducted throughout the state just one year ago, has been conducting citizenship classes and institutes throughout the state during the last year. This does not mean to say, of course, that the citizenship work has been going on for only one year, but the volume of work, as full citizenship approaches, has greatly increased.

Mrs. Florence L. C. Kitchelt, resident director of the citizenship department has compiled the following report of the work done:

- I—County Institutes (three-day schools).
 - a—Hartford, March 24-26.
 - 1—Average attendance—90.
 - 2—Approximate number reached—300.
 - b—New Haven, April 28-30.
 - 1—Average attendance—125.
 - 2—Approximate number reached—500.
- II—Classes (6 lectures each).
 - a—Completed since March 1.
 - Hartford.
 - Norwich.
 - New London.
 - Woodbury.
 - Bridgeport.
 - New Haven.
 - b—Started since March 1.
 - Stonington—3 classes.
 - Mystic.
 - Waterbury.
 - Unionville.
 - Thompsonville.
 - East Hampton.
 - Hartford.
 - North Stonington.
 - Gales Ferry.
 - Cromwell.
 - Winsted.
 - Berlin.
 - Portland.
 - c—Average attendance at classes—40.
 - d—Approximate number reached through classes in groups a and b—700.

Practically all the classes will be completed in July and no more will be begun before the autumn.

Mrs. Kitchelt, who took charge of the state citizenship department last March, was formerly legislative secretary of the C. W. S. A. She was a constant visitor to legislative halls during the last session when the presidential suffrage bill was acted upon, during which time she gained accurate knowledge of the workings of a state Legislature—information which makes her lecture on state government an entertaining and valuable one.

As a result of the information gathered in

her legislative experience, Mrs. Kitchelt has recently published a chart, showing the pathway of a bill through the two houses in the process of becoming a law. The chart is accompanied by an explanation of the legislative procedure and the pamphlet is described by legislative experts as a remarkably clear and able exposition.

Mrs. Kitchelt is a public speaker of experience and ability. She is a graduate of Wells College, Aurora, New York, and a native of Rochester, N. Y., where she engaged in social service work for several years following her graduation from college. Later she studied social conditions in Italy and then became a social worker in New York's "Little Italy." She was an active worker in New York's suffrage campaigns before she came to Connecticut.

Together with Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker, who is consulting director of citizenship for four New England states, Mrs. Kitchelt will have charge of program arrangements for two more county institutes which are scheduled for July. The first one, which will be a joint school for Tolland and Windham counties will be held July 21, 22 and 23. The sessions for the first two days will be held in Willimantic and on the third day, Mrs. Fannie Dixon Welch, suffrage chairman of Tolland county will entertain the institute on the spacious lawn of her home in Columbia.

Miss Mary McDowell, the famous Chicago social and industrial worker, will be one of the chief speakers at the conference.

Miss McDowell is one of the foremost authorities on labor legislation in the country to-day. Her work for the protection of women and children has led her to take an active part in the campaign to secure protective legislation and an eight-hour working day for women. Miss McDowell's famous struggle to clean up the slums of Chicago, where she worked for over twenty years, finally carried her to Europe to study social conditions there. Since her return she has been devoting her time to work for women in industry.

The program for the institute will follow the general plan of the Hartford and New Haven County conferences, that is, the regular course of six lectures on the Machinery of Connecticut Government will be given, a liberal allotment of space will be assigned to the consideration of political parties and party candidates, supporters of presidential candidates will be given an opportunity to explain why they are supporters of their particular candidates, and a considerable part of each day's program will be devoted to important local, state, and national problems of social and community nature.

At the conference Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker will conduct the citizenship classes.

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Masks

GEORGE MIDDLETON is at his serious best in his collection of one-act plays, *Masks* (Henry Holt & Co.). They are all undertone plays, with an ethical thread running through them. In all the preacher is present, the man with a message and a vision. *Masks*, itself, is the story of the eternal sacrifice of the man of genius to commercial demands. *Tides* is a question of undercurrents. It asks, but does not answer the question of how much crowd psychology had to do with bending men to the war spirit.

Of the six plays, *Among the Lions* is the most mocking and cynical, *The House*, the most tender and spiritual. Some of these slight, delicately ethical dramas are almost too tenuous, too fleshless. Several like *Tim's Beast* have attempted unique settings. Here Mr. Middleton has chosen a museum for his stage. A fossil saurian and a scrubwoman between them interpret the scene which is so slight as to appear scarcely defined. The dinosaur and Elizabeth represent the rapacious feminine instinct that preys in ever new pastures. The scrubwoman faintly outlines the eternal feminine task of "moppin' and scrubbin'," cleaning up the mess of life made by the march of other people's feet.

All these very delicate plays by Mr. Middleton are weighted with meaning; the central point held in abeyance until the climax, which is never passionate and seldom intense. None is hackneyed, and all are skillful. They mark an advance in the author's mastery of excellent lines. The dialogue is good and the condensation of themes excellent. If they lack anything it is the humor which made Mr. Middleton's farce of the suffrage burglar so delicious.

THE BOOK STALL

Iron Cousins

THERE is something about the commercial German of Homburg as he and his wife and all their family circle are portrayed by Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick in *Iron Cousins* (W. J. Watt & Co., N. Y.) which ought to make the world hate pure materialism. But it won't. It will make the world hate the Germans, and continue to believe that virtues go by races; that all Germans are materialists, all Americans idealists and so weiter. The public will straightway forget that there is a sordid New York and Chicago and Paris and London as well as a sordid Homburg.

Plenty of people will like Mrs. Sidgwick's latest story because it strengthens their faith that the German merchant is a coarse and sharp-dealing bourgeois and his wife a hard-hearted climber. They will be glad to believe that all German housewives are such a combination of display and niggardliness as Frau Plessen, and all German young men have the sordid matrimonial views of Oscar Heiling.

What really stands out in this story as in "The Devil's Cradle" by the same author, is a very clear picture of German life, some of which is quite beautiful, as the English heroine concedes.

Mrs. Sidgwick knows both Germany and England well. She has a good gift of story telling and enough sense of humor to make her characters crisp and genuine. She is very clever in portraying one of these interacting German social groups with its close relations and its everlasting family circle making much ado over nothing at all. But she has not enough

skill in depicting motives to save her English "Miss" from committing some sordid blunders herself.

The pot cannot call the kettle black with a very good grace when a girl who has received insulting advances from a man of her acquaintance continues to be as friendly with him as if he had behaved like a gentleman, just because she wants to keep on good terms with her world. No Plessen or Heiling, no Elsa or Trudi could show any clearer "German" reactions—if such reactions are German—than does Mrs. Sidgwick's British "Sallee."

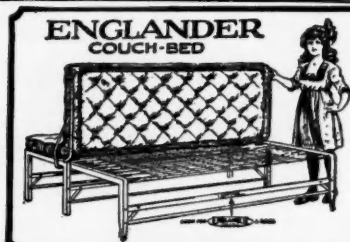
Iron Cousins is an interesting novel of mediocre attainment and no great literary skill. A novel of manners, in which its author shows more than ordinary ability to depict manners deftly and create an atmosphere.

Basil Everman

ELSIE SINGMASTER the author of *Basil Everman* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is a Radcliffe College woman, with scholastic earmarks over all her work. Her tendency to be literary at all costs doesn't interfere as much as one might expect with her ability to tell a story, especially her last story. This is less a powerful story, as its press notices trumpet it, than a very subtle and delicate one, depending for its success on a rare sort of flavor. It is quite possible that one might read *Basil Everman* and miss the flavor altogether, in which case it would appear a rather commonplace novel on the hackneyed theme of guessing the parentage of a presumably illegitimate child. The book never descends to the banal type one expects from such a plot; it holds aloft the torch of American letters with invincible integrity, even with an obvious integrity at times. Constructively Miss Singmaster has done something technically difficult and unusual in maintaining an unflagging interest in a hero who had been dead many years when the story opened. Basil not only pervades the book like a spirit but with a persistent haunting mystery which one wants to see cleared up.

The harm done to both dead and living by the narrow hardness of Basil's sister is not a mere repetition of the thousands of instances in which the plot of a story hinges on the inability of the literal-minded to understand the ways of genius. The central fire of this book is not in any case in its living people with their passions and jealousies and inhibitions; it is the vital impulse in the masterpieces of the dead writer which cry to be delivered from the living and loving burial to which Basil's sister has consigned them.

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delightfully sustained as a background for the human emotions of the story which rise to white heat but always under the restraint of Miss Singmaster's well disciplined pen. She never forgets at her most intense moments that she is a Radcliffe graduate.

Some day she will get rid of this slightly self-conscious academic pose and then one predicts a really great novel from her, something that will carry on the best traditions of a genuine American fiction, level with Edith Wharton and Alice Brown at their very best.

Detective Stories

A WAVE of detective stories has certainly struck the world, and what everyone is seeking is a mystery story with a difference. There is no difference. All are modeled on Sherlock Holmes and Arsene Lupin.

One that starts off in a milieu which suggests novelty is Adele Luchmann's *The Triple Mystery* (Dodd, Mead & Co.). Its setting is among the musical elite of New York. Its victims are all pianists, and the manner of taking them off is ingenious. But the generic likeness in detective stories—their lack of any human interest—prevails here also. All the people in them are moved about on strings like marionettes, in order to make the story march.

The authors never give their readers a thrill, because there can be no thrills over puppets.

Nobody minds at all whether it is three musicians or one whom Miss Luchmann kills off. The only genuine interest is in finding out how and by whom it was done. It must be confessed that the author holds her secret pretty well and deserves a patent on her method.

The gentleman detective now yields to the lady who knows the underworld, and beats Sherlock Holmes at his own game. *The Masked Woman* (W. J. Watt & Co., N. Y.) will answer very well for a mood of fatigue when one wants to read something that "requires no effort." It succeeds in holding one's attention, and makes no demands whatever upon the intelligence.

Elizabeth Jordan has descended to a romping practical joke in the *Girl in the Mirror* (The Century Co.). At the end one feels not a little abused at being so well fooled. This is, of course, to concede to Miss Jordan that she has done her fooling very well.

Her book has, at least, the merit of escaping real crime and its hardening effects. For, no doubt, constant reading about crime, even such unconvincing crimes as most detective stories portray, does do something towards dulling the edge of horror at them.

THE BOOK STALL

THE gentleman burglar and the gentleman detective have somewhat overplayed their parts, and now Mr. Louis Dodge introduces the high brow detective with a mission. In *Whispers* (Charles Scribner's Sons) there is some attempt at literary skill. "Whispers" himself is a high class press correspondent, making an adventurous essay into detective by-paths.

He preaches quite a bit, does *Whispers*, and practices a rough and ready kind of psychoanalysis on the man he has picked out as the criminal.

He fumbles his ethics considerably in parcelling out guilt and in the end suggests that everything is for the best in the best of worlds. The man who was murdered is better dead any way, and the men who did him out of life are more to be pitied than blamed.

Whispers rescues the situation blithely, sets one culprit on his feet and tenderly holds the hand of the other while he "croaks" as the underworld vernacular puts it. As the dead one would have gone to the chair but for this timely decease everybody is a little relieved and the story is free from the complication of further arrests.

The curtain rings down on a melodramatic picture of *Whispers* as "a funny guy," who rescued men from despair with one hand while

he built up the circulation of a deserving newspaper with the other.

This book almost achieves the distinction of being the "detective story with a difference."

G. B. S.

"YOU'RE not used to telling lies like I am, Sir. I got great practice at home with my mother. What with saving my skin when I was young and thoughtless, and sparing her feelings when I was old enough to understand them, I've hardly told my mother the truth twice a year since I was born and would you have me turn around on her and tell it now, when she's looking to have some peace and quiet in her old age?" asks O'Flaherty, V.C., explaining to General Sir Pearce Madigan of the British Army that he had to tell his mother he was fighting against the English or she'd never have let him go to the war.

One does not need to be an Irish sympathizer to find "O'Flaherty, V.C." the most delightful and understandable of Bernard Shaw's *Plays of the War* (Brentano's, New York).

One needs merely to let oneself go to a wit sparkling enough to come under the ban of the eighteenth amendment.

The play of Sergeant O'Flaherty is the most readable in the group that opens with *Heartbreak House* and ends with *The Bolshevik Empress*. Its recent presentation in America proves it as delightful on the stage as on the page.

If it pokes fun at the British it pokes even more fun at the Irish. "You see, Sir, she

(Continued on next page)

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was English." O'Flaherty elucidated the General's wife. "We was to her what the Pathans and Senegalese was to me when I first seen them. I couldn't think, somehow, that they were liars, and thieves, and backbiters, and drunkards, just like ourselves or any other Christians."

There one has in a nutshell the eternal separation between two nations who can't acknowledge common faults but go on wrangling through misunderstanding and too close relationship.

It is a political document is O'Flaherty's mother, an interpretation of Ireland itself. "She'd rob you," says her son, to the British General, "and she'd lie to you; and she'd call down all the blessings of God on your head when she was selling you your own three geese that you thought had been ate by the foe; and all the time you were like a bit of her own flesh and blood to her."

"Do you call it honest to steal my geese?" asks the too literal General.

"She didn't steal them, Sir. It was me that stole them."

"And why the devil *did* you steal them?"

"Sure we needed them, Sir. Often and often we had to sell our own geese to pay you the rent to satisfy your needs; and why shouldn't we sell your geese to satisfy ours?"

"Well, damn me."

"Sure you had to get what you could out of us; and we had to get what we could out of you. God forgive us both."

If only the English and the Irish, too, could have the sense of humor to read this play aright, they'd stop wrangling and take to laughing.

A New Cook Book

Mrs. Wilson's Cook Book (J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, Pa.) is remarkable, for several things. Its compiler is the head of a cooking school in Philadelphia; she is instructor of cooking for the United States Navy; she is instructor of domestic science in the University of

Virginia's Summer School and she was a former cook in the household of Queen Victoria.

Her present collection includes all of her best tried recipes. They look as if they might be practical although they seem to be printed in the sequence in which they were collected. "Chicken and green pepper sandwiches," follow "stewed pears," just as they did in Mother's home-made recipe book of twenty years ago.

But unlike the home-grown, catch-as-catch-can book of rules, Mrs. Wilson's cook book has a good index and if pastry recipes are found strewn through the book anywhere from the 90th page to the 445th, at least they can be located, given sufficient time.

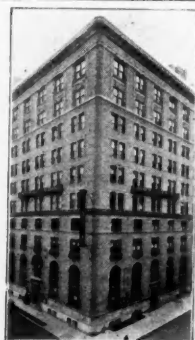
Doubtless it is an evidence of culinary crudity to want to sit down before a half dozen pages of solid pie recipes. Why not alternate them with stewed kidney, corn pudding, salmon salad and poached eggs?

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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

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AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JULY 10, 1920

No. 6

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Vermont or Tennessee?

AS the *Woman Citizen* has repeatedly urged, it takes a 36th state to make ratification operative in the 35 states that have to date ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment; 35 ratifications mean 35 ratifications, 36 ratifications mean women enfranchised. The crux of the suffrage struggle is right here and now over that 36th state.

Will it be Vermont or Tennessee?

It has been conclusively shown that certain of the political leaders of both major parties have meant all along that women should be enfranchised for the 1920 elections only as a last-ditch measure.

Yet because of party rivalry the suffrage case has been very delicately poised all through the last few months. On neither side has there been the slightest intention to let the other side get away with it. There has been undoubtedly a Republican conviction that the Republican record on submission and ratification more than sufficed as an offset to what had been done on the Democratic side. Consequently, ratification was allowed to be sidetracked for local reasons in two Republican states, Connecticut and Vermont.

It was left for the Democrats to wake up to the excess value of the 36th ratification. Democratic politicians, previously opposed to suffrage, at last jumped into the ring to help put over the 36th and last state.

Two Democratic states, North Carolina and Tennessee, have promptly become the storm center of Democratic effort.

But since our last issue there have been developments which leave it by no means certain that the 36th ratification will be a Democratic one. Senator Harding, Republican nominee for president, has within the week conferred with Governor Clement, of Vermont, to see if a way to Vermont's ratification may not be found. Following the conference Governor Clement named his reluctance to calling a special session as "due to a feeling that Vermont prefers to change the fundamental laws very deliberately. We can only change our state constitution by a direct appeal to the people and the favorable action of two houses of the Legislature."

As in this the Vermont governor harks back to an attitude of mind which the Supreme Court of the United States has called unconstitutional, it is not believed that he intends to persist in it. He is a law-abiding citizen and he can hardly persevere in his effort to hold Vermont to a line of argument and action at variance with the United States Constitution.

In this belief, Mrs. Catt last week wired the congratulations of the National to its Vermont auxiliary, the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association, at its annual convention at St. Albans.

Mrs. Catt's telegram read: "Heartfelt congratulations to the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association. For Governor Clement to call special session will have effect of a glorious crown to the effective work for ratification done by the Vermont suffragists."

It will have, too, the effect of strengthening the Republican claim on the woman voter one hundred-fold.

Where the End Is

TO the question, "Does favorable action in Vermont or Tennessee close the ratification campaign?" the N. A. W. S. A. makes this answer:

The ratification campaign will be closed whenever and wherever the 36th state ratifies the Federal Suffrage Amendment. True, there must be a promulgation of the amendment by the Secretary of State, but according to reliable information the promulgation is not in itself the finish of ratification. It is merely a matter of form. For all practical purposes ratification ends with the 36th state. When the 36th state ratifies the women of the United States will be enfranchised.

We are not unaware that the political opponents of suffrage, acting through women anti-suffragists, may try to block the operation of the amendment even after 36 states have ratified. Hiding behind women's skirts, that same little coterie of politicians who successfully interfered to prevent the submission of the 19th Amendment in the 65th Congress and did their best to block its passage in the 66th, are planning to the limit of their ability to interfere with the machinery of the amendment even after the 36th ratification. Unfortunately our processes of government are delicately poised and lend themselves readily to litigation. It may be, therefore, that some inhibitive program of litigation will be projected by these selfsame politicians.

Suffragists, however, are resting confident on the assumption that any such litigation will come to immediate grief on the rock of the Supreme Court's decisions. As a matter of fact, that court's decision, as already recorded, discounts in advance any such program of interference which may be contemplated.

A Load to Carry

ACCORDING to the New York *Evening Post*, worries that are being entertained in the Republican councils are over what will be done with United States Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., by the women voters. There is not a political leader who does not express the opinion, despite the fact that they claim this is a Republican year, that the United States Senator is going to be a heavy load to carry on the State ticket. It is held that his reactionary views make things difficult enough, but that his action at the Chicago National Convention, where the charge was made that it was not he who was in control of the New York State Republican delegation but William Barnes, has angered many of the leaders.

"I was never at a convention," said one up-state Republican leader, "and I have been to every one since 1896, where the New York delegation was so important as it was this year. Yet we were the laughing stock of the convention. That is a sample of the leadership of Wadsworth, who was afraid he might do something that would displease somebody in authority and as a result displeased everybody. The chairman of the State Committee was engaged in the laudable task of hunting tickets to the convention."

Here Is the Record Where Is the Responsibility?

EVERYBODY agrees that there is political responsibility for the failure to get the 36th state on the ratification roll of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Both of the major parties are eager to claim credit. Neither will admit responsibility. Here is the eleventh-hour record. Who is to blame?

Party in Power in Legislatures

Republican	Democratic
32	16

Legislatures That Have Rejected

Republican	Democratic
1	7

Legislatures That Have Ratified

Republican	Democratic
29	6

Governors Who Have Called Special Sessions

Republican	Democratic
16	8

(Colorado, Missouri and Nevada have closely balanced Legislatures)

States Any One of Which Can End the Agony

Republican	-	-	2	Democratic	-	-	4
	Vermont				North Carolina		
	Connecticut				Tennessee		
					Florida		
					Louisiana	(Still in session)	

Help from National Committee

Republican National Committee, June 1, Chicago:

"Whereas, the Republican National Committee at its regular meetings has repeatedly endorsed woman suffrage, and the nineteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, and has called upon the congress to pass, and the states to ratify, such amendment; and, whereas, such amendment still lacks ratification by a sufficient number of states to become a law; therefore be it

"Resolved, by the Republican National Committee, that the nineteenth constitutional amendment be, and the same is hereby again endorsed by this committee, and such Republican states as have not already done so are now urged to take such action by their governors and their Legislatures as will assure the ratification of such amendment and establish the right of equal suffrage at the earliest possible time."

Suffrage Plank (adopted at Chicago):

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in states which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country.

Help from National Committee

Democratic National Committee, May 30:

"The committee calls on Legislatures of the various states for special session, if necessary, to ratify woman suffrage, when the constitutional amendment is passed by Congress, to enable women to vote at the Presidential election in 1920."

San Francisco, June 26. To Governor Roberts of Tenn.:

"The Democratic national committee at its meeting held today by unanimous vote directed me, as chairman of the committee, to send you the following message:

"We most earnestly emphasize the extreme importance and urgency of an immediate meeting of your state Legislature for the purpose of ratifying the proposed nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

"We trust that for the present all other legislative matters may, if necessary, be held in abeyance and that you will call an extra session of the Legislature of your state for such brief duration as may be required to act favorably on the amendment. Tennessee occupies a position of peculiar and pivotal importance and one that enables her to render a service of incalculable value to the women of America. We confidently expect, therefore, under your leadership and through the action of the Legislature of your state, that the women of the nation may be given the privilege of voting in the coming presidential election.

"HOMER S. CUMMINGS,
Chairman National Committee."

Suffrage Plank (adopted at San Francisco):

We endorse the proposed Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the Legislatures of thirty-five states which have already ratified said amendment, and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such states as have not yet ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth state in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the fall election. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

Cooperation of Party Leader—Senator Harding:

"Nothing would please me more than to have ratification made effective to give American womanhood full participation in the elections of next November. This desire, sincerely spoken, does not conflict with my determination that I could not with propriety attempt to force any state executive to hasten action in violation of his own sense of duty.

"If any state executive should ask my opinion about extraordinary efforts to consummate suffrage, I frankly will commend the thing you desire, but I cannot impose a demand, though I personally hope to see women's suffrage and women's full participation established at an early date."

Senator Harding after conferring with Governor Clement:

"I told the Governor frankly that if my advice were wanted I would be glad to see Vermont Republicans close up the great franchise reform. The women throughout the nation are deeply interested in the national campaign and the ratification must be closed soon if they are universally to participate in the Federal election."

Responses of Governors of Pivotal States

"I have been calling on Senator Harding and we discussed the State of the Union agreeably, you can be sure, and we discussed suffrage ratification by Vermont. Our State Republican convention asked me to call the extra session. Chairman Hays has urged it on behalf of the National Committee and many requests came to me from delegates to the National Convention. Naturally, I wanted Senator Harding's views and he suggested an early call. My reluctance is due to a feeling that Vermont prefers to change the fundamental laws very deliberately. We can only change our state constitution by one direct appeal to the people and the favorable action of two Legislatures. We are reluctant, therefore, to ratify by a Legislature which was elected at a time when suffrage was not an issue."—*Governor Clement of Vt.*

"My conception of the constitutional limitation of the authority of the governor compels me to decline to call a special session."—*Governor Holcomb of Conn.*

Cooperation of Party Leader—President Wilson:

"It would be a real service to the party and to the nation if it is possible for you, under the peculiar provisions of your state constitution, having in mind the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case, to call a special session of the Legislature of Tennessee to consider the suffrage amendment. Allow me to urge this very earnestly."—*Telegram sent to Governor Roberts of Tennessee, by the President.*

"I am sure I need not point out to you the critical importance of the action of your great state in the matter of suffrage amendment."—*President's telegram to Governor Bickett of N. C.*

Dayton, Ohio, July 7.—Governor James M. Cox, the Democratic candidate for President, expressed his opinion that it is the duty of the Louisiana Legislature to ratify the woman suffrage amendment immediately.

The Democratic candidate's expressed view on suffrage ratification was contained in a telegram replying to Frank J. Looney, chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee of La.

Responses of Governors of Pivotal States

"I will call the session in ample time for the women to vote in the 1920 elections."—*Governor Roberts of Tenn.*

"I hope that the Tennessee Legislature will meet and ratify the amendment and thus make immediate action by North Carolina unnecessary.

"We have neither the time nor the money, and such action on the part of Tennessee would save this state the feeling of bitterness that would surely be engendered by debate on the subject that would come up in our Legislature.

"I have said all I intend to say on the subject of ratification. While I will take my medicine, I will never swear that it tastes good, for it doesn't."—*Governor Bickett of N. C.*

A Chair for the Lady

SCENE: A courtroom. Two prosperous and elderly gentlemen in a lawsuit over which shall inherit a large estate. Enter a third heir—or rather, heiress; young, attractive, amiable, determined to have her rightful share of the legacy, and obviously able to get it. Plot: Neither gentleman has been any too eager to share up with her, but seeing that she is going to get a share anyhow, both are anxious to create an eleventh-hour impression of zeal. Business: At her entrance both spring up and vie with each other in the zeal of their courtesy.

This is the comedy of woman suffrage. The Republican party platform "welcomes women into full participation in the affairs of government," and "hopes" tardy Republican Legislatures will hurry up on the 19th Amendment.

Whereupon the President seizes the strategic advantage by urging the governor of Tennessee to place a chair for the lady.

Two black marks of Republican ungallantry to woman suffrage persist in New England: Connecticut and Vermont. Governor

Clement of Vermont has "indicated" that he will call a special session of the Legislature on high grounds of constitutionality. He admits that it would be within the letter of constitutionality, although he has been constrained to feel that it would be against the spirit of that instrument.

Now the demands of Republican party strategy make it highly desirable that he call the special session and set the chair for the lady.

Meanwhile the suffrage pronouncement in the Democratic platform roars us quite gently. It "endorses" the 19th Amendment and "urges" the Democratic governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida to ratify.

The upshot of it is that whichever litigant finally sets the chair for the lady, the lady, while graciously acknowledging the courtesy, will know that it was extended to her largely because she was able to get the chair for herself.—*Boston Globe.*

The Woman Citizen's Politics

THE one thing that makes us know that we hold absolutely to a middle-of-the-road course in our editorial treatment of the two major political parties is the fine balance preserved between the castigation dealt us by Democrats when our pen points the Democratic way and that dealt us by Republicans when our pen points the Republican way.

"The point that I am trying to make about Democratic failure," wrote one valued Democratic reader the other day, "is that it is a very sore point for us, and we do not like to have it 'rubbed in.' Heaven knows the Democratic women in the South and the National Committee and the President and Democratic Senators have all of them moved heaven and earth to get favorable action from the Southern states that have failed or refused to ratify the amendment."

"I have always been a suffragist, as is my wife," wrote a Republican reader a few days later, "but we both think that you are doing more harm than good in the line of talk you are making in regard to the Republican Party because Vermont and Connecticut have such pig-headed governors; and we are both chagrined and humiliated, as Vermonters, that our native state should have such a makeshift of a governor thrust upon it by a fluke in the election laws, as they did not want him for a candidate in the first place, but had to vote for him because he won in the primaries."

It only goes to show that the *Woman Citizen* has no politics, save suffrage politics. Its business is to help secure ratification by the 36th state. The files of the magazine indicate that a great deal more praise than criticism has been given to the Republican party, and a great deal more criticism than praise has been given to the Democratic party. This has simply been in line with the logic of events. The Republican party, up to a point, did more for suffrage than the Democrats but at the eleventh hour there came a deadlock. Let the Vermont governor break that deadlock and the *Woman Citizen* will not be found backward in giving due glory to the Republicans. Let Tennessee ratify and we will jubilate with the Democrats.

The *Woman Citizen* holds no brief for the Democratic party and none for the Republicans. The brief it holds is for suffrage only. We praise or challenge not for the good of either party, but for the good of suffrage.

National League of Women Voters Fared Well

THE officers of the National League of Women Voters left the San Francisco convention jubilant over the insertion of its planks, virtually intact, into the Democratic platform.

The League asked for planks on Child Welfare, Education, Home and High Prices, Women in Gainful Occupations, Public Health and Morals and Independent Citizenship for Married Women, the same planks submitted in a public hearing before the resolutions committee of the Republican convention.

This is what the League got, under the title of

Women in Industry

We urge coöperation with the states for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care, in the prohibition of child labor, and by adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Coöperative Federal assistance to the states is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' salaries and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign born; increased appropriations for vocational training in home economics; reestablishment of joint Federal and state employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women. We advocate full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests,

and a reclassification of the Federal Civil Service free from discrimination on the ground of sex; a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene; Federal legislation which shall insure that American women resident in the United States, but married to aliens, shall retain their American citizenship, and that the same process of naturalization shall be required for women as for men.

At the convention, Maud Wood Park, chairman of the League, thus elucidated the League's future program:

"There has been a good deal of discussion about us, as to whether the National League of Women Voters will eventually become a political party and nominate its own political candidates. Let me say emphatically we have no such intention. We feel that it is a mistake to have a separate woman's party and from the time of our organization last February, we have urged our members to enroll in the party of their choice. The League of Women Voters is a common meeting ground for women of all parties, where they may gain information and education conducive to the intelligent use of the ballot, and where they may plan together how they shall work for what women want."

The League appointed Miss Elizabeth Hauser to take full charge of presenting the League's platform to the conventions of the Committee of 48 and the Labor Party meeting in Chicago, July 10th to 13th.

Mr. Max Hayes for the Labor Party and Mr. Allen McCurdy for the Committee of Forty-eight have promised the hearings desired by the League.

It Pays to Let Women Vote

ACCORDING to United States Census figures the per capita valuation of all real property in the year 1912 was higher in equal suffrage Kansas than in any state in the Union. It was \$1,629.61 per person.

The highest per capita personal property valuation in the United States was also in Kansas, \$1,066.87.

In Mississippi at the same time real property was valued at only a little more than \$200 per capita and in South Carolina at a little less than \$200, while the per capita personal property valuation for Mississippi was \$127.92 and for South Carolina only \$96.71 (United States Census 1913).

One out of every ten persons in equal suffrage Kansas and Montana, and one out of every seventeen persons in equal suffrage California owns an automobile. One out of fifty or more in Alabama and Mississippi owns an automobile.

In February, 1916, the Denver Chamber of Commerce made the following statements:

Denver bank clearings show an increase of 10½ per cent in the last year. The figures for 1914 are \$459,708,199.70, and for 1915, \$508,421,052.31. The bank deposits show an equal increase, namely, in 1914, \$72,838,339, and in 1915, \$80,802,109. The individual bank deposits in the 39 banks of Denver for 1915 show an average amount of \$264.60 while the average bank deposit for the individual in the entire United States is only \$113. This certainly points to prosperity in Denver.

As an indication of prosperity and development in the state, \$2,432,000 has been appropriated and is available for expenditure on the roads. The live stock business has increased 20 per cent in the last year. The figures for this year's investment in the live stock business are \$126,170,000.

Mining development in California has shown marked improvement in the last ten or twenty years. In the last ten years \$207,124,848 in gold has been produced, \$52,701,355 in silver, \$35,432,207 in lead, and 101,061,059 tons of coal.

Manufacturing in 1915 showed an increase of nearly ten million dollars over 1914, the total for last year being \$63,538,547.

Conventions in Several Tenses

CONVENTIONS are in several tenses. The past tense marks the International Congress and the National biennial of the Federation of Clubs. The future tense marks the plans of the National League of Women Voters, which is now announcing from its Washington, D. C., headquarters, that Cleveland has been selected as its convention city. The Ohio League of Women Voters and the Cleveland League united in the invitation which the National Board has voted to accept.

The convention will be held next spring. According to the Constitution of the League, there will be an annual convention every year, but the coming convention will in a way be especially significant. It will be its first annual gathering at which a general summing up of accomplishments will be possible. The official board of the League has been attending all political conventions to which it has presented the "Woman's Platform," the first woman's platform ever presented to political conventions. The convention in the spring will take stock of achievements and results.

Fifth Region at Work

THE Montana League of Women Voters has recently completed a record-making convention—its first.

It was combined with the first regional convention for the states of Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming and Montana, the fifth region, over which Mrs. James Paige of Minneapolis is director.

Many important women of the fifth region were there and took part, among them Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wyoming, who spoke on Americanization, and who told the convention some of the same things she had told the Governor of Connecticut when she was in that state for Emergency Week—one of the dauntless corps of forty-seven women. Miss Adah Bush, of Indiana, home from her work in France, was there also.

National officers and chairmen of committees had traveled three-quarters or half across a continent to get to Montana; Mrs. Maud Wood Park negotiated the distance from Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Solon Jacobs catcornered up on the hypotenuse of a right angle from Alabama; Mrs. Emily Newell Blair brushed aside three or four states as big as a new European republic to reach Great Falls from St. Louis, Missouri; Dr. Valeria Parker, Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee, made the cross-country ride from Connecticut.

The convention lasted four days, and held business sessions, public meetings, banquets, everything in its proper form and sequence.

The convention, like the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Geneva, really opened with a church service on Sunday evening in the First Congregational Church in Great Falls. At this meeting Mrs. Paige made an address, aligning the work of the National League with the best ideals of Christianity. She said women voters are needed in politics today "as stabilizers. It is up to the women of the church to learn Christian citizenship and help in the operation of government. At the present time there are some praying politicians, but we want more. We should talk on the big political questions in a prayerful way, and all big matters of state should be settled in a prayerful and thoughtful way."

"Not Good for Man to Be Alone"

"A colony of bachelors never accomplished anything," was a contribution to the need of women in politics made by Rev. Burtis R. MacHatton, the pastor of the church, who followed Mrs. Paige with a talk on "Christian Citizenship."

"No group of men can ever progress without the aid of

women," he said. "Of the two original colonies in America, the Plymouth Colony prospered from the first and the Jamestown Colony came near to being a dismal failure. This was due directly to the fact that the men of the Jamestown Colony had left their wives and daughters in England, while in the Plymouth Colony they had come on the *Mayflower* with the men.

"The salvation of the community is the citizen's business. Citizenship must mean more than residence in a place. The first qualification of Christian citizenship is an apprehension of the ideals for which a government stands. Foreigners are not the only ones that need educating. The League is entitled to commendation for the educational campaign it intends to launch.

"Women who absent themselves from the meetings of the League of Women Voters or from the polls are not good citizens. Good citizenship involves responsibility, and the League is creating that responsibility. It is showing ward bosses and unchristian politicians that it is a force to be reckoned with."

Judges Also Urge Responsibility

Associate Justice William L. Holloway made an address upon the "Judiciary in Our Plan of Government," in which he asserted it as his opinion that there had never been a time in American history when the responsibility resting upon the voters of the land was greater than now. He told the women that they would fall short of their duty as electors unless they cast their votes at every election.

Major Sidney Sanner of Butte, also a judge, explained the making and administration of laws, and pointed out the need of an educated public opinion. "There must be a need for the law if it is to be effective," he averred. "It must tie itself in its concept to the genius of the people."

The convention included a school of citizenship at which Mrs. C. C. Sadler, the newly elected president of the Montana League, emphasized the same point Judge Holloway made.

"Prepare the women of your communities for registration so that they may vote at the presidential election this fall" was her message.

Miss Agnew spoke in behalf of the *Woman Citizen* as a leader in citizenship study. She said many men as well as women were finding this magazine of political opinion a source of interest and help.

The banquet held at the Rainbow Hotel was planned on a novel scheme which may be suggestive to other localities. Every toast and speech was designed to carry out an idea of a "flower garden."

"How to Plant" was the subject given Miss Gertrude Watkins, who used it with good effect in a talk about organization. "The Old Pathways and the New" was a toast given Mrs. Kress of Dillon. Miss Edythe O'Leary of Butte spoke on the "Most Precious Flowers"—the children. "The Flower Shop" was discussed by Mrs. Stuzman of Moore, who spoke on women in business.

The New President of the G. F. W. C.

IN the new president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, suffragists see a tightening of the bonds that bind all women's organizations together.

Mrs. Ames Winter, who was elected at the Des Moines Biennial to succeed Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles was a distinguished figure at the National Suffrage Convention in Chicago last spring.

Mrs. Winter was a former resident of Boston, the daughter of Dr. Charles Ames. She has made a fine record as a social worker and a suffrage leader. Just before her election she was second vice president of the General Federation and a director of a special committee on Americanization.

A World-Wide Suffrage Report

By Marjorie Shuler

THE hyperemotionalism and narrowness of women exist principally in the minds of men who write books. Every delegate to the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva is sure of it. Sure because it was proved to her by rare experiences which she will treasure all her life. At the congress there came together women from thirty-five nations, Oriental and Occidental, Teuton and Latin, Christian and Mohammedan, women whose sons had fallen on the opposite sides of blood-stained battlefields, women whose sunken cheeks were more eloquent than any words could be of the last few starving years. And those women meeting each other with an amazing naturalness, free alike from sentimental twaddle and national resentment announced their readiness to answer the call of world needs.

It was the largest woman's international meeting ever held in point of the number of countries represented. It was the first big international meeting of women outside of pacifist circles since the war. And it proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that in the hearts of women there is a kinship which creates a more active, a more lasting internationalism than any which has previously materialized.

So vital did the Alliance seem to world affairs of to-day that the United States delegation of thirty-one members called several meetings to pledge every support in work and money to its continuance. "It was the duty of the United States to carry on with all its resources" was the argument which the delegation urged upon Mrs. Catt during the days when she steadfastly refused to continue in the office of president, which she has held ever since the organization of the Alliance, in 1904. In spite of her refusal again to be a candidate the delegates from the other countries persisted in naming her and would make no other nominations. When she finally agreed to allow her name to stand she was immediately elected by acclamation. Mrs. Stanley McCormick was also returned to office. The other members of the board chosen, most of them new, are: Madame de Witt de Schlumberger of France, Miss Chrystal Macmillan of England, Mrs. Corbett Ashby of England, Dr. Margarita Ancona of Italy, Frau Anna Wicksell of Sweden, Frau Anna Lindemann of Germany, Miss Eleanor Rathbone of England, Madame Girardet-Vielle of Switzerland, Frau Adela Schreiber Krieger of Germany.

THE situation confronting the Alliance at its Congress was very like that of the National American Woman Suffrage Association when the League of Women Voters was organized. When the Alliance was formed the only places in the world where women had equal suffrage were New Zealand and the four pioneer states of America, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. At the June congress twenty-two nations celebrated their recent enfranchisement, with the older equal suffrage countries completing the suffrage work of the greater proportion of the Alliance members. Yet, the world over, there still remains the task of securing legislation to establish the economic, civil and educational equality of women, and there still remains the work of educating women for good citizenship. There was the big organization which had proved its efficiency by its work for suffrage. Should it dissolve or should it continue on a broader program?

As in the United States there was the small, infinitely small group, who considered that the legislative work might well be left to the political parties. But by far the greater number, while united in believing that women must join the political parties and must seek in them to take their share of party management,

choosing candidates and writing platforms, considered that there must in addition be an organization of women to work for good legislation and above all to effect more harmonious relationships between countries.

And so it was decided to continue the Alliance, making political equality the chief object in the unenfranchised countries and, in the others, legislation to remove other discriminations against women. A platform of the minimum principles to be accepted by women was outlined as follows:

Political Rights

1. That the suffrage be granted to women and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, be recognized.

Personal Rights

2. That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery, such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

3. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.

Domestic Rights

4. That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and that she should not be under the tutelage of her husband.

5. That the married mother should have the same rights over her children as the father.

6. That the children of widows, if left without provisions, should have the right to maintenance by the state, such maintenance to be paid to the mother as guardian.

7. That research for the father of a child born out of wedlock should be authorized; that such a child should have the same right to maintenance and education from the father during the period of dependency as a legitimate child, and that an unmarried mother during the period when she is incapacitated should also have the right of being maintained by the father of her child.

Educational and Economic Rights

8. That all opportunities of education, general, professional and technical, should be open to both sexes.

9. That women should have the same opportunity as men for training and for entering industries, professions, civil service and all administrative and judicial positions.

10. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.

11. That the right to work of both married and unmarried women be recognized; that no special regulations for women's work, different from regulations for men, should be imposed contrary to the wishes of the women themselves; that laws relative to women as mothers should be so framed as not to handicap them in their economic position, and that all future labor regulations should tend towards equality of men and women.

Moral Rights

12. That a higher moral standard, equal for men and women, should be recognized, that the traffic in women should be suppressed, the regulation of vice and all laws and practices differentiating against women or any class of women in this matter be abolished.

IT was decided to continue the headquarters of the Alliance in London, and more than fifteen thousand dollars was raised for its maintenance. Of this the United States delegation gave a large part.

By far the greater part of the week, from June 6th to 12th, was given over to a discussion of how best the Alliance might further international harmony. There was unanimous endorsement of the following resolution, "The women of thirty-five nations assembled in congress in Geneva, convinced that in a

strong Society of Nations, based on the principles of right and justice, lies the only hope of assuring the future peace of the world, call upon the women of the whole world to direct their will, their intelligence and their influence towards the development and the consolidation of the Society of Nations on such a basis, and to assist it in every possible way in its work of securing peace and goodwill throughout the world."

There was no such unanimity of thought, however, on how the women might cooperate with the League. Practically two entire days were given to this discussion. On the first day the sentiment was entirely opposed to a separate grouping of women in the League of Nations and Mrs. Catt herself made a brilliant appeal against this. "Women should no longer be petitioners at the knees of men," she said. "We should make our requests of the League of Nations, as men do, through our own governments, by way of our political parties. If our parties will not support what we desire then let us join some that will."

On the following day, however, it was decided to establish within the Alliance a general secretary for the League of Nations. Any Alliance auxiliary may send proposals for the League to this secretary. If the International Alliance board approves such proposals they will be submitted to the other auxiliaries. Proposals receiving the endorsement of two-thirds of the auxiliaries will be forwarded to the League of Nations. In addition it was decided to ask the League to call annually a woman's conference to be made up first of women government representatives, second of women chosen by governments from lists submitted by the larger international women's organizations, and third of women experts along the various lines to be discussed. The League is to be requested to bear the expense of such meetings. The Alliance established a committee to effect relationships between itself and other international women's organizations.

The final resolution was one expressing gratification over the wide extension of the principle of self government as "essential to the highest development of humanity" and calling upon women to use their influence against war and to educate their children in a better understanding of the peoples of the world.

A resolution was passed recommending help for the starving children of Europe, and one calling upon the Japanese government to abolish the present restrictions against women attending political meetings and joining political organizations.

THE mechanics of the congress presented a difficult task, for there was wide divergence between the parliamentary laws of the various countries which, added to the multiplicity of languages, made the task of the presiding officer a difficult one. Without exception the foreign papers commented on the fact that if anything at all was accomplished it would be due to the clearness and good management of Mrs. Catt. There was considerable confusion all through the congress and once Mrs. Catt said calmly: "If you will continue to whisper we will adjourn and you may have time to discuss this question." Whereupon she laid aside her gavel and sat down. The United States delegates sat in stricken silence, but not the others. A delighted babel of sound arose. Exactly what we wanted, said the delegates, and in a dozen tongues the question was discussed before the vote was taken.

There was one other moment of delicious humor and that was on the evening program devoted to propaganda speeches for the benefit of Switzerland. Time and again it was called to the attention of the congress that the three oldest republics, the United States, France and Switzerland, had not yet enfranchised their women while the rest of the world was marching on. That evening there were many humorous remarks at the expense of Switzerland, the best of all coming when Mrs. Catt looked down her list of government delegates, sixteen of them representing as

many different nations, and said innocently: "Let me see—did Switzerland send a government delegate?" Switzerland had not, as every one in the huge audience was well aware. And there was absolute silence while Mrs. Catt looked over her list. "Oh, yes, I see I was mistaken," she apologized, "It was Turkey." And proudly there stepped forward Mrs. Terrouk Kirbisky, to serve notice on the world that Turkey had advanced to a point where its government had sent a woman representative to appeal in its interest to the women of other nations.

The proceedings of the congress were translated into the three official languages of the Alliance, English, French and German, so that all of the delegates got a fairly clear comprehension of what was going on in the sessions. But in the halls there met many times women who could not speak each other's language. There were four words, however, which they always managed to make understood, "Have you got it?" And the response was always understandable, too. There were women who had gotten the vote through bloodshed, not caused by themselves but by men who had been denied the right of self-government. Sufferings untold from war and starvation had been theirs. "It almost makes one wonder whether it is worth while to get it at such a sacrifice," said a United States delegate to a woman who had just finished a tale of terrible privations due to the war for independence in her country. "But, no, there can never be any doubt of that," was the quick reply.

FASCINATING suffrage reports were made by the delegates. Greatest of all the changes, of course, had come in Germany and Austria, where up to the very hour of their enfranchisement women had been denied the right even to join political organizations. And now they sit in the Reichstag—two dozen of them—and 155 are in national parliaments, nineteen in Prussia itself. Four thousand women sit on the lower municipal councils and nineteen in the upper houses. Both the German and the Austrian delegates were certain that their suffrage is secure for all time.

The women of France and Italy wait only for the action of their senates to become enfranchised. "But senates are so conservative," mourned Mrs. de Witt de Schlumberger of France, in telling how the French senate has ignored the equal suffrage bill passed more than a year ago by the Chamber of Deputies. "Italy will soon be enfranchised," exulted Dr. Ancona, "our Senate has not acted upon the bill passed by our Chamber of Deputies because for other political reasons it was dissolved. But our Senate is elected for life and its members have agreed when they are reconvened to pass a bill and the deputies are certain to do so again."

Japan and India and Turkey are all starting suffrage organizations according to their delegates at the congress. The Spanish movement has started with two associations, both of which were admitted to the Alliance. Both groups emphatically stated that the women of Spain will not accept the right of suffrage with the privilege of delegating it to the men in their families, but that they will campaign instead for a municipal suffrage bill with voting privileges only, in their own right.

Sweden presented the greatest of all surprises, for that country, counted by all the rest of the outside world as having enfranchised its women in 1918, has in reality not yet completed the enactment. Another parliament must pass the bill before it becomes law, and there will not be an election for a parliament before fall. The bill is sure to pass by February, predicted Frau Anna Wicksell. Then the government, whose offer to dissolve the last parliament was refused by the women to give them more time to prepare for their citizenship, will dissolve that parliament and call new elections for a year from this autumn in order

(Continued on page 161)

Women for Office

RUNNING on a platform of supreme simplicity is Mrs. Helen Curtenius Statler, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, for nomination as nominee for Congress for Michigan's Third District. Mrs. Statler is one candidate who, like Herbert Hoover, did not go after office. She was literally pulled into the campaign by the women of her district.

Her position is unique, since she was urged not only by women of her own party but by women of all Michigan parties.

It was the following petition to which many Kalamazoo women subscribed, that finally determined Mrs. Statler's candidacy:

"We, the undersigned women citizens of Kalamazoo, ask you to become a candidate for congress to represent this district.

"We make the request of you because we know you to be a woman of marked intelligence, education and integrity; that you keep yourself informed upon important national issues, and that you are not afraid to speak and stand true to your convictions. We know that on all matters of public interest you will bring an open mind, a trained intelligence, a capacity for working amicably with others, and an earnest determination to do right.

"We want you for our candidate because we want much more attention given by congress to the welfare of women and children. You have broad and practical sympathies with women and you have always been a staunch suffragist. You have especially proved your interest in promoting the health, education and training of children for their future responsibilities of citizenship.

"As a successful mother you have one kind of experience that we particularly want in our representative, and at the same time you are in a position to respond to our call without neglecting any domestic duty.

"We feel that, in addition to the very important services you can render by your work and your vote as a member of the House of Representatives, you are also the kind of woman we want there to keep the woman's point of view continually in the minds of the general membership of the house.

"Therefore we earnestly ask you to declare yourself a candidate and we pledge you our hearty and united support."

The Kalamazoo *Gazette*, an independent Democratic newspaper says: "There is little question but that Mrs. Statler will find strong support for her candidacy among the men and women of Kalamazoo County. Mrs. Statler's candidacy will not depend upon novelty or chivalry to carry it forward. It commands attention and consideration because of her remarkable equipment, her fitness for the position she seeks.

"When her campaign gets under way her masculine opponents will have to look sharply to their fences. Her enthusiasm, solid good sense, quick wit, bubbling humor will serve her in good stead and make her a formidable opponent in the rough and tumble of a campaign. She already has the nucleus of a fighting organization behind her. She means business.

"We are glad Mrs. Statler has entered the contest because we know she seeks the office not for notoriety or glory or for political power, but because she has an earnest desire to spend her fine abilities and her rich experience in service for her fellows."

Mrs. Statler, who is good-looking and popular, was a conspicuous figure in the Chicago National Republican Convention, as an assistant sergeant-at-arms.

The following five short planks constitute her platform:

"No hungry child in the United States.

"Equal educational opportunity for every boy and girl in the United States.

"Equal pay for equal work, and the budget system for the Government.

"Reduction of the cost of living by closer cooperation between producer and consumer.

"General extension of the Agricultural Department."

"Bring Your Rake"

"BRING your rake and wheelbarrow and come on out" is the formula for ladies' tea parties now passed around in Jackson's Hole, Wyoming.

Shovels for the moment have taken the place of thimbles and picks replace the stilettos with which amiable ladies have been wont to punch holes in doilies for the sake of embroidering their edges.

One of Mayor Grace Miller's first official acts was a proclamation "calling upon all able-bodied persons" to come together on June 22nd and "continue their best efforts in the improvement of our highways."

When the Mayor of Jackson says able-bodied, she means able-bodied without distinction of sex. For it is no small matter to tidy up highways to a city which is miles off the beaten track of railroads. Jackson is fifty miles south of the Yellowstone Park via automobile, boat, wagon, sled and railroad. The nearest railroad is across the border in Idaho. Between this point and Jackson rushes the Snake River, so swollen of late that it has carried away all the intervening bridges. There is a trail through the Teton range, which has recently been impassable with snow. A photograph of Jackson's women councilors, which has by now become famous and has appeared all over the country, was taken by a friend of Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, of the Wyoming League of Women Voters and secretary of the Oregon Trail Commission, at her urgent request. The story of its transmission to Dr. Hebard is illuminating. It was transported from the town by an automobile as far as the river; there it made a dangerous crossing in a little scow. It was then carried through the mountains by wagon and sled to the railroad at Rexburg, Idaho.

Imagine trying to do street cleaning and highway mending under handicaps like this.

"Everybody is expected to help," says the local paper concerning clean-up day. "This is to be no 'Let Bill do it' affair. Everyone—men, women and children—is expected to line up on June 22nd. The women and children can do a wonderful amount of good work with rakes, picks and shovels."

Here is a community effort going strong, with everybody in it responsible for its success. Each family is expected to bring a little more lunch than it needs so as to pass some around to those who have none. Places of business are asked to close up in order to get the fullest possible cooperation. If any one cannot leave town to work on the country roads, Mayor Miller urges her—or him—to put forth efforts in the improvement of the city's streets.

And this is no go-as-you-please campaign. It is thoroughly organized with a county president, with district captains and superintendents. "Put yourself at the disposal of those in authority," commands the mayor.

Jackson has a marshal whose first name is Pearl.

If anyone expected that Mayor Miller would put herself in the humiliating position of getting a mere man marshal, he does not read aright the signs of a woman-governed town.

It is not that discrimination against the male sex is approved in Wyoming. Far from it. But when the mothers of Kanab, Utah, in a similar case had a man marshal, he was always getting off the job because the other men twitted him. Therefore it may be that shrewd Mayor Miller wants to forestall such mischances. "Either a woman or nobody" is a fair slogan for an administration upon which the whole United States has its eye.

"It is interesting to note," says Dr. Hebard, "that all the women in office (except the Marshal) are married women and living with their husbands. All theories exploded."

2 + 2 = 5

By

Adele Johnston Bussey

Characters:

Miss Hare—A white rabbit with pink ears.*Mr. Hound*—Who appoints himself captor and jailer of the lovely Miss Hare.*Old Twenty Years Ago*—A gray-haired and gray-whiskered old cat.*Sir Thomas Catt*—A cat of supposedly great wisdom and foresight. He is appointed judge in the trial of Miss Hare.*Mr. Brindle*—A common cat.*Ursus*—A young dog (St. Bernard) that was old twenty thousand years ago.*Mr. Owl*—He wears spectacles.

Seven other different kinds of dogs and cats, one a pointer.

In the heart of a forest at the present time, with hopes that it may some day be the past.

SCENE I

A wild forest with countless trees. Toward the extreme left is a burrow large enough for a man or a woman to crawl into. A storm is brewing. It is night time. Distant thunder is heard and sheet lightning plays among the clouds. This occurs intermittently throughout the entire play until the last when the clouds pass over and the sky is cleared.

SCENE II

Same as Scene I.

Stage Directions—Various animals run across the stage seeking shelter from the coming storm. A deer, startled by some noise in the forest, stops, listens, then flees across the woodland. (Some enter right, some left. Different kinds of animals, all free to come and go as they please). A white hare limps hurriedly, from left, to center of stage. She is panting as if from a long chase. Her ears are laid back. She stops, pricks them up, and listens. A wound is in her side. Blood is seen as she tries to cleanse it, animal fashion. The sudden sound of crashing underbrush and the sharp bay of a hound is heard. The hare jumps straight into the air, and then falls as if dead. The hound dashes toward her, from left, grabs her by the neck, and shakes her. She squeals aloud and kicks desperately to get away. The hound, looking down, sees that the hare is wounded. He knows that she cannot go far, so he turns her loose with a threatening growl.

SCENE I

Mr. Hound—

Hop along! Limp along! Go along there!

You cannot go far, my pretty Miss Hare.

Your face may be white, your ears may be pink,

But surely your head was not made to think!

(Folds arms across chest).

Good you may be, and you're most fair to me.

Granted, all granted, but, pray, where would you be

Were it not for MY wit, strength, and wisdom, so, wench,

Acknowledge my superior intelligence!

Miss Hare—

Kind Sir, it does look as if all that were true,

As true as the forest, the sunshine, the dew.

But I thought, in my soul, I might 'scape when I found

This Burrow of Freedom, just under the ground.

(Holds paw to bleeding side).

'Twas this hurt laid me low, and hindered my speed,
'Twas this hurt that made possible your valorous deed.
It weakened my heart, my spirit, my breath,
It hurried me on to the threshold of death.
I surrender to wit, strength, and wisdom so fine,
As my Belgian folk did to Hindenburg's line.

(The hare droops and seems to suffer from her hurt).

Mr. Hound—

You're my prisoner, Miss Hare, now you have a care!

Hop along! Limp along! Go along there!

I may buy you jewels, at least you'll be fed,

And you'll have a roof that will cover your head.

What more do you want, you ungrateful hare!

Miss Hare—

I want to be free! As free as the air!

Mr. Hound—

The air! The air! Foul fiends of the night!

Just look at the air, it gives me a fright!

(The lightning flashes and there is the sound of thunder.

He rushes back and forth, but finds the coming storm everywhere).

Everywhere! Everywhere! North, East, and West!

It seems to breed danger, defeat, and unrest,

I'll go find Sir Thomas, he's wiser than I.

He'll bring his advisors, and then we will try

This pretty hare's case to see if there be

Any sensible reason WHY she should go free.

(He draws a circle around the hare).

Hark you now, Miss, see this circle I've drawn?

Your mother stayed here from the time she was born.

See to it that you step not over this line;

I'm master here, and THAT CIRCLE IS MINE!

(The hound hurries away, right. There is a distant rumble of thunder. The night darkens. The hare appears to be thinking rather than listening. She stretches out her paw and touches the circle, but does not touch beyond it).

Miss Hare—

A circle? A prison? 'Tis only a line!

But, ah me, I dare not. This strange hurt of mine!

It makes me much weaker than e'er he could be,

But I am not blinded, mine eyes surely see.

And seeing, they judge there's no use of a flight:

He's stronger, he's swifter, but is his heart right?

He sees, smells, and tastes; hears, and has feelings too;

And thinks that he thinks, when, Oh mercy, for true,

He gives ne'er a thought to the great truth of old:

He was born of his mother, poor creature, I'm told.

Perhaps—I—can rub a small space in this line.

(She reaches out paw, but jerks it back quickly).

But I could not go far. This strange hurt of mine!

I wonder how he'd feel if he had to bear

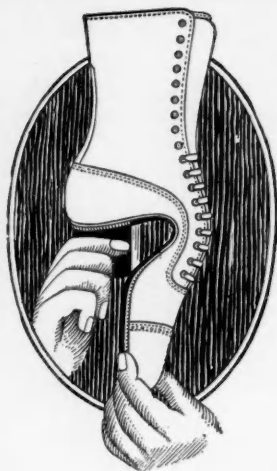
A thorn in the flesh, a wound, or a tear.

And have some one say that his ears may be pink,

But his mind is a blank, it was not made to think!

(Sighs and again lies down).

CURTAIN



Summer Comfort: Cantilever Shoes

Hot weather tests human resistance. We have learned to take almost every precaution to make the strain of summer bearable, we eat cooling foods, wear light clothes and straw hats—and neglect what is most important, comfortable footwear.

Warm days make the feet swell and perspire. Few shoes can stand this test of comfort. If you change now to Cantilever Shoes, you will find great relief in their perfect ease.

In Cantilever Shoes the body relaxes, walking is no longer an effort, you feel cooler. Cantilever Shoes are made on lasts designed from the natural out-

line of the foot. The normal inner-sole line, and the slightly tilted heel, encourage easy carriage without undue strain at any point. These are good looking shoes.

There is ample toe room, and such freedom do the feet enjoy from the flexible shank of Cantilever Shoes that muscles and cords grow strong from exercise and fallen arches are corrected.

Try Cantilever Shoes for summer comfort. You will become an all-year-round enthusiast.

Made on trim lines, of fine leathers and white Egyptian canvas. Widths from AAAAA to E.

You will be carefully fitted at these and other stores:

Cantilever Shoe Shop, 22 West 39th St., New York.

Cantilever Shoe Shop, Room 501, 30 East Randolph St., Chicago.

Cantilever Shoe Shop, 1300 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

Cantilever Shoe Shop, 86 Pratt St., Hartford, Conn.

Jordan Marsh Company, Boston.

France Sends Us Another Shipment! This Time It Is



Exquisite Batiste
and Voile
SACQUES

And we have
marked them very
moderately at
\$3.95, \$5 and \$7.50

THESE sheer, exquisitely feminine and dainty little Sacques are just another example of the French needle-woman's art. The hand scallops and hand embroidery are beautifully done.

There are straight, loose models and those ribbon-drawn at the waist. They are lovely to take away on the vacation or Summer trip.

Neglige Shop—Third Floor

Mail orders given careful attention

Scruggs-Vanderwoort-Barney

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

SCENE II

Enter right, Mr. Hound followed by Sir Thomas Catt and a number of his advisors (ten in number).

Mr. Hound—

Allow me, Sir Thomas, Miss Hare to present.

'Twas good that I saw her in time to prevent

A clear get-away to that Excluded Hollow,

Where all of the rest of the hares would soon follow.

Sir Thomas Catt—(With his grandest manner).

The pleasure is mine, I'm sure, dear Miss Hare.

Miss Hare—

I'm speechless, Your Honor, you're quite right, Sir, there.

Sir Thomas Catt—(Conciliatingly).

'Tis only your good we're considering, my dear.

This freedom of hares takes them out of their sphere.

Now answer me this: see those animals there,

Why should you, like they, be as free as the air?

Miss Hare—

But, Oh Sir, why should I not? Why do you ask?

Sir Thomas Catt—(In harsh voice).

Answer my question, Miss, that is your task!

Speak up, and quickly. Make clear your inflection.

'Tis the way of you hares to make answer with question!

(Sheet lightning and thunder).

Mr. Hound—

He asked you a question, most wisely and fit.

Don't stand like a Ninny, make answer or sit

There in your circle where good hares should be,

And think of OUR wit, strength, and wisdom, all three.

Then strive to make answer that just suits our taste.

Sir, she's a bonehead. But there's no need of haste.

(He points to the hare, but strikes his own head. One of the silent advisors dares to speak up. Timidly at first, then bolder).

Advisor—(pointer).

May I speak a word? She had no educator

Like you, Sirs, but then the God was her Creator!

(For a moment there is silence. One young dog suddenly barks up. His name is Ursus).

Ursus—

You're right! You're right! Her Creator is mine!

She's entitled to freedom. Wipe out that line!

(He starts toward her, but there is much howling and meowing. Several hold the young agitator).

Old Twenty Years Ago—(In high querulous voice).

Down, Ursus, down! It shall not be so!

I made up my mind twenty years ago!

Mr. Brindle—

You all say I'm common, but well I remember

The days of my youth, from June to November.

Turn a hare loose in the night or the morn?

Ha! She would have wished she had never been born!

"She's out of her sphere," her own sisters would say,

And they'd make her stay out the rest of the day!

Sir Thomas Catt—

NOW! Can you answer my question, fair wench?

Miss Hare—

I'm hungry, kind Sir, and my thirst I would quench.

Mr. Hound—

I told her I'd give her some jewels to wear,

And plenty of food, but she seems not to care!

Miss Hare—

The same thing was said to my mother, kind Sir.

She starved. She was thirsty, and yet could not stir

Out of this circle that you had drawn here,
But suffered with this strange hurt that I bear.

(The wind blows and whistles through the trees).

Ursus—

Gods of the Beasts! The winds, how they rage!
And yet you sit here and calmly engage
In battle against this one little hare,
When you should be battling the elements there!
The hare, she is hungry. Find out what that means.
She thirsts, but her thirst is not what it seems.

Old Twenty Years Ago—(In his high querulous voice).
Down, Ursus, down! Did I not not say so?
I made up my mind twen-tee years ago!

Miss Hare—

You made up your mind twenty years ago
Because of this strange hurt that my mother bore.
You found your own wit, strength and wisdom so fine,
And seeing her weakness, you *then* drew this line!

Another Advisor—

I have a suggestion, Ursus, some one wrote
Long ago how to settle a question by vote.

(Sweeps crowd in by gesture with both hands).

Surely, with all these most wise cats and dogs,
You can settle this question without any cogs.
There are one, two, three, four, nine, ten, twelve here tonight.
Enough to decide which is wrong, which is right.

(*Ursus takes his hat off, looks around and picks up twelve pebbles*).

Ursus—

Now that is most fair, you all must think so,
Even darned Old Twenty Years Ago!

(Passing each one a pebble).

All who will let Miss Hare step from that line
Drop your pebble in this old hat of mine.

Old Twenty Years Ago—(In his high querulous voice).

Down, Ursus, down! You shall not do so!
I made up my mind twen-tee years ago!

Ursus—(Passing the hat and counting slowly).

One—two—three—four—

(Miss Hare looks forward expectantly, eagerly. Ursus looks dejectedly into the hat).

Miss Hare, I am sorry. Only three more
Would set you free, but there are only four.

Miss Hare—

I'm sorry too, Ursus, but don't you see,
I'm mostly sorry that this thing **COULD** be.

(Suddenly there comes a rustling in the branches above.

Mr. Owl is seen through the leaves. The storm appears to be passing).

Mr. Owl—

Who! Who! Who-o-o-o!

(Sir Thomas Catt, Mr. Hound, Mr. Brindle, Old Twenty Years Ago, and the other advisors stand in awe. They fear Mr. Owl's unmistakable wisdom).

Ursus—

Ah, Mr. Owl, you have answered God's call!
These beasts, Sir, will cause our great country's fall.
Here is Miss Hare, who, because she's a hare
Must languish a prisoner in that circle there;
While we all go free, just because we are we.
It's **QUEER** justice, Sir, for a **DEMOCRACY**!

(Continued on page 161)



To keep the skin fresh and young

THE tiny pores of the body as well as the face are the centers of skin-beauty and skin-activity. And their work must not be hindered through the use of a hard-rinsing soap.

You will find your daily bath with Fairy Soap—with its generous, cleansing, *easy-rinsing* lather—one of the most important aids to a healthful, beautiful skin. For Fairy's soft, responsive lather creams into pores cleansingly. It creams out of pores thoroughly. And—it possesses that *added* quality of *easy-rinsing*.

So, whether you prefer a cold plunge, a hot bath, a warm bath or a sponge bath, you will appreciate Fairy's unusual combination of pure-cleansing and easy-rinsing. This happy combination helps to keep your skin *healthy*. And a healthy skin is a beautiful skin—always!

THE H. K. FAIRBANK COMPANY



FOR TOILET—FOR BATH

The Farmers' Platform Planks

By Jessie R. Haver

THERE has been a determined effort on the part of the press to emphasize a wide gap between the interests of the city wage earner and consumer and the farmer. The farmer has been told that the city wage earner is responsible for the high wages which he must pay on the farm, while the city wage earner has been assured that the farmer is the profiteer and is making all the money. This campaign of education and propaganda has been effective. Many women in the cities will tell you with fire in their eyes that the farmer is the profiteer, that they know he is because they often ride out to his farm in their machines and buy produce and pay the same price which they would pay at their corner grocery, and then they add as the final argument, "And if you don't believe it, look at the automobiles the farmers have."

Now, if anybody ought to have an automobile, it is a farmer. Already the Ford car has helped to evolutionize farm life. The farm women no longer have to spend weary months in lonely kitchens without a glimpse of a neighbor or a chance to see a movie, and this alone is enough materially to decrease the well known mortality statistics of farmers' wives. Eventually, when the League of Women Voters and the Consumers' League and others shall have established better city markets, and are using their political influence to see that free competition is once more established so that the farmers can be sure of a steady and open market for their goods, the business of farming will not be the dreary and disheartening matter that it is today. Former Secretary Lane wondered why the soldier boys did not greedily snap up the chances he was giving them to settle on land of their own. But those boys' girls could tell you why the golden opportunity was not taken. The girls know what farm life has meant in the past and plain common sense tells them they want none of it, and the boys won't and can't go back to the farms without the girls to help them.

In Washington, D. C., there are now headquarters representing the four largest farm organizations in the country. The representatives in these headquarters have been very much heartened because the women's organizations are taking up the questions of better marketing, federal regulation of these same representatives, the packers, etc., and are beginning to view us with something besides suspicion.

One day I called on certain of the representatives of these organizations and asked them why it was that when ladies of the cities motored to their farms, they were charged the same price as that charged at the market. They looked very much ashamed and with one accord replied: "That is why we believe in organization and why we are trying to organize the farmers. In the past farmers have been too individualistic, but they are learning that in group action there is strength and also that in group action it will not be possible for some few to follow a course which will discredit all the rest of us. But," they add, "if your city women knew anything about food production and distribution, which they don't at present, they would know that the large amount of the nation's food is shipped to them from a distance, from the great farming regions of the middle and far west, and that methods of selling followed by a few small farmers in dealing with the occasional direct customer can hardly be a criterion for conditions of marketing in general."

The platform planks that were presented to the platform Committees of both political conventions by the National Board of Farm Organizations and the American Farm Bureau Federation are broad and constructive in their conception and only those interests which have been taking advantage of the farmer all

these years and at the same time taking advantage of the city wage earner and which, I suspect, have lent their influence to widen the breach between the two, will have anything to fear from such a program.

The platform planks of the National League of Women Voters and of the farmers should make the city consumer and the farmer realize that they have many interests in common and that much can be gained through cooperation on both sides in securing legislation which will be of great benefit to the whole country. Below are the farmers' planks. It is interesting to compare them with the planks of the women's Platform:

Farmers' Planks

1. We recognize agriculture as the fundamental industry, and we pledge ourselves to give it practical and adequate representation in the Cabinet and in the appointment of governmental officials, and of commissions on a bi-partisan basis.
2. We pledge to all farmers the full, free and unquestioned right of co-operative marketing of their farm products and purchase of their supplies and protection against discrimination.
3. We pledge effective national control over the packers and all other great interstate combinations of capital engaged for profit in the manufacturing, transportation, and distribution of food and other farm products, and farm supplies.
4. We pledge legislation that will effectively check and reduce the growth and evils of farm tenancy. We pledge the perpetuation and strengthening of the Federal Farm Loan System, the improvement of facilities for loans on farm commodities, and the inauguration of a system for co-operative personal credit that will enable farmers to secure short-time credit on more favorable terms.
5. We pledge comprehensive studies of farm production costs, at home and abroad, and the uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.
6. We pledge ourselves to accord agriculture the same consideration in tariff legislation as is accorded to other interests.

Additional Planks

7. We pledge ourselves to the conservation of coal, oil, water-power and other natural resources in the public interests, and to their distribution without discrimination against farmers, and especially to put an end to the devastation of our commercial timber lands.
8. We pledge the repeal of laws restricting the rights of free speech, free press, and peaceable assemblage, and we pledge the restoration to the people of these fundamental rights.
9. We are opposed to any form of compulsory military training in time of peace.
10. We pledge our support to graduated income and excess profit taxes, supplemented by a graduated inheritance tax to furnish the additional revenue needed to meet the cost of the war.
11. We pledge our support to stringent immigration laws in order to maintain American standards of citizenship; and especially do we oppose the admission of Oriental labor.
12. We pledge ourselves to maintain that parity between money and commodities which will liquidate our national obligations on the basis of money value at the time incurred.

Now the Committee of 48

AMONG the possible candidates for the presidency, suggested by the "Committee of Forty-Eight," is Chief Justice Walter Clark of the North Carolina Supreme Court, one of the staunchest friends woman suffrage ever had. In 1904 he was sponsored by Bryan as good material for the Democratic nomination of that year.

Among the planks proposed in the platform of this party is "Equal economic, political and legal rights for all, irrespective of sex or color."

A World-Wide Report

(Continued from page 155)

that the women as well as the men may vote for the members of parliament.

South America had two delegates at the congress, Dr. Brundhilda Wien of Buenos Ayres, and Dr. Paulina Luisa of Uruguay. Both of them reported progress and preparations for the Pan American conference in 1921 in Buenos Ayres which Mrs. Catt has promised to attend.

Holland, where women who have not yet had an opportunity to use their own votes, have already been elected to national and local offices by the men, has two woman's parties and a third impends. "But they will not live long," declared Dr. Aletta Jacobs. "Women must cooperate with men in politics and our women are realizing that fact."

Greece had delegates at the congress who were anxious for the next Alliance meeting to be in that country. There is fairly certain to be a municipal suffrage bill passed by the national assembly which, it is expected, will be called this autumn, and a bill equalizing many civil laws for men and women has already been reported favorably before the national parliament so that Greek women, who started their first suffrage organization last January, are confident that their political and civil equality will soon be effected.

England, with political equality nearly gained, is making an active campaign for economic and social equality. It was English women from the headquarters committee who made the advance arrangements for the Geneva congress, accomplishing a splendid piece of work, with the aid of the local Swiss committees.

NOT all of the delegates to the Congress were women. There was Justin Godart, former under secretary and now leader of the suffrage forces in the French Chamber of Deputies, who was the official government delegate from France. Mr. Godart took an active part in the proceedings, speaking in the discussions, serving on one of the most important committees and seconding the invitation of France for the next Alliance. Ivar Berghenson of Denmark and Auguste de Morsier of Switzerland were two other men delegates who took a prominent part in the convention.

OF the greatest interest were the women from the new republics, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania, Ukrania, Esthonia, Poland, Latvia, who told of the big part women are taking in moulding the new governments. One of the interesting speakers was Mrs. Hanije Seidamed, wife of the Tartar president of the parliament of Crimea, which, immediately upon declaring its independence, gave suffrage to its women—Mohammedan women—and the women of the United States not yet enfranchised!

It was shown at the congress that women can see beyond their national boundaries. There were the German women who called a meeting to apologize to the French women for the offences of their soldiers against the women and children of the invaded territory. There were the French women who after two Germans had been elected to the new Alliance board, invited the next congress to Paris in 1922—an invitation which was accepted. There were the Australians who before there had been any outspoken criticism of the predominance of English-speaking delegates proposed that hereafter the British colonies be not given separate delegations, but that altogether and with England they be allowed only the same number of representatives as any other one nation. The offer was not even considered. Its spirit was enough.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance proved that within itself lie great possibilities for the world. Its power of accomplishment is unlimited.

Call

for the

Fourth Annual Convention of the Business and Professional Women of the U. S.

THE National Woman's Association of Commerce calls its affiliated organizations through their elected delegates to meet in national convention at Columbus, Ohio, July 14th, 15th and 16th, 1920. As a part of the program amendments to the by-laws will be submitted for approval.

For the fourth time will the business and professional women of America assemble in national convention to consider questions of how best to advance their efforts in business and professional work.

We are the pioneer organization in this field of work for women and shall continue to stay in the lead. Women will never return to pre-war conditions. Their participation in the World War has developed an efficiency not known among women before the war and the progress then made by women must not be lost through lethargy or indifference.

This Association is not dictated to or controlled by any religious or political body. We leave reform work of all kinds to others who are organized for that purpose and devote our entire efforts to the achievement of a single purpose—more efficient business women.

Business conditions are still unsettled and there are many international questions presenting grave problems. No one can foretell what is going to happen tomorrow. Be forewarned and you will be forearmed. Let us never again be unprepared in an emergency.

Come to the Convention feeling that this is your Convention, come and get the utmost in dollars and cents out of it, meet other women who are on the firing line of business all the time. We extend an invitation to all women who are actively engaged in the business world, either in commercial or professional work. Let us work together in this great forward movement.

For further information write The National Woman's Association of Commerce, 1653 Monadnock Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

2 + 2 = 5

(Continued from page 159)

Mr. Owl—

Oo-oo-oo-o-o!

I'm just from a land where the weaker have striven
To keep their dear freedom the good God had given.
And now I return to this country of ours
To find you dear beasts still exerting YOUR powers
Of might over right, the unpardonable sin.

Oh, when WILL the brotherhood of beasts begin!

(Sir Thomas Catt, Mr. Hound, Mr. Brindle, Old Twenty Years Ago, and all the other beasts slink away with many wary, backward glances. There are only one or two drifting clouds in the sky).

Who-who-who-oo-oo will rub out that line?

I would, but you see, my time isn't mine.

(Mr. Owl disappears calling):

Who-who-who-oo-oo!

(The flapping of wings is heard as the owl disappears.

In the distance an owl is seen flying away and the faint call of):

Who-who-who-oo-oo! is still heard.

Curtain



The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

LESSON XIII

BEFORE the war governmental machinery and politics seemed remote affairs, which lawyers, editors, school teachers and highbrows took the pains to mullover.

Yet when America began tumbling into a world war international complications became household words. The plain garden variety of citizen took them in along with the morning's milk delivery and found them no harder to digest. Unconsciously the abstruse subject of political science came to be even more familiar to intelligent women than bargain counter sales. It is, in fact, harder to understand why one dollar is worth only four pounds of sugar than to become familiar with the various steps in treaty making.

This is the reason why themes such as: "You and Your Relation to the Departments of State," "Your Son and the Departments of Army and Navy," "What Can the Land Office in the Department of the Interior Do for the Wounded Soldier?" "The Department of Labor and Your Baby"—are all themes of everyday interest with which women need a more intimate acquaintance.

The news of the last four years has incidentally built up a great reading public which can no longer be frightened by such terms as ratification, state sovereignty, extra territoriality, and plebiscites. Most people now can read them without a dictionary and a few can pronounce them at sight.

By and by when some more political fetiches die of heart failure it may be possible to translate into plain English the sacrosanct solemnity of planks in the party platforms and test whether they have a sound enough footing for the oncoming generation to step out upon.

QUESTIONS

- When do you come into contact with the Secretary of State?
- What does he do?
- What are the divisions of the State Department?
- How does the United States Government operate in foreign countries?
- How do the duties of the diplomatic and consular bureaus differ?
- By what system are the consular and diplomatic corps recruited?
- What do you know about treaties?

You and the Department of State

a. If you were one of the party that sailed on the "Royal George" as a delegate to the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Geneva you will remember that your passports brought you into close contact with the Department of State. Your ability to get a passport depended on the Secretary of State. The situation, at that, threatened a slight complication because Mr. Bainbridge Colby's appointment as Secretary of State was waiting for Senate ratification.

In this single instance one may note three aspects of the status of the Secretary of State:

He is appointed by the President, and is ranking official in the cabinet; he may even succeed to the presidency in the event of death or removal of President and Vice-President.

His appointment must be ratified by the Senate, and he is the mouthpiece of the Federal Government in international relations.

b. He has three sets of duties. The first is the conduct of foreign affairs under the direction of the President. In this capacity he issues passports through the bureau of citizenship to American citizens travelling abroad. He instructs the ministers and consuls, conducts treaty negotiations, receives and presents to the President the representatives of foreign powers.

In a sense he is minister of foreign affairs, although without some of the powers of this official in other countries.

He is also the hyphen between the Federal Executive and the state executives, between national and state governments. An application from the governor of a state for federal troops to quell internal discord or a request for the extradition of a criminal, is made through the Secretary of State.

To some extent he may also be called the medium of communication between the Federal Government and the people; since has charge of the publication of Federal statutes and of executive proclamations.

In the third place he is custodian of the

great seal of the United States. He keeps the archives containing the originals of all laws, treaties and foreign correspondence.

c. There are several bureaus or subdivisions in the State Department. Among them are the diplomatic and consular bureaus, the bureau of indexes and archives of accounts, of rolls and library, of appointments, and of citizenship.

In the 1920 list of officials are listed thirteen chiefs of divisions, in addition to three assistant secretaries, a chief clerk, solicitor, director of consular service, and foreign trade adviser. There are special divisions for Latin-American, Mexican, Far-East, and Near-East affairs.

d. The two arms of the United States which in peace times extend into foreign countries are the diplomatic and consular services.

Diplomatic agents are of four grades, ambassadors, ministers, plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary, ministers resident, and *chargés d'affaires*, who are temporarily in charge of legations.

In 1914 Mr. Brand Whitlock was minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to Belgium. He is now ambassador to Belgium.

The United States had twelve embassies in 1919 as against ten a short time before, and this in spite of the fact that there was no American ambassador listed in 1920 for Austria-Hungary, Turkey or Germany. The more recently created embassies are, in addition to Belgium, Spain, Peru, Argentina and Chili.

A minister plenipotentiary is now established in the new republic of Czecho-Slovakia, and diplomatic representatives of one sort and another go to thirty-two or three more.

Liberia has a resident minister; Egypt an agent.

At the principal stations the embassy or the legation has several assistants, called secretaries. They are not personal secretaries to the minister, but officials of the legation itself. One of them is frequently *chargé d'affaires* during the absence of the ambassador or the minister.

There are also interpreters in Oriental countries and military and naval attachés at important foreign capitals.

The United States is also represented abroad by consuls, stationed not only in the capital of each foreign country, but at all important commercial centers.

e. Any American travelling abroad is apt to come into very close contact with the U. S. State Department through its foreign representatives. If you commit a crime or get into any difficulty which embroils you politically with a foreign government, your affair will be taken up by the American embassy or legation. Any infringement of your rights as an American citizen in a foreign country will also be referred to the diplomatic representative. But if you die in a foreign land or become a pauper the consul looks after your affairs.

In general, the diplomatic representative is a political agent, the consular a commercial.

Diplomats also present claims of this country against foreign powers. They negotiate treaties, settle disputes. A wonderful picture of the duties of a diplomat in a critical period is shown in Mr. Brand Whitlock's *Belgium*.

The diplomat to another country is also expected to keep the United States posted in all matters of intimate concern. He reports conditions of finance, politics, and all statistical matters of moment concerning the country in which he is stationed.

Communications are sent to foreign stations in a special pouch, and are frequently in a cipher, which must be decoded by the officials at the embassy.

Consuls, on the other hand, look after foreign trade, assist in administering customs, health, navigation, immigration and naturalization laws. They are also expected to collect all information concerning the industries and markets of foreign lands.

f. The consular service was reorganized in 1906 and 1909, and an attempt was made to put it and the lower branches of the diplomatic service on the merit system.

Previously, political considerations largely determined all appointments to both services. At the beginning of each new administration a wholesale removal was made on the plea that to the victor belong the spoils.

By the 1906 and 1909 acts of Congress a system of examinations was established in the consular service, and some grafting privileges were removed.

Diplomatic representatives are still appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

g. Since nothing is more before the public eye at this moment than the subject of treaties it is well to know their steps.

The President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, two-thirds of the members concurring, is charged with the making of all treaties.

The President, through the Secretary of State, negotiates a treaty, after which it is laid before the Senate for its approval.

In early days the President requested the advice of the Senate before starting the negotiation of a treaty. Sometimes, if advice was unfavorable, negotiations were abandoned. If

the President had doubts as to whether a treaty would go through he frequently consulted with the committee of foreign relations.

The Senate may reject the treaty *in toto* when it is presented for ratification or it may amend it and send it back to the government of the other country which is party to it for concurrence in the amendments. After the Senate has consented to the ratification, the President may ratify it or not as he chooses.

The intermediate steps, those of negotiation, are taken by the state department under the President's direction. These steps are taken on in one of two ways, either by the Secretary of State through a representative of a foreign country stationed in Washington, or through the American minister stationed abroad.

(Note—A complete account of treaty procedure is given in Mr. Van Dyke's "Our Foreign Service," pp. 9-10.)

When finally adopted by all parties, duplicate parchment copies are signed by accredited representatives and exchanged. The President then publishes the treaty by a proclamation, and here again enters one of the functions of the Secretary of State.

By provision of the constitution treaties are a part of the supreme law of the land and stand on an equal footing with laws of Congress. If these conflict with state laws, the latter are abrogated.

If a treaty and an act of Congress conflict, the later one of the two, whether statute or treaty, prevails; and the earlier one is to the extent of the conflict displaced.

Among the famous peace pacts which have affected the destinies of the United States are three treaties of Paris, before the present peace treaty.

The Peace of Paris, which in 1763 concluded the French and Indian Wars, while it was enacted before the United States became a separate nation, made momentous changes in its boundaries.

The Treaty of Paris in 1782-3, was a peace treaty with Great Britain after the war of the Revolution.

A third Treaty of Paris in 1898 was the peace treaty ending the Spanish war and annexing the Philippines, Porto Rico and Guam. For some time it seemed doubtful whether the Senate would ratify it, but it was finally ratified on February 6, 1899, and proclaimed by President McKinley April 14, 1899. Mr. John Hay was then Secretary of State.

Another interesting treaty was that of Geneva in 1872, when the Alabama claims against Great Britain were settled in the room in the *Hotel de Ville*, Geneva, now called the Alabama Room. It was in this building that the delegates to the International Woman Suffrage Congress in June had their passports viséed.



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Our Civic Education

In North Carolina

OF citizenship courses and schools of civics which have been held literally from coast to coast, one that deserves special mention was that conducted in June by the North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro, for the women of the state who expect to vote very soon.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, vice president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who has recently returned from conducting some of the lessons in the North Carolina School, reports a daily attendance of about 100 women, which implies real interest and devotion, as the four-days' school held were practically all day sessions, with an eight o'clock evening lecture thrown in for good measure.

The course covered the analysis of federal, state and local governments, of political parties, methods of election and an application by Mrs. Brown of civic functions to the home duties of women. This was one of the numerous instances in which an existing collegiate institution has shared the work of preparing citizenship courses. The North Carolina College for Women furnished instructors and lecturers. It also offered a center for the school. North Carolina's University Extension Division was one of the first in the country to seize upon the idea that women were going to ask for special courses in civics. It put forth a synopsis, one of the best in the entire nation, which has already been used in more than twelve states.

In Wisconsin

IN Wisconsin also the State University helped. A Citizenship School was announced for the last days in April under the joint auspices of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin League of Women Voters. The school was held in Milwaukee. Its instructors were taken from both organizations. This was followed by a wider scheme. Courses of six lessons carried on one day each week for six weeks were opened in May, under the leadership of well trained workers. Mrs. H. K. Curtis had two courses of parliamentary law, one for teachers and one for all women. Mr. A. H. Bartlett conducted a practical and popular study of constitutional law; Mrs. J. S. Walbridge, Jr. had speakers, training classes, and Mrs. A. M. Simons conducted two series of lessons on citizenship, one especially designed for women who were to be teachers and one for all women.

These courses of study, which are only just completed, have been well attended, and show an awakened interest in the subject. It is expected, with the continued assistance of the State University Extension Division, to carry them over different parts of the state. Those

in Milwaukee have been free to all members of the Wisconsin League of Women Voters. Mrs. Simons is the author of a practical little pamphlet, *Wisconsin Citizen's Handbook*. It is issued by the State League of Women Voters, and was completed for the use of Mrs. Simons's classes in civics. It is a complete book of reference on the municipal government in Wisconsin as well as the state, and country. It is one of the most complete state manuals yet produced.

In Massachusetts

UNDER the direct jurisdiction of the Division of University Extension of State Department of Education of Massachusetts, a course in American Citizenship is projected. Its headquarters are at the State House in Boston, and its method is a continuous one.

The course is divided into ten assignments and the following topics are among those discussed:

Explanation of duties of citizenship; primary and regular elections; ballots and how to mark them; voting procedure; difference between majority and plurality; meaning of representative government and how it works; local government, in city, town, county; division of powers between State and National governments; the Governor, Legislature, and State courts; the President, Congress, and Federal courts.

When twenty or more persons begin this subject at the same time and wish to unite for study, a class may be formed to meet weekly. A teacher will be sent by the Division to give instruction. The course is offered only for class instruction.

The cost of this course, including lesson sheets, and textbook, is \$1.

A National Affair

THE American School Citizenship League, which is a national affair, will hold its annual meeting this year, as usual, with the National Education Association, July 4-10, at Salt Lake City.

The headquarters of the secretary of the League are at 405 Marlborough St. and its prospectus shows a plan co-extensive with the school system of the country.

Its first aim is to secure the adoption of the "Course in Citizenship and Patriotism" as a text-book for teachers in elementary schools. Its second aim is to encourage the study of history with the aim in view of training for citizenship. The functions of this League are also of an investigatory nature. It is making a survey of the present use of geography and literature in the schools as a means of teaching about other peoples. It is encouraging a serious study of world relationship and pro-

viding suitable material for debates, orations and school exercises. In short the American School Citizenship League is a country wide bureau for disseminating information about America and its relation to other countries.

Its reconstruction program recently published is full of suggestions for the American Citizenship Courses conducted by Leagues of Women Voters.

The honorary president of the League is ex-President William Howard Taft; its president Randall J. Condon, Superintendent of Schools in Cincinnati, Ohio, its secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston.

In Arkansas

THE General Extension Division of the University of Arkansas issued a fat little book in March. It is a syllabus on studies in citizenship, prepared especially for the women of Arkansas, by David Y. Thomas, Ph.D., Arkansas University professor of history and political science. Among the women's associations which cooperated with Dr. Thomas in the publication of his bulletin, are the Arkansas League of Women Voters, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Council of Jewish Women. It is so complete and comprehensive that it can be used individually or by classes as a guide to study, and may be obtained from the director of the Arkansas University.

In New York

A DEPARTURE from the normal and local school of citizenship is the Correspondence Course on Education for Citizenship. One correspondence course which has already met with great success is that of the New York State League of Women Voters. It is under the direction of Mrs. Caspar Whitney, Chairman of the Educational Section of the League. It is a direct successor of the widely used suffrage correspondence schools carried on for several years by the educational section of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. The aim of the course is to supply civic clubs in small centers with a well digested plan of work, which will make it possible for isolated groups or individual women to keep abreast of the current civic study which is sweeping the land.

The Correspondence Course is much more

comprehensive than a mere course in voting. It includes not only a study of the structure of government but of woman's special interests in government. Dr. Helen Brown of the American Social Hygiene Association; Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip; Dr. H. H. Goldberger of the Faculty of Columbia University; Mr. John Daniels of the Carnegie Foundation; Dr. Royal Copeland, Commissioner of the New York City Department of Health are among those who have given expert assistance in preparing lessons.

Mrs. James E. Laidlaw has prepared one lesson on the high cost of living; Dr. Josephine S. Baker of the City Health Department another on state health clinics. The Home Economics Department of Cornell University has cooperated with a series of studies on rural problems.

The New York Correspondence Course is a study which would become a liberal education to any one going into it thoroughly.

A New Political Party Needed

WHETHER the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment is ratified or not, more millions of women will vote in November than ever before, because so many states have given the right to vote to their women citizens. This brings millions of women voters to the polls, who are not yet sectionalized, that is, they are not yet identified with the opinions and traditions of any political party. Discontent with existing social conditions is rife in this country. Dissatisfaction with the leading political parties is rife. The people, rich and poor alike, are groaning under the oppression of needless profiteering. The people are being robbed and plundered by wealthy trusts which operate in defiance of the laws against them. The laws are not enforced. Neither of the two big political parties seems to be trying to lift any burdens off the people staggering along under the high cost of living. Both of the big political parties seem to be ruled by their machines and worst elements, and, caring only for a scramble for the spoils, are callous to the sufferings of the overtaxed, oppressed people whom they are exploiting. Both the big political parties have outlived their usefulness to the people, and care only to feather their own nests and fill their own pockets.

Under these circumstances, if a new political party will arise, which will live close to the

people and heed their cries of suffering and distress, and remove some of the burdens which are now so sorely oppressing the masses, it can sweep the country, not next November, but four years hence. The times are ripe for it. It will never again have so favorable an opportunity to start.

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171 Madison Ave. New York City

Correspondence

Let's Keep It Up

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IT is thanks to the excellent team work of women and women's organizations that Congress has now put the Women's Bureau on a permanent basis and granted it an increase in appropriation from \$40,000 to \$75,000 for the coming year.

The National Women's Trade Union League appreciates deeply the cordial response to its communications on this subject.

ETHEL M. SMITH,

Secretary Legislative Committee.

An Interesting Question

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN Rhode Island an intricate question has been raised to determine whether or not a woman, not a citizen of this country, but who establishes such citizenship by marriage, and has since been divorced, is entitled to register and vote. Several attorneys familiar with the election laws maintain that the woman is entitled to vote, as nothing in divorce proceedings can affect or abridge her citizenship which was legally acquired.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES.

Providence, R. I.

Voting in Palestine

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

WE here have just voted for a Constituent Assembly—I mean men and women have voted—and about ten women have been elected (the returns are not quite complete). It may interest you that the P. R. system was used.

We want to open classes in citizenship for women. Many women and many men, too, are entirely unfamiliar with the fundamental principles on which a democratic government is founded. We are anxious to open a room similar to the rooms the election districts used to run in anti-vote days in New York. I should like to have some of the literature most adapted to conditions here translated into Hebrew, and have it free of access to any woman interested.

The Jewish women of Palestine have the ballot, but are very far from having equal rights. The Arab women have no ballot and are a great deal farther from having equal rights; in fact the vast majority of the Moslem-Arab women feel and are treated as slaves. We hope, though, that in no distant time they will follow in the footsteps of their Jewish sisters. What we need is public instruction on the duties of citizenship.

I wish you could have been with me to see women go to the polls in the inner city of Jerusalem. Septardic women, whose ancestors lived from time immemorial in the shadow of the ancient walls, Yemenite women, their beautiful classic facts lit up with a new understanding, Ashkenazit women, most of them to-day potential voters in the cities and countries of their birth. It certainly was an historic moment. A new light was kindled in the East, and the women of my ancient race were the torch-bearers.

DR. ROSA WELT STRAUSS,

President, Palestinian Jewish Women's Equal Rights Asso. Jaffa, Palestine.

The African Mother Idea

THERE is no chapter of W. E. B. DuBois' somber *Darkwater* (Harcourt, Brace and Howe) which is more bitter or impassioned than the one called "The Damnation of Women."

The African idea of womanhood Dr. DuBois does not find as belittling as is the European.

He reminds his readers that there is something deeper than the historic matriarchate in the "subtle and mysterious way, that despite her curious history, her slavery, polygamy and toil, the spell of the African mother pervades the land."

A student of the Gold Coast at the present day points out that the village headman has all-powerful helpers in the female members of his own family, who spontaneously train up their children to implicit obedience to the chief.

The African mother, from the Zulus to the Waganda, stands first among the influences affecting the children. She is the most influential counsellor at the court of ferocious sovereigns like Chaka or Mtesa.

That the woman is often held in no small esteem among the negroes of Africa is clear from the numerous negro queens, from the medicine women, from the participation in public meetings permitted to women by many negro women.

"Upon this African mother idea," says Dr. DuBois, "the westward slave traffic struck like doom."

The West Indies fought bitterly against this subjection of women, "and when Toussant and Christophe founded their kingdom in Haiti, it was based on old African tribal ties and beneath it was the mother-idea."

Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-five Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89	
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25	
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3	Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2	Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0	Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0	Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York	House, yes, 137; no, 0	Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6	Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44	Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47	Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20	Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5	Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4	Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15	Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 2, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6	Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire	House, yes, 212; no, 143	Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2	Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68	Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota	House, yes, 102; no, 6	Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota	House, yes, 52; no, 0	Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0	Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island	House, yes, 89; no, 3	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25	Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0	Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 25; no, 1	Senate, yes, 8; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24	Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0	Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10	Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 28, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12	Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40	Senate, yes, 16; no, 13
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0	Senate, yes, 40; no, 0

Where Ratification Carried by a Unanimous Vote

In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan	South Dakota
Kansas	Colorado
New York	Oregon
Nebraska	Wyoming
Utah	Arizona
Washington	

In One House

Illinois	Senate
Iowa	Senate
Montana	House
California	Senate
Indiana	House
Nevada	Senate
Idaho	House

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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July 17, 1920



ASPIRATION

**What About Vermont,
Senator Harding?**

**Whatever Else We Lose
We Must Keep the
Home**

**Another Point of View
Presented by
Mrs. J. C. Hardy of Gulfport,
Miss.**

Senator Reed is Shown

**The Peace We Fought
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TEN CENTS A COPY

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JULY 17, 1920

No. 7

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JULY 17, 1920

NUMBER 7

Senator Reed Is Shown

"ON behalf of the women of Missouri I appeal to the committee to reject this man, who stands against everything the women of this country want."

There was no uncertain sound to the voice. It was lifted at San Francisco and it rang East, rang North, rang South.

It was the voice of Mrs. W. W. Martin of Cape Girardeau, Missouri, going on record as unalterably opposed to the seating of Senator James A. Reed of Missouri at the Democratic National Convention.

By a vote of 34 to 12 the Democratic National Committee refused Senator Reed his seat as fifth Congressional District Delegate. He had been turned down at his state convention as delegate at large and also as district delegate, the latter action justified according to a ruling which gives the state convention power to accept or reject any delegate chosen by a congressional district. "The action of the individual districts," said Mr. E. F. Goltra of Missouri, speaking against Mr. Reed's right to a place in the San Francisco Convention, "was to be merely in the nature of a recommendation and nothing required the state convention to accept such recommendation."

When the struggle over the Senator was at its hottest, it was Mrs. Martin who summed the situation up. "This is a pitiful state of affairs when the Senior Senator from our state cannot run as one of the delegates at large, but has to come here and fight for a place as a mere district delegate.

"Do not seat our worst enemy in this convention," she pleaded. "You will never be able to explain away Senator Reed if he sits here."

THE fight on the Senator at San Francisco was made because the women of Missouri resented his vote against woman suffrage, resented his anti-administration record, resented the elements of politics he stands for.

The fight against allowing Senator Reed a place on the delegation was begun in Missouri by a great gathering of nice, plain, indignant American women. It was carried out to San Francisco and it climaxed in the dramatic moment when Mrs. Martin gave the *coup de grace* to the old enemy of her sex.

"We rest our case," said National Committeeman Goltra as Mrs. Martin sat down amidst loud cheers and handclapping.

Mrs. Martin was a delegate from the Fourteenth Missouri District to the Democratic Convention—one of thirteen women delegates and fifteen alternates. Missouri has been reported by an officer of the League of Women Voters as having "more women delegates to both major party conventions than any other state in the Union."

According to Mrs. W. W. Martin herself Missouri's thirteen women delegates held a total of nine votes as against thirty-two men, with a total of twenty-seven votes. This gave Missouri women over one-fourth of the state's voice in the making of a national platform and the selection of a nominee.

It also gave them a fairly good chance to show Senator Reed.

What About Vermont?

SENATOR HARDING, you are about to come before the women voters of the country as the choice of the Republican party for the next President of the United States. You will come as at once the executive agent and the mouthpiece of the Republican party. You will make representations to the women voters on behalf of the Republican party. When you say that the Republican party offers this or that prospect you will expect your utterances to be relied on for their full import as coming from a party leader. You will expect, and rightly, that the voters of the country will consider that where you lead the lesser politicians of your party will follow.

But, Senator Harding, what confidence can you hope to inspire in the woman voter if state politicians of your party are to set themselves thus early against your leadership?

Your party stands committed to the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. You stand committed to it. Governor Clement of Vermont refuses to be guided either by you or the Republican party.

Unlike the Legislature of Louisiana, the Legislature of Vermont stands ready to ratify. Governor Clement cites this indeed as one of the reasons why he will not call the session.

It is not Governor Clement whom the women voters of the country must hold responsible for the failure of the Republican party to complete ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in time for the women of the eighteen unenfranchised states to take part in the 1920 elections.

Governor Clement is not the nominee of the Republican party. What about Vermont, Senator Harding?

Amusing!

IT is amusing! That effort of the American Constitutional League to enjoin the Secretary of State from issuing the ratification proclamation when the 36th state shall have ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

And heartening, too! Probably the general public is not so familiar with the so-called Constitutional League as suffragists are. It is composed of that same group of white-haired men antis, with whose representatives we became acquainted at suffrage hearings in Washington in 1918-1919. The valiant name which this group gave itself in 1917 did not serve to camouflage the purpose for which it was organized. That purpose was to defeat suffrage. Although Mr. Charles S. Fairchild was put at the head of the group, our old and valued enemies, Mr. Everett Wheeler of New York, and Dr. Lucian Howe of Syracuse, among others, were its motivating forces. Now and again during 1918 and 1919 we chanced upon their plaintive appeals to save the country from its wives and mothers.

Men antis have a way of getting behind something in their attacks on suffrage. Usually they get behind women antis. In this case they got behind what they considered a name of high-sounding patriotic suggestion.

Their effort to enjoin the Secretary should alarm no one. On the contrary, it should hearten. It shows that even antis take early ratification of the 36th state as assured and that they feel that they must make a last stand outcry.

There cannot be a man of intelligence in the group who does not realize that such a case as has been projected cannot have any standing in court.

That is so obvious that the one thought back of the action must be the possible psychological effect on Governors and Legislators before whom the 19th Amendment is up for immediate consideration.

Later: "The court has dismissed the injunction case." So reads the word from Washington.

It is to laugh.

Bogies

THE opponents of woman suffrage constantly attempt to play upon the fears of the South in the matter of the Negro question with a bald effrontery that informed Southerners cannot fail to resent deeply. To the informed person there can be no Negro question in the two Southern states where ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is an issue. Yet in both these states anti-suffragists have built this question into the usual bogie.

In Tennessee the Negro population was just 21.7 per cent of the total population, according to the last census figures—the figures of the 1920 census not being as yet available.

In North Carolina the Negro population is just 31.6 of the total population.

This covers all ages.

The following figures are interesting:

Population of North Carolina Over 21 Years of Age

White Women, 358,583. Colored Women, 159,236. Therefore, there are 199,347 more white women in North Carolina than colored.

White Women, 358,583. Colored Men and Women, 305,988. Therefore, there are over 50,000 more white women in North Carolina than colored men and women together.

Population of Tennessee over 21 Years of Age

White Women, 419,646. Colored Women, 122,707. Therefore, there are 296,939 more white women in Tennessee than colored, or more than three times as many white as colored women.

White Women, 419,646. Colored Men and Women, 241,849. Therefore, there are over 177,797 more white women in Tennessee than colored men and women together.

Woman suffrage will greatly increase the white vote in all the states south of the Mason and Dixon Line.

Population of 15 Southern States over 21 Years of Age

White Women, 10,661,926. Colored Women, 4,354,089. Therefore, there are more than twice as many white women in the South as colored women.

White Women, 10,661,926. Colored Men and Women, 8,643,640. Therefore, there are over two million more white women than colored men and women together.

Sweeping Victory

"WE close our trip to the two conventions in behalf of our planks," says Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the National League of Women Voters, "with a feeling of great satisfaction over the result. We regard it as a sweeping victory for the forward-looking program of our organization. We secured about half of what we asked for at the Republican con-

vention in Chicago, and here in San Francisco the Democratic convention has endorsed all of our planks but one. The plank which they did not accept was the one asking for a Federal Department of Education, and this also failed of incorporation in the Republican platform."

Mrs. Park says the trip has been equally successful along the line of organization. Meetings were held in Omaha, Denver, Salt Lake City, Great Falls, Cheyenne, Spokane, Seattle, Portland, Reno, Los Angeles and San Francisco. "These meetings," says Mrs. Park, "will result in better working efficiency for state and national agencies. Out of it all is bound to come closer coöperation between the women of the East and the West for the accomplishment of the things women believe in."

The suffrage plank, over which there was the biggest spontaneous demonstration at San Francisco, went through as drafted by the representatives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and presented by Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee, vice-president of the National Suffrage Association. It was a great moment in the career of Mrs. Park as the chairman of the National League of Women Voters and also as Congressional Chairman of the National Woman Suffrage Association. She sat on the platform and witnessed the triumph of the close of her work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the successful outcome of the initial campaign for welfare legislation as emphasized in the adoption of the woman's platform presented by her organization.

"Speaking in my individual capacity," said Senator Glass that selfsame day, "I am in favor of the platform of the National League of Women Voters. The request by this League of Women voters for assurances of legislation having to do with Child Welfare, Education, Women in Gainful Occupations, Public Health and Morals, Independent Citizenship for Married Women and Increased Efficiency of the Home, are not only wise and helpful but seem to me consonant with the fundamentals of Democracy."

"It is the most constructive program ever presented for a platform in my forty-one years of political convention experience," said Charles Edward Russell, the well-known political diagnostician, at a dinner given to the writers attending the convention. He referred to the woman's platform contained in the six planks presented by the National League of Women Voters to the resolutions committee in the public hearing Monday night.

Convention Itself Hears Planks

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is in receipt of the following telegram from Elizabeth J. Hauser, Director of the Fifth Region of the League of Women Voters, it having been Miss Hauser's delegated task to present the planks of the League of Women Voters to the Labor Party Convention in Chicago on July 13th:

"Mrs. McCulloch made great speech to Labor Party Convention this afternoon. Received much applause. Convention voted to refer planks to Resolutions Committee, with favorable recommendation. First convention to hear League demands. Rose Schneiderman seconded motion and supplemented McCulloch remarks. John Walker, of mine workers, long-time friend, presided."

Miss Hauser's telegram, it will be noted, calls attention to the fact that the Labor Party's convention is the first to hear planks in open convention. That the Labor Party will take favorable action by a virtually unanimous convention vote is the expectation at this writing. The Mrs. McCulloch mentioned in the telegram is Catherine Waugh McCulloch, of Chicago.

It was on Sunday afternoon, July 11, that Miss Zara du Pont of Cleveland, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago, and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser of Girard, Ohio, appeared before

the Resolutions Committee of the Committee of 48 and presented the planks. Mrs. McCulloch, who is chairman of the National League's Committee on Unification of Laws, in a forceful presentation, suggested, in case the Forty-Eighters should adhere to their original policy of a very short platform and thus make it impracticable to incorporate the women's planks, that the following pledge would be satisfactory:

"We note with approval the demands of the National League of Women Voters for improved legislation concerning Child Welfare, Education, The Home and High Prices, Women in Gainful Occupations, Public Health and Morals and Independent Citizenship for Married Women, and pledge our assistance for achieving success."

Great interest was evinced in the hearing and had not the League's Committee itself suggested that discussion be stopped, it might have continued indefinitely.

One gentleman who wished "to defend Mrs. McCulloch's platform, as the only man in the room ready to do it," brought a storm of protests from others who were just as eager and just as ready, including Vice-Chairman Chamberlain of Seattle, Washington, who was presiding. It was at this juncture that the League Committee expressed entire willingness to have the planks go to the Executive Committee for decision without further discussion.

Stale Stuff

THE antis certainly need new material. Here they are sending into Tennessee an old letter written by one Annie Bock in which she wails and weeps over the way woman suffrage has worked in California.

"A year in politics," the letter begins, showing forthwith its ancient lineage. California won suffrage in 1911. So the letter must have been written between 1912 and 1913 when California women had been "a year in politics." Yet the now eight-year-old letter is the freshest piece of evidence that the antis can produce as an argument against suffrage.

And what an argument!

Miss Bock says that a year of woman suffrage has increased immorality, divorce and murder, made cowards and puppets of California men and coarsened and cheapened California women.

In answer to this lame and limping effort to besmirch the cause of ratification in Tennessee on July 10, Governor William D. Stephens of California wired Governor Roberts of Tennessee as follows:

"Politics is cleaner, government better administered, and the moral welfare of the people far more intelligently and effectively promoted in California because of woman suffrage. Statements to the contrary are not justified by facts and results. Equal suffrage in California has justified itself in every way. No exception. It was carried by about three thousand (3,000) in 1911. It would be carried now by one hundred thousand (100,000) if voted upon by men only. If voted upon by both men and women it would carry by three hundred thousand (300,000)."

Infant Mortality

THE 1918 infant mortality rate for the U. S. birth registration area, just published, is 101.7 points higher than the rate for the preceding year.

Children's Bureau investigations have shown that Uncle Sam's babies die because they and their mothers do not have skilled care. Until such care is made available, as in England, for all women in all parts of the country, regardless of economic standing, no great decline in the infant mortality rate may be expected.

Dickering

IN the vocabulary of our best political circles the verb "to dicker" has an established place. Not exactly a place in the sun. Rather, a place in the dark.

But as the blockade around the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment tightens, the art of dickering seems to be by way of emerging into daylight.

"Is it a dicker with the Democrats?"

"Looks like a dicker, doesn't it?"

"Who is doing the dickering?"

Questions like these bombard the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association with a vehemence that indicates a vast loss of confidence in party leaders of professed allegiance to suffrage. Futile to point out the protestation, the effort of those leaders. It is having no result. Manifestly there is something, somebody, some group that is outranking the alleged leaders.

Who leads the leaders?

Nobody believes that on Governor Clement rests the real responsibility for the Vermont stand.

Nobody believes that on Governor Holcomb rests the real responsibility for the Connecticut stand.

It is noteworthy, as has been pointed out in these columns before, that the senatorial influence that dominated the opposition to suffrage in the 65th and 66th Congresses, is the same influence that dominated the Republican convention at Chicago. Is it that same influence that blocks the completion of ratification by the Republican party today? Can it be anything else?

EVEN that is not the whole question. From Tennessee comes the word that the Wadsworthians, having gone into that state to attempt the defeat of ratification, are making much of their success in combining with the Democrats to that end.

The Wadsworthians are the satellites of that same Senator Wadsworth who wants to come before the women voters of New York seeking their votes for his reelection to the United States Senatorship in November; that same Senator Wadsworth who, acting as the misrepresentative of New York, repudiated the mandate of New York people and New York's Legislature, in the effort to block the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In a press statement Senator Wadsworth, scenting the November elections, took pains this year to point out that since New York had voted for woman suffrage he had not lifted a finger against it. Yet today we find the Wadsworthians in Tennessee trying to link up with Democrats in an anti-ratification campaign!

Black Republicans, of the original order of the believers in centralized power, hailing Tennessee of the Southland as their new ground of conquest!

Southern Democrats in that same unholy alliance with New England that characterized the opposition to the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the 65th and 66th Congresses!

Are northern Republicans counting on southern Democrats on this suffrage issue? Are southern Democrats counting on northern Republicans?

Is it not about time that both of the major parties stood clear of these rumors of collusion, of "dickering"?

THE new German Reichstag was convoked on June 24 by Constantine Fehrenbach, president of the German National Assembly. According to the *Lokal Anzeiger*, twenty-two women members hold seats. There are thirty-eight women in the National Assembly.

Here Is the Eleventh-Hour Record Where Is the Responsibility?

EVERYBODY agrees that there is political responsibility for the failure to get the 36th state on the ratification roll of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Both of the major parties are eager to claim credit. Neither will admit responsibility. Here is the eleventh-hour record. Who is to blame?

Party in Power in Legislatures		Legislatures That Have Rejected	
Republican	Democratic	Republican	Democratic
32	16	1	7
Legislatures That Have Ratified		Governors Who Have Called Special Sessions	
Republican	Democratic	Republican	Democratic
29	6	16	8

(Colorado, Missouri and Nevada have closely balanced Legislatures)

States Any One of Which Can End the Agony

Republican	- - - 2	Democratic	- - - 4
Vermont		North Carolina	
Connecticut		Tennessee	
		Florida	
		Louisiana	(Still in session)

Help from National Committee

Republican National Committee, June 1, Chicago:

"Whereas, the Republican National Committee at its regular meetings has repeatedly endorsed woman suffrage, and the nineteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, and has called upon the congress to pass, and the states to ratify, such amendment; and, whereas, such amendment still lacks ratification by a sufficient number of states to become a law; therefore be it

"Resolved, by the Republican National Committee, that the nineteenth constitutional amendment be, and the same is hereby again endorsed by this committee, and such Republican states as have not already done so are now urged to take such action by their governors and their Legislatures as will assure the ratification of such amendment and establish the right of equal suffrage at the earliest possible time."

Suffrage Plank (adopted at Chicago):

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in states which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country.

Help from National Committee

Democratic National Committee, May 30:

"The committee calls on Legislatures of the various states for special session, if necessary, to ratify woman suffrage, when the constitutional amendment is passed by Congress, to enable women to vote at the Presidential election in 1920."

San Francisco, June 26. To Governor Roberts of Tenn.:

"The Democratic national committee at its meeting held today by unanimous vote directed me, as chairman of the committee, to send you the following message:

"We most earnestly emphasize the extreme importance and urgency of an immediate meeting of your state Legislature for the purpose of ratifying the proposed nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

"We trust that for the present all other legislative matters may, if necessary, be held in abeyance and that you will call an extra session of the Legislature of your state for such brief duration as may be required to act favorably on the amendment. Tennessee occupies a position of peculiar and pivotal importance and one that enables her to render a service of incalculable value to the women of America. We confidently expect, therefore, under your leadership and through the action of the Legislature of your state, that the women of the nation may be given the privilege of voting in the coming presidential election.

"HOMER S. CUMMINGS,
Chairman National Committee."

Suffrage Plank (adopted at San Francisco):

We endorse the proposed Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the Legislatures of thirty-five states which have already ratified said amendment, and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such states as have not yet ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth state in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the fall election. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

Cooperation of Party Leader—Senator Harding:

"I need not tell you of my interest in the consummation of Woman Suffrage. I voted for it in the Senate, and a vote records a Senator's purpose quite as faithfully as anything he may do.

"Nothing would please me more than to have ratification made effective to give American womanhood full participation in the elections of next November. This desire, sincerely spoken, does not conflict with my determination that I could not with propriety attempt to force any state executive to hasten action in violation of his own sense of duty.

"If any state executive should ask my opinion about extraordinary efforts to consummate suffrage, I frankly will commend the thing you desire, but I cannot impose a demand, though I personally hope to see women's suffrage and women's full participation established at an early date."

Senator Harding after conferring with Governor Clement:

"I told the Governor frankly that if my advice were wanted I would be glad to see Vermont Republicans close up the great franchise reform. The women throughout the nation are deeply interested in the national campaign and the ratification must be closed soon if they are universally to participate in the Federal election."

Responses from Pivotal States

"My conception of the constitutional limitation of the authority of the governor compels me to decline to call a special session."
—Governor Holcomb of Conn.

"I have been calling on Senator Harding and we discussed the State of the Union agreeably, you can be sure, and we discussed suffrage ratification by Vermont. Our State Republican convention asked me to call the extra session. Chairman Hays has urged it on behalf of the National Committee and many requests came to me from delegates to the National Convention. Naturally, I wanted Senator Harding's views and he suggested an early call. My reluctance is due to a feeling that Vermont prefers to change the fundamental laws very deliberately. We can only change our state constitution by one direct appeal to the people and the favorable action of two Legislatures. We are reluctant, therefore, to ratify by a Legislature which was elected at a time when suffrage was not an issue."
—Governor Clement of Vt.

With a Friendly Legislature

Rutland, Vt., July 8.—Governor Clement, returning home here today for the first time since his conference in Washington with Senator Harding regarding a special session of the Vermont Legislature to make possible ratifications of the Woman Suffrage Amendment, said he was still undecided as to a special sessions.

"That Washington matter was given altogether too much publicity," he added.

Rutland, Vermont, July 12.—"Governor Clement has issued a proclamation announcing his refusal to call the Vermont Legislature in special session to make possible ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment."
—Press Dispatch.

In doing this Governor Clement arrogates to himself authority superior to the Federal Constitution of the United States, authority superior to the Republican party in national committee and in national convention, and places himself in direct opposition to the obvious conviction of the people of Vermont. Through their legislators the people of Vermont have signified their desire to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Governor Clement himself says that a majority of the members of the Vermont Legislature stand pledged to ratify. The legislators of Vermont represent the people of Vermont.

Cooperation of Party Leader—President Wilson:

"It would be a real service to the party and to the nation if it is possible for you, under the peculiar provisions of your state constitution, having in mind the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case, to call a special session of the Legislature of Tennessee to consider the suffrage amendment. Allow me to urge this very earnestly."
—Telegram sent to Governor Roberts of Tennessee, by the President.

"I am sure I need not point out to you the critical importance of the action of your great state in the matter of suffrage amendment."
—President's telegram to Governor Bickett of N. C.

Governor Cox

Dayton, Ohio, July 7.—Governor James M. Cox, the Democratic candidate for President, today wired Frank J. Looney, chairman of the Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee, as follows:

"I can only express my opinion. It is that the Legislature owes it as a duty to the Democratic Party to ratify at once."

Responses from Pivotal States

"I will call the session in ample time for the women to vote in the 1920 elections."
—Governor Roberts of Tenn.

"I hope that the Tennessee Legislature will meet and ratify the amendment and thus make immediate action by North Carolina unnecessary.

"We have neither the time nor the money, and such action on the part of Tennessee would save this state the feeling of bitterness that would surely be engendered by debate on the subject that would come up in our Legislature.

"I have said all I intend to say on the subject of ratification. While I will take my medicine, I will never swear that it tastes good, for it doesn't."
—Governor Bickett of N. C.

With a Hostile Legislature

Baton Rouge, La., July 8.—A motion to suspend the rules of the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature so as to permit action on the suffrage amendment before adjournment of the session was defeated by a vote of 52 to 46.

The attempt to get the proposition before the Legislature failed, despite the receipt by the chairman of the state Democratic party of a telegram from James M. Cox, the Democratic nominee for President, in which he urged immediate passage of the amendment, saying that "the Legislature owed such action to the Democratic party."

Party in Power in Legislatures That Have Ratified

Ratified		Not Ratified	
Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
Arkansas Arizona	California Colorado		Connecticut
	Illinois Indiana Idaho Iowa Kansas Kentucky Maine Massachusetts Michigan Minnesota	Florida	
Missouri	Non-Partisan Legislature, but Republican in presidential elections.		
	Montana Nebraska Nevada New Hampshire New Jersey New Mexico New York		
	North Dakota Ohio Oregon	North Carolina	
Texas Utah	Pennsylvania Rhode Island South Dakota Washington West Virginia Wisconsin Wyoming		
Oklahoma		Tennessee	Vermont
6	29	3	2

Rejected

Republican	Democratic
Delaware	Alabama Mississippi Georgia South Carolina Maryland Virginia Louisiana
1	7

Of Twenty-four Special Sessions Called to Ratify
Including Delaware

By Democratic Governors	By Republican Governors
New York.....Smith	Arizona.....Campbell
Missouri.....Gardner	California.....Stephens
Arkansas.....Brough	Delaware.....Townsend
Utah.....Bamberger	Idaho.....Davis
Montana.....Stewart	Indiana.....Goodrich
Nevada.....Boyle	Iowa.....Harding
Oklahoma.....Robertson	Maine.....Milliken
West Virginia.....Cornwell	Minnesota.....Burnquist
	Nebraska.....McKelvie
	New Hampshire.....Bartlett
	New Mexico.....Larrazolo
	North Dakota.....Frazier
	Oregon.....Olcott
	South Dakota.....Norbeck
	Wyoming.....Carey
	Washington.....Hart

(8)

(16)

It is the 36th state that counts. The party that will have the final claim on the woman vote in November is the party that brings in the 36th state and thus makes ratification operative in the other 35.

States That Have Ratified

R—In Regular Session (10)
S—In Special Session (25)

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R	June	10
2. Wisconsin.....	R	June	10
3. Michigan*.....	S	June	10
4. Kansas.....	R	June	16
5. Ohio.....	R	June	16
6. New York.....	S	June	16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R	June	24
8. Massachusetts.....	R	June	25
9. Texas.....	T	June	28
10. Iowa.....	S	July	2
11. Missouri.....	S	July	3
12. Arkansas.....	S	July	28
13. Montana.....	S	July	30
14. Nebraska.....	S	Aug.	2
15. Minnesota.....	S	Sept.	8
16. New Hampshire.....	S	Sept.	10
17. Utah.....	S	Sept.	30
18. California.....	S	Nov.	1
19. Maine.....	S	Nov.	5
20. North Dakota.....	S	Dec.	1
21. South Dakota.....	S	Dec.	4
22. Colorado.....	S	Dec.	12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R	Jan.	6
24. Kentucky.....	R	Jan.	6
25. Oregon.....	S	Jan.	12
26. Indiana.....	S	Jan.	16
27. Wyoming.....	S	Jan.	27
28. Nevada.....	S	Feb.	7
29. New Jersey.....	R	Feb.	9
30. Idaho.....	S	Feb.	11
31. Arizona.....	S	Feb.	12
32. New Mexico.....	S	Feb.	19
33. Oklahoma.....	S	Feb.	28
34. West Virginia.....	S	Mch.	10
35. Washington.....	S	Mch.	22

Failed to Ratify

1. Alabama.	5. South Carolina.
2. Georgia.	6. Virginia.
3. Maryland.	7. Delaware.
4. Mississippi.	8. Louisiana.

Pending in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

North Carolina (special session scheduled).....	July or August
Tennessee (special session scheduled).....	August 9

Regular Session in 1921

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Connecticut.....	January
Vermont.....	January
Florida.....	April

(Delaware, South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia also have regular sessions in 1921. It is expected that North Carolina will ratify at its special July session. The Legislatures of the other three states defeated ratification in 1920. But the Legislatures of 1921 are to be elected in November, so that there will be another chance for ratification in 1921 in each of these states.)

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama.....	January
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Recapitulation

Ratified.....	35
Failed to ratify.....	8
Special session pending for 1920.....	2
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	3
	48

*Michigan's Legislature was in special session when the amendment was passed. It promptly ratified.

Whatever Else We Lose We Must Keep the Home Another Point of View

I READ with great interest an article in a recent issue of your magazine on housekeeping as it may be in the future—a long way in the future it seems to me—and I cannot refrain from making some reply.

I am one of the housekeepers whom the war and its aftermath have hit rather hard in the matter of servants. Earlier in my life, when I had four babies at once in the nursery, I regularly employed five servants. The war with its Liberty bonds, income tax and patriotic appeals for saving, caused me to cut the number to three, which I considered the absolute minimum. I frankly looked forward to after-the-war times, when I would go back to the old basis. But when those times came, with huge increases in all prices, with such wages paid that they drew almost every house servant in this country into other work, I was compelled to reorganize my household on a practically servantless basis.

I will not tell you my methods which have made for greater comfort as well as greater efficiency in the home. Every woman is a method unto herself. No other woman could follow my methods with the same degree of satisfaction that I have had, but would employ her own methods, suited to her own individual requirements, and to the same end.

But I will say this: We like our servantless home, and we do not intend to return to the old system, even should labor come again within our ability to secure and means to purchase.

A home, like a business, should be self-sustaining, not actually in producing funds with which to run it, but, at least, in causing no more labor in its operation than can be accomplished by the members of its household.

To this end a readjustment of ourselves as women, with the average woman's idea of the equipment necessary to maintain a home, must be brought about. This must, however, be done without specializing the home to the point where it ceases to be individualized.

THIS readjustment will cut out all unnecessary equipment in the way of extra ornamentation, such as furnishings and hangings, that we have come to think necessary. It will also affect the clothing of the family, and tend to simplify both the number and the style of garments, so that the laundry may either be done at home by those who wear the clothes, or at a public laundry, where the wear and tear are at a maximum. It will mean a more universal use of mechanical devices in every branch of housework.

It will, without a doubt, eliminate from the kitchen much of the work we now think must be done there. That it will mean the eventual bringing to the door of all foods ready prepared I very much doubt. However much of the food can be and is now brought in ready to serve, I believe much of the cooking will still have to be done in the house, to give it a feeling of home.

But there will always be people who will employ servants at whatever price, and without regard to their actual need of them.

IN the issue of June 19th we published an article by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman under the above title. In it Mrs. Gilman sought to make the point that housework must be "professionalized" and that the distinction between the function of child-bearing and the vocations of cooking, housework and kindergartening must be kept clear; that it is a mistake to assume that the function and all the vocations can be and must be combined in the one woman, that both function and vocation have suffered by the scattering of ability through over-insistence on such a combination.

In this second article on the subject, which comes from Mrs. J. C. Hardy, of Mississippi, the essential contribution to the argument is that the combination is well-nigh unescapable under the economic régime of the day, that it is not a question of woman's capacity but of her duty which must prevail.

We commend both points of view to the attention of our readers, sure that the argument is not ended even yet.

They very often have no stronger reason than their own dislike for housework, and lack of thought and application to simplify that work, and bring it within their ability to perform. Or, stronger reason than either of these, they do not think doing the work of their homes genteel, and they are afraid their friends will not think so either.

To offset this mistaken idea about gentility, rather than the specializing of the home as was suggested, I am looking for the ideal service bureau, where the would-be employer will have to show better cause for wanting some one to do her work for her than the mere desire to get out of it herself.

Through that ideal bureau no woman could secure a servant unless she were sick or physically disqualified to do work herself, or when sickness in the family made help necessary to bear the extra burden, or when small children in the family made heavy demands on the mother's time

and vitality, or in cases where the mother was employed in gainful work outside the home, necessary to the upkeep of the home. Nor would any person be allowed to hire any woman unless one or more of these conditions prevailed in her home. Utopian? Probably, but how often is the Utopia of one generation the living condition of the next!

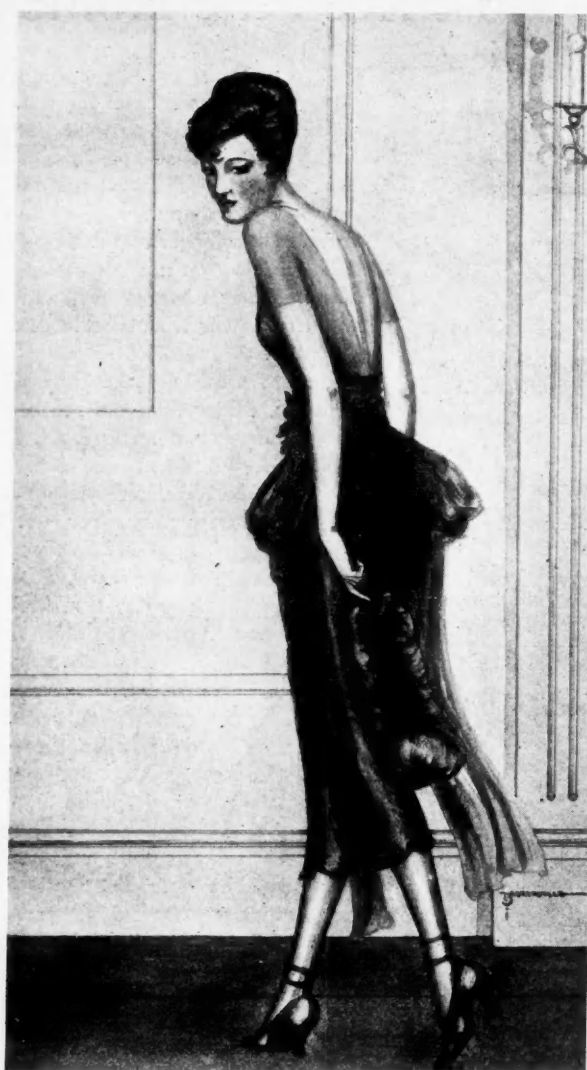
Because home duties are distasteful to her, take time that she would rather use for something else, or because they are confining and tiresome are not sufficient reasons why a woman should shirk them. Life is like that.

MANY a man is in the same boat. But he goes on from day to day, distaste, tired feeling and all. He doesn't talk much about losing the home or keeping it. If he is single he goes on until one day he finds the girl he thinks he is looking for, and then they establish a home. After that he goes on because stopping has become impossible. And the girl should be willing to do her part simply from a sense of pride and fairness.

And now about those women who have special talents which motherhood and wifehood do not satisfy. Sometimes we do meet women who are fundamentally unsuited to the high calling of carrying on the race. But there is nothing to prove that an overwhelming talent in another direction fits them better for some other calling. A woman's special talent, God-given, which, if she shirks, none other can assume, and for which the world must be forever the richer or the poorer, according as she uses or fails to use it, is motherhood.

The time will come later when she will have the opportunity to develop any minor talent she may possess. As things go now, the heyday of her life is in the years after the children are grown, Her mind has reached a fine maturity, and her sense of values and her poise are surer and safer than they could have been in the days when her desire to exercise her special talent was strongest. I have little patience with those women who are unwilling to

(Continued on next page)



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Whatever Else We Lose We Must Keep the Home

(Continued from page 179)

meet the greatest profession of life with single-hearted determination to make of it the greatest success.

The home will stand. It has always stood. There may be changes in the details of its conduct, but as long as the great, fundamental reasons for its existence remain there will be homes. Those reasons exist today as strongly as ever. Would it not be wiser, then, for women, with the greater power and influence which today has given them, to remake the smaller details of modern home maintenance to meet modern home conditions than to allow these changes to be made for them?

THESE ideas are given by a woman who has been all along the way. She has reared a large family, partly under old conditions of cheap and moderately efficient house service, partly under the new system of poor help and mighty little of that. She has seen many old things pass away, and has made some cheerful attempt to harmonize new conditions with old ideas. When this was impossible she changed her ideas. Lastly, she hopes to live longer still, and to continue to strive for an equitable adjustment of the old and the new before her work shall have been finished.

To summarize the influences that might tend to stabilize home conditions, I suggest:

1. The forming of public sentiment so that the home-helper, home-maker and housekeeping may be raised to the dignity of a profession and respected accordingly, so that workers in this profession may not be classed as servants any more than saleswomen, stenographers, and teachers.
2. The crystalizing of individual sentiment so that excess of household equipment will be considered bad taste, which no woman may display and live socially, just as now the overloading of her person with jewelry renders her socially impossible.
3. The moulding of public thought into a constantly increasing demand for simplicity in every phase of home-life. Simplicity and unaffectedness are the roads over which present uneasiness concerning the home must travel to reach the haven of certainty as to future safety.
4. The establishing by community cooperation of a home-helpers' bureau with adequate rules for safeguarding the interests of both helper and housewife. The beginnings of some such ideas as have already been mentioned might be embodied, with other regulations such as local requirements might demand.

Gulfport, Miss.

LULU DANIEL HARDY.

Counting the Planks

“IN summing up which of our planks the Republicans incorporated in their platform,” says Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the National League of Women Voters, “we find that they adopted:

- Prohibition of Child Labor throughout the United States.
- Training in citizenship for the youth of our land.
- Increased Federal support for vocational training in home economics.
- Equal pay for equal work.
- Independent Citizenship for married women.

“The fundamental principles underlying some of the measures we presented were endorsed by the Chicago convention in substance if not in exactly the wording of our planks, for instance, the request for the formation of co-operative associations for marketing of farm products and for the prevention of discrimination, and adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food.”

The Peace We Fought For

MRS. MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT of England in explaining the value to the world of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, said that the Alliance had held together through the seven hard years from the Congress of Budapest to the Congress of Geneva. "Seven years full of tragedy, exultations and agonies."

"Difficult and delicate as the international situation created by the war often was," declared Mrs. Fawcett, "the Alliance held together. It never lost touch with any of its twenty-six affiliated countries. Headquarters Committee in London quickly grasped, with firm conviction, the principle that it was absolutely essential to the continued existence of the Alliance to observe neutrality on all purely national subjects, and, not to allow its organ, *Jus Suffragii*, to be used for the advocacy of doctrines on which suffragists were not united."

The significance of this is greater when one realizes that throughout the war the organ of the Alliance was printed in England, an allied country; that leading suffragists in Great Britain, led by Mrs. Fawcett, were carrying on war work of great magnitude, such as the famous Scottish Woman's Hospitals, and that the staff of workers were loyal to the Allies.

Yet this policy laid down in October, 1915, including the belief that "Controversial topics, such as pacifism, on which suffragists are divided in belief, should not be advocated," was faithfully carried out.

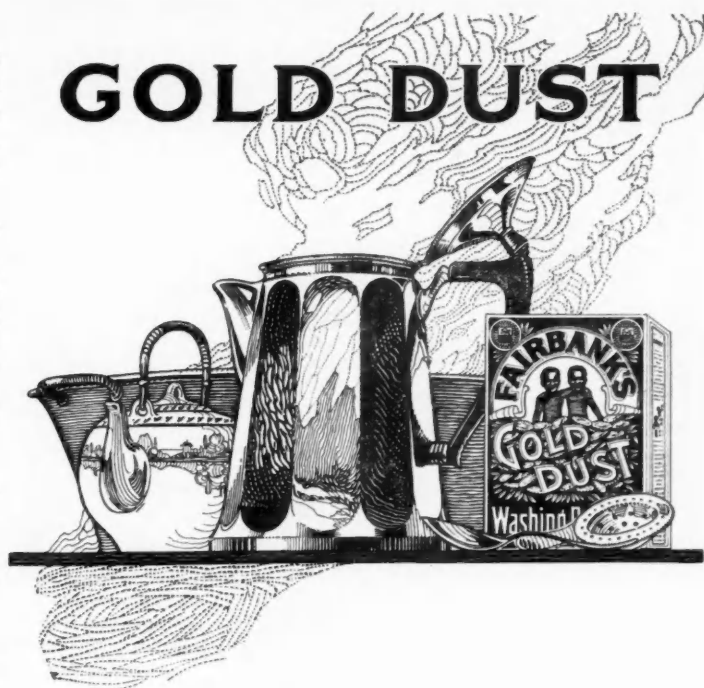
Many people had declared in 1914 that the Alliance could never hold together, yet at the end of hostilities in November, 1918, it had not lost a single auxiliary society.

"From the international point of view, we issued from the war far stronger than we were before," said Mrs. Fawcett, "because, owing to many causes, chief of which were the ploughing up of old prejudices and the sowing the seed of new ideas, and the sweeping away of the three great European autocracies, no fewer than fifteen countries had, during the war, definitely accepted the principle of the political equality of women, and, in addition, both Houses of the American Congress had passed, by the necessary majorities, the Susan B. Anthony woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Besides these unprecedented victories for our cause, many countries brought into existence by the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919, entered upon the status of nationhood with their women fully enfranchised. A further victory was achieved when the Covenant of the League of Nations laid it down as an established principle that all offices connected with the League, including the Secretariat, were to be open to women. Hence the period which some gloomy prophets had believed would be fatal to our movement had in reality proved to be that of the most rapid development known in its whole history.

"What are all of us doing for Peace now? Millions have died for it. Are we prepared to live for it? Our duty is to live for the cause for which our men have died.

"How often have we suffragists been told we should never succeed—that men had complete power over us and would never relinquish it? But we did not listen, we persevered and won our cause. What was said to be impossible has happened. The three great autocracies, always the enemies of Peace, Russia, Germany, and Austria, have crumbled to ruin during the war, a lesson surely in the comparative durability of the societies founded on freedom; women have power which they have never had before and should use it in all countries to prevent war. Great difficulties no doubt remain, but they can and will be overcome if we bring the will and determination to overcome them which we brought to the prosecution of the war."

GOLD DUST



Better Coffee! How?—Fresher Coffee Pot

OF course you want your tea and coffee at their best! That means you must have always—fresh coffee and tea pots. Here's a simple recipe that makes the "insides" of coffee and tea pots absolutely pure and sweet:

Place a teaspoonful of Gold Dust in the pot, fill half full with cold water, let boil a few moments. Pour out part of water and scrub with small brush. Scald with hot water. Turn upside down to drain.

This Gold Dust treatment *purifies* coffee and tea pots. That's why it helps to make your tea and coffee taste as they really should!

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Conventions to Come

CONVENTIONS in the near future are those of the Women's Association of Commerce, and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

The latter will take place in St. Paul, July 27th-30th. It will be the second annual convention of the Federation, which was founded in St. Louis a year ago.

Its president is Miss Gail Laughlin of California. Its executive secretary, Miss Lena Madisen Phillips. Its official organ is the *Independent Woman*, a magazine edited by Mrs. Ida Clyde Clark.

Among the questions which will be discussed on the close-packed convention program are: Training for business, a discussion led by Miss Emma Hirelt of the Bureau of Vocations, efficient standards in business colleges, thrift, child hygiene, and the modern triangle—woman, home and business.

One other feature will be the vocational luncheons at which prominent women in advertising, insurance, manufacturing, law, medicine and public health will give the stories of their own careers.

Mary Austin, one of the contributing editors of the official magazine, will be a speaker, as will Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, head of the International Women's Medical Association, and candidate for U. S. Congress.

The growth of the Federation, according to a report given in June, shows recent paid-up membership from sixty clubs in twenty-eight states, representing some seven or eight thousand members.

Twenty-six states will report upon state federations at the St. Paul Conference.

The Minneapolis, Minnesota, club reports 1700 members, representing 100 different kinds of business and a new club house. In Cleveland 299 business women met one day last March and pledged \$20,000 for a club house—a change from the days when women had no pecuniary outlook but a cake sale.

The Birmingham, Alabama, club has just finished a drive for 1126 members. This is one of the oldest clubs of business women and it is interesting to note that growth in the Federation is very strong in southern states.

Italian Women Sense Their Power

WOMAN Suffrage for Italian women is nearing completion. The suffrage bill which would give them parliamentary and local suffrage has passed the Chamber of Deputies, but, like the French bill which is in practically the same position, is not yet ratified by the Senate.

In Italy the suffrage measure has a powerful popular backing, being on the programs of the Catholic, Socialist and Republican parties, and on that of almost all the groups in the Chamber.

"In the whole of Italy from north to south," says Fernande Salvenini, "public opinion has accustomed itself to the idea of women voters with astonishing ease. In the light of what can already be called an accomplished fact, the tranquil good sense of the people, so little recognized abroad, has triumphed more quickly than elsewhere over the prejudices of centuries."

The swift reversion seems to be due less to academic argument than to economic adjustment.

Whether people like it or not, woman in Italy, as elsewhere, has become an indispensable element in the common work.

Even before the war, Italian statistics showed some 6,000,000 women occupied in various industries outside of the home. The major part of the women of the proletarian and lower middle classes were even then in workshops, factories, offices and schools.

Since the war, quite apart from temporary employment of

women in the absence of men, the present economic position of middle class Italians is such as to force girls as well as boys into gainful occupations.

The middle class has been the most conventional of all Italian people, but the women in it are already very different from what they were a short time ago. During the war they were forced into responsibilities concerning business and their children. They organized and carried on social work and war work.

It is custom and tradition rather than law which now binds women according to an Italian writer in the *Women's Leader*, published in London.

A recent law has delivered them from "marital authorization" bondage, they enjoy rights of guardianship and are admitted to public employment, except such as has to do with national defence.

Family tradition and social usage still put their clamps on woman, "but when she has gained a clear realisation of her own interests she will have the means of making them felt, and she knows it."

"On the benches of schools and universities where little girls and little boys, young girls and young men study together, in offices, in workshops, and in factories, the new woman is preparing herself and making herself felt. Even in the little towns of Southern Italy, where life has a touching patriarchal character, where the old mother often does not know how to read but can put in her word when the candidates for the electoral college are being discussed round the family table—those little towns where a girl can more easily obtain permission to go alone and work in the Universities of Rome or Florence than to go out alone under the eyes of her neighbors—even there woman's suffrage is talked of freely today, and without causing the least shock to anyone."

"Is it because men are telling themselves that now they will get two votes instead of one? Perhaps. But they would do well to prepare themselves for some disillusionment on this point."

Time's Revenges

TWO women who suffered persecution and martyrdom in their time have lately been publicly honored. The canonization of Joan of Arc was lately celebrated at Rome, and a statue of Anne Hutchinson has been unveiled at the State House in Massachusetts—the state from which she was expelled with contumely, to meet death later at the hands of the Indians.

The two women stood for very different things, yet each, in a way, was a representative of the woman movement. An element in the bitterness felt against each was that she was thought to have gone out of "woman's sphere"—Joan by donning male attire and leading armies to battle; Anne Hutchinson by becoming a religious teacher in defiance of the supposed commands of St. Paul.

Anne Hutchinson, in her statue, has her arm thrown protectingly around a little girl. And around how many little girls, starting out upon untried paths, has the memory of Joan thrown a protecting arm!

Among the great crowd present at the canonization there were more than three hundred descendants of the family to which the famous French peasant girl belonged. And how many hundreds of her spiritual descendants are scattered all over the world—women who have gone forward bravely in new paths, listening to voices that others could not hear, and leading forlorn hopes to victory! There have been a multitude of them in the equal rights movement and in every other movement to make the world better. They suffer in their lives but later on it is realized that they were helpers and light bringers. May their tribe increase!

A. S. B.



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Womanly Activities

A HINT of what the League of Women Voters hopes to do with local conditions is given by Mrs. Joseph Bowen's summary of ten years' work by the Woman's City Club of Chicago, recently published in the Club Bulletin. On the educational side, citizenship work which has reached many thousands of women has been carried on by the Central Municipal Citizenship Committee, of which Jane Addams is chairman and which was one of the earliest organizations to instruct voting women in citizenship and municipal issues. The committee has issued, from time to time, printed matter for general distribution, elucidating questions to come up at impending elections and has been, possibly, the greatest educative factor in the Club. This committee held a mass meeting of women voters in March, 1916, at the Auditorium, to protest against the corrupt city administration of the time and to adopt a Woman's Municipal Platform, for which there was great demand by civic organizations from all over the country. No less than 200 weekly classes in citizenship have been carried on by the Tuesday Citizenship classes, including first hand studies of city and county government, and by the Industrial Civic Center Committee, the third group in the Club working in the field of citizenship instruction, which has given civics instruction to girls in factories, and has made the girls familiar, by talks and excursions, with the city resources for recreation and self-improvement.

Work for improving material and moral conditions in the city began, says Mrs. Bowen, with "Womanly Activities," the keeping clean of the city, the consideration of public health, the welfare of the unfortunate, the inspection of schools and playgrounds. But with the approach of the vote, a large part of the activities of the club have been devoted to questions concerning the business administration of the city.

Among the club's thirty-six active committees doing an important civic work is the Bathing Beach Committee, which as early as 1911 reclaimed the 39th Street Beach for bathers. Later the committee assisted the city in planning Clarendon Beach, and is largely responsible for two important new beaches and for life-guard attendance, lighting, etc., at other beaches.

The Clean Air Committee has also done an important work which has affected ventilation in cars and helped to abate the smoke nuisance. In 1912 it made a study of ventilation and temperature in the public schools which the superintendent of schools, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, in a public address referred to as "so fair and practical" that she was able to put it into immediate use by cutting it up into sections and distributing them to the engineers of the buildings reported. The following year another study of the schools showed greatly improved conditions.

It was because of her activities as chairman of the Committee on City Waste that Miss Mary McDowell was made one of the two women members of the Municipal Garbage Commission, appointed by the Mayor to consider the best methods of collecting and disposing of the city waste. This committee for years worked for the establishment of a Bureau of City Waste under the Commissioner of Public Works. Its influence defeated a bond issue of \$2,000,000 for the completion of a Municipal Garbage System without the creation of a Bureau of City Waste with a technical man in charge; when the recommendations of the committee were finally met and the Bureau created it supported a bond issue of \$1,000,000 which was voted by the city.

The Police Committee has made a thorough investigation of all the police stations in the city. It has studied the proposed bond issues for new jails and advised against voting for them, because the plans evidently had not been well considered.

The Club did excellent service in many lines of work during

the war, its existing citizenship activities being especially adaptable to Americanization work and its Ward Branches being the means of the registration of 156,000 women in war work in Chicago. The war work of the club's Social Hygiene Committee was so notable that Dr. Rachelle S. Yarros, its chairman, has been appointed by the state to carry on a social hygiene campaign.

Other notable activities are the Child Hygiene Committee, of which Mrs. Ira Couch Wood is now chairman, the Child Welfare Exhibit and the Food and Markets Committee, which among other things cooperated with various commercial groups in an experiment to direct the attention of the public to an article of food at the exact time of year when it was cheapest and plentiful and thus prevent loss to the producer, the merchant and the consumer. It inaugurated a Peach Week in August, 1915, and secured a price of \$1.50 a bushel, for peaches, with the result that 455 carloads were sold in Chicago in four days. It was active in circulating petitions for the establishment of a South Side Municipal Market.

On account of the untiring work of its many "Watch Dog" committees one of the city aldermen has said that few speeches on the council floor were any longer addressed to members of the council. "They are all prepared with an eye to the women who attend the meetings," he said. "No Alderman really talks to his brother Alderman any more; every man is seeking to convince or impress or conciliate the women who are there to watch the proceedings."

The club has a membership of 4,000, but aims at 10,000.

Women on Juries

THE latest discussion of women jurors appears in an editorial in the *Central Law Journal*. It takes the ground taken by almost all courts that special legislation is necessary. The editorial goes on the assumption, not borne out by the proportions that jury duty bears in men's lives, that this duty is a heavy burden on the citizen, but holds that: "If it should be found that there are many women who, because of their intellectual qualifications and freedom from the restraints of motherhood, are able to serve and whose service in this respect on the jury would facilitate and improve the administration of justice in the court, then, under such circumstances and with proper safeguards and exemptions, we believe a Legislature would be justified in removing the broad arbitrary restriction against women serving as jurors."

"We believe, however, that, in such event, instead of providing for exemptions from jury service on the ground of maternity, motherhood, large family, etc., and thus attempting to anticipate the cases when it would not be public policy to impose this additional burden upon women, it would be better to let the women themselves determine when they think it would be unwise for them to assume the duty of jury service. This is the law in five of the six states which now impose the duty of jury service upon women, to-wit: Kansas, California, Utah, Nevada and Colorado. Only in Idaho is jury service by women mandatory."

In Corea

COREAN women are going into business, and going strong. Leading Corean women are the promoters of the Eastern Asia Women's Commercial Corporation, just formed at Keijo with a capital of \$200,000 in \$10 shares. Stock subscriptions are limited to Coreans only.

The promoters have issued a prospectus stating that their object is to buy and sell the usual household commodities to increase the comforts of Corean homes and to educate their country women in business methods.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE
AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
WOMEN

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

LESSON XIV

WHEN it comes to the control of the army and navy of the United States, the student feels as bewildered as Alice when she tried to find out the name of the song about the "old man a-sittin' on a gate."

"That isn't what the song really is, it's just its name," said the White Knight, "and it isn't what its name is, but what its name is *called*."

So with the question of who rules the armed forces of the nation.

"I rule," says Congress, "because to me is given power 'to raise and support armies and maintain navies.'"

"I rule," says the President of the United States, "because in peace and war I am commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and even of the militia of the several states when they are called into actual service of the country."

"I rule," says the General Staff, "because mine is the duty of supervising military affairs, controlling troops of the line, preparing plans for defense and advising the Secretary of War."

"I rule," says the Secretary of War, "because I administer all matters pertaining to national defense."

"And what about me?" asks the Secretary of the Navy, "since without my department troops would have no means of transportation nor would the seas be free."

It is in the midst of this divided authority that your boy goes out to defend his country. Congress holds his destiny in its hand since, in addition to providing and maintaining the army and navy, it has power to grant letters of marque and reprisal; to make rules concerning captures on land and water; to make rules for the government and regulation of land and naval forces; to organize, arm and discipline the militia, and, in the last analysis, to declare war.

Your boy's fate, then, rests with Congress?

Well, no—not exactly. There is the President, who by virtue of his position as commander-in-chief, may regulate the disposition of military and naval forces in time of peace and war, may appoint or dismiss any officer of the army or navy, may supervise the execution of the military law by which army and navy are governed; may call out the state militia when in his judgment such action is

Your Boy and the Army and Navy

West Point upon that recommendation, each necessary and, when war is once declared, may wage war as supreme commander.

Therefore, your son may be going along very well as a member of the National Guard, with nothing more exciting in view than riding at the head of the Fourth of July parade, when suddenly he may be called on for national defense. Under the constitution the militia may be called out for any one of three purposes, to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, or to repel invasion. The constitution gave the President no right to send the militia beyond the borders of the United States, but by the Army Reorganization Act of 1916, the militia was made a second-line defense and the President authorized to draft it into national service whenever Congress declares it necessary.

BUT this is only the beginning. After your boy has been drafted, or has volunteered to serve his country on land or sea, he has only begun his contact with military powers.

The Secretaries of War and Navy are the administrative arms through which the decisions of President and Congress are effected.

According to the World Almanac for 1920, there are a half score or more war bureaus, and almost as many more naval bureaus to which he is subject. There are in fact more divisions in the War Department than in any other, even the State and the Treasury. There are three assistant war secretaries and fifteen or more chief clerks, a chief-of-staff, and adjutant general, inspector general, judge-advocate general, quartermaster general, surgeon general. There are also heads of departments such as ordnance, engineering, signal office, chiefs of bureaus of insular affairs, of public buildings, of coast artillery, of field artillery, of rank corps, of air service, of militia, of chemical warfare, of motor transport.

The Navy is only a little less sub-divided. It had in 1920, one assistant secretary and one chief clerk. Under its operation were the bureaus of yards and docks, of navigation, of ordnance, of construction, of supplies and ac-

counts, of steam engineering, of medicine and surgery. There is also in the Department of the Navy, as in that of War, a judge-advocate general, who has charge of cases to be tried within the department, presidents of naval examinations board and of the naval retirements board. There is a chief intelligence officer, a superintendent of naval observations, a director of the Nautical Almanac, an hydrographer, and a commandant of the marine corps.

But the bureaus which look after details are not the last authority to which your boy responds. There is also the general staff which is in direct charge of operations. This is a corps of trained army officers which is in effect a supervising military bureau inaugurated by Congress in 1903. At its head is the chief of staff. He is an army officer, and, like the Cabinet, is appointed by the President himself for a term of four years. He has general supervision over the administrative bureaus and controls the troops of the line. In addition to this chief of staff the general staff consists of officers of various ranks who advise the Secretary of War and aid in coordinating the work of the several administrative bureaus.

In the Navy a corresponding work is done by line officers, commonly having the rank of rear admiral; other naval officers are assigned to bureau duties from time to time, this service alternating with service at sea.

All the time he was in the army the department of war regulated what your boy should eat and wear, where and how he should live. He was absolutely at the disposition of the Congress, the President, the General Staff and the bureaus of the two departments of War and Navy. He was fed and trained, punished or exalted by the machinery of the executive arms of the Federal Government.

If you raised your boy to be a soldier, that is a trained officer, he may have been for a longer time under the control of the Federal Government through one of its training academies.

If he had chosen the army for his career he was doubtless educated at West Point, to which you got permission to send him through a U. S. Senator or Representative. When your boy was somewhere between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two you asked a member of Congress—Senate or House—to nominate him to the Secretary of War who appointed him to

senator, congressional district and territory in the United States having just one such appointee.

In addition the President has the right to appoint forty cadets at large who are usually sons of army or navy officers:

The two academies where soldiers and sailors are trained are under the care of the two departments. The Military Academy at West Point, which fits men for officers in the regular army, is controlled by the War Department.

The course of instruction lasts four years and is chiefly mathematical and professional. Each cadet is paid \$700 a year by the government, which is about enough to support him.

Upon his graduation your boy comes out a commissioned officer, a second lieutenant in the United States Army. From there he may have received advanced military training in any one of several schools, also maintained by the Federal Government. These include the War College, Engineer School and Army Medical School at Washington, D. C., Army Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, Mounted Service Schools at Fort Riley, Kansas, Field Artillery School at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, Coast Artillery School at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Garrison schools are also maintained at each military post for the instruction of officers and schools for instruction of enlisted men, both in the common branches and in military subjects.

IF, on the other hand, your boy chose to become an officer in Uncle Sam's Navy—somewhere between the ages of sixteen and twenty and recommended by a member of Congress to the Secretary of the Navy—he entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

At present, two midshipmen are allowed for each Senator, Representative, or Delegate in Congress, two for the District of Columbia and fifteen each year from the enlisted personnel of the navy. These are appointed by the Secretary of the Navy upon nomination of individual members of Congress. In addition, the President appoints one midshipman from Porto Rico, and ten at large from the United States.

The instruction, which lasts for six years, is much like that of an advanced technical school. The last two years are spent at sea.

Advanced naval instruction is given at the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island. Another school is the Naval Torpedo School at Goat Island.

There are also apprentice schools for enlisted men and gunnery training for all officers and men.

In 1918 the United States Navy had 435,398 enlisted men in service. It had a total of 778 war vessels with 627 under construction. From 1883 to 1919, the appropriations for the United States Navy have totalled \$6,005,031,342.

The American Army at the Armistice Day, 1918, its period of greatest strength, showed a grand total of 3,703,273 of whom 189,436 were officers.

The total war casualties for the United States was 322,182 of whom 35,585 men were killed in action and 205,690 were wounded in action.

The direct cost of the war to the United States was \$32,080,266,968. The direct cost to the world was \$208,405,851,222. The indirect cost to the world in capitalized value, of human life, property losses, loss of production, war relief, loss to neutrals, with no effort made to place a money value on crippled soldiers, and the invalidated and devitalized army and civilian population, was \$337,946,179,657.

In Virginia

THE Virginia Equal Suffrage League has remained unchanged in name, but Mrs. Valentine has appointed a Citizenship Committee, which is at the present time the really active organization. It is composed of men and women from all over the state, prominent in various organizations or locally interested in Citizenship education. Many of them have never been active as suffragists. The chairman is Miss Adele Clark, 100 North Fourth Street, and she is really in charge of the whole work now, as Mrs. Valentine is very ill.

The University offered cooperation in the holding of a Citizenship School at the University, and afterward proposed to employ a director under its extension department to carry on the holding of schools in various towns by request. Since Miss Pidgeon assumed the duties of this directorship with the University, she has been as busy as she could possibly be answering such calls.

The University and the Citizenship Committee of the state are cooperating in every possible way in the conducting of this education. A number of schools have been held in different parts of the state, and in some places citizenship study clubs have been formed which have such constitutions that at the time when the suffrage organization becomes a League of Women Voters they can form an effective basis for that organization. These clubs are drawing in many who have never been active in suffrage.

The initial points stressed are the voting demonstration, the election law of the state, procedure in presidential voting, the issues of the present campaign, and the principles of the League of Women Voters.

Other educational institutions in the state are also furthering citizenship education. Randolph Macon College for Women in Lynchburg has held a citizenship school for that city, and William and Mary College has conducted a free course of extension lectures in Richmond City, with college credit given.

The Richmond Suffrage League has con-

ducted a series of lectures and its program is being recommended to other towns.

The Norfolk Suffrage League and the Winchester League have also conducted classes, which are still continuing.

For small towns and country districts, during the summer, one-day institutes are proposed, with voting demonstration and picnic supper. In some places where women are timid, the demonstration will at first be staged somewhat as a play.

The Richmond League is having about as many calls as it can fill for lectures along various citizenship lines.

Going to Be Lots

I HAVE a very good story about the *Woman Citizen* which I am sure your readers will enjoy. A young Russian girl whom I have interested in suffrage, asked in the news shop near her home for "The *Woman Citizen*" and the proprietor said, "What, there ain't any such thing." My little friend was equal to the demand on her English, and her scant knowledge of the suffrage situation, for I had just told her of the efforts being made to get the special ratification session of the Connecticut Legislature, and replied, "Yes there is, too, and there are going to be lots of them right here in New Haven before you know what has happened."

New Haven, Conn.

LUCY A. PARK.

In Wyoming

AT the meeting held by the members of the National Board in Cheyenne, Wyoming, on June 16th, the Wyoming League of Women Voters was organized with the following officers, all of Cheyenne: Mrs. A. W. McDuffie, Chairman; Mrs. Robert A. Morton, Vice-Chairman; Miss Winifred Stuart, Secretary; Miss Eunice Anderson, Treasurer.

Women and Veils

A BEAUTIFUL symbolic dance was performed at the close of the Suffrage Victory Pageant lately given on the grounds of Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes at Milton, Massachusetts, by the Boston League of Women Voters. There were three groups: the Unawakened Women, crouching motionless on the ground under dark veils; the Half-Awakened Women, with heads raised partly up, under lighter veils; and the Awakened. The Spirit of Freedom and her attendant companions danced in full liberty, with inspiring strength and grace. At Freedom's touch, the Half-Awakened awoke, and even the Unawakened at last rose and cast off their veils when a beautiful woman, a type of the womanhood of the future, stood in the centre with two tiny children looking up to her appealingly. The dancers were pupils of the Noyes School of Dramatic Art.

The dance would certainly have amazed the forefathers and foremothers. We associate veiled women with the Orient. Few realize that even

(Continued on page 190)



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God's Own Country for Women

THE question of what to do with the superfluous British women who can not marry and for whom there are not enough jobs to go around in the British Isles, is being answered from New Zealand, which Mr. J. T. Horn of Wellington calls "God's Own Country," specially designed by Providence for the sturdy out-of-door woman.

He is the authority for a recently published roseate schedule of opportunities for prospective women colonists.

At first they should go in groups, he thinks, and predicts that immediate possibilities open to women will be in agriculture. Orchardng, small fruit culture, vegetable growing, poultry farming and bee keeping are the first six lines of work in which women can hope for immediate success in New Zealand.

He claims that the climatic conditions are admirable there, with less seasonal disadvantage than in most countries.

"Personally," says Mr. Horn, "I believe that small partnerships of women 'as principals' growing small fruits, flowers, etc., are a very paying proposition, but I am not aware of very many women earning a living on small fruit gardens. These are, as a rule, very small and do not employ much labor."

They are essentially industries for principals only, and would demand that women who go in for them have sufficient experience and backing to establish themselves. Poultry and bee-keeping are also good lines for the woman who can start on her own.

But it is mainly as employees, Mr. Horn thinks, that just at first, New Zealand has an open door for the Englishwoman of after-the-war finances.

"As regards employment, I am sure," he says, "that in small quantities at first women could be absorbed profitably into the agricultural life of New Zealand."

Many things would have to be adapted to the woman worker, mainly here, as elsewhere, housing accommodations.

The great difficulty that accosts the woman agricultural worker everywhere is one of proper and suitable living conditions. The question of her fitness is not a matter of strength and skill, so much as one of social adjustment. Manifestly she can not go forth as an agricultural worker and sleep in barns and hay lofts.

There is also, whether in America or in New Zealand, a tendency to combine the woman's out-door job with house work, practically getting out of her the work of an extra domestic servant.

And in New Zealand as in some parts of the United States there is also a cheap labor with which she must compete. On the New Zealand vegetable farms, "the Chinaman is a big com-

petitor and until his wages are up to European standards very little can be done at a fair wage."

WOMEN are serving on school boards in New Zealand with great success. They have in many districts been returned year after year, and are receiving excellent tributes for their achievements.

It is reported in the New Zealand *White Ribbon* that in the Canterbury District 29 women have been returned as members.

Kaipoi, Gisborne, Wakanui, Petone, Hamilton and Wellington have all recently elected school committeewomen.

Women in Industry

THE new Labor Ministry of New South Wales seems to have neglected one important item in making up its Cabinet. They neglected to put in a woman.

Press reports from Sydney have just announced the portfolios allocated by John Storey, premier and leader of the Labor Party.

Among its governmental divisions are ministers for housing, for health and motherhood, for education, besides the usual ones of labor, justice, agriculture, transportation.

In New South Wales women have had both federal and national suffrage since 1902, and it speaks well for their political influence that the state should have a department for health and motherhood. But why make a Mr. McGirr the head of it?

Why make any man the head of a woman's special department? A woman could without the wrenching of her normal interests be chief of any one of these bureaus, such as housing, education, health. They are all in the day's work for her. But when it comes to a department of motherhood, who should head it if not a woman?

"IMMEDIATE Legislative Issues" is the subject of the June issue of the *American Labor Legislation Review*, quarterly of the American Association for Labor Legislation, which epitomizes in an exceedingly interesting set of articles the main subjects of legislation on which the Association has been working for a decade and in some of which it was the pioneer. Among these are workmen's compensation, Federal-state employment service, one day's rest in seven, maternity protection and social or health insurance.

RECENT minimum wage determinations have been made in both Massachusetts and Washington. In Massachusetts \$13.75 was set for experienced workers on knit goods. In Washington a determination for the public housekeeping industry sets \$18 a week, \$3 a day or 37½ cents an hour. Where board is furnished, \$1.00 a day may be deducted and \$2.00 a week for room.

The Book Stall

What the Constitution Means

IN "The Constitution and What It Means To-Day," by Edward S. Corwin, Princeton University Press, a book of about a hundred pages, the constitution of the United States is printed and elucidated paragraph by paragraph. The explanatory material is in simple language and is often helpful to the general reader, but the book cannot be said to add to the profundity of our knowledge of the foundations of our national government.

Community Recreation

"COMMUNITY Recreation" (Association Press) is not a philosophical treatise or survey of the recreation movement. It is a handy booklet which should give delight to those who enjoy play and have a knack of leadership with the young, for it describes in detail how to play "mass games, social games, mass athletics and stunts requiring no special equipment." Here, if we want to be active, we can learn how to play "Hello, Mike," "three-spin-and-a-run-around," "three-deep-tag," and to run a "monkey and crab."

If we want to relax, we can play "Simon says" or "do this, do that," and if we want to take it very easy and yet keep the children amused, we can turn to the pages on "gossip" or "Who am I?"

This helpful book is compiled by George O. Draper.

The Cooperative Movement

IT is not for its excellent outline of the historical origin of cooperation or its remarkable and increasing success over some fifty years in England and some other European countries that Albert Sonnichsen's "Consumers' Cooperation" (Macmillan) is of special interest. It is mainly in its fifty pages on cooperation in the war and cooperation in the United States that the book makes a contribution to the literature on this subject. It is interesting to have the figures which show that during the war among both neutrals and belligerents cooperation grew to proportions unheard of before, for the simple reason that being cooperatives meant being businesses with no incentive to profiteer, and cooperative prices were kept always at the lowest level possible. The same cause which made cooperation grow to such dimensions abroad is one of those that gave it its firm foothold in the United States, where, since it was founded in 1916, the Cooperative League of America has developed a membership of no less than 2,000 societies. Of the American movement, Mr. Sonnichsen has this to say: "Whatever its future development, cooperation is in America to stay. For already it has

passed the most difficult, the most trying, stage: the formation and establishment of the local societies. While these, when well managed, undoubtedly do benefit their members, it is only when they federate and pool their interests that the benefits become considerable, in a material sense. It is exactly that which the American societies have been doing within the past two years."

Mother and Child

THE June issue of *Mother and Child* is volume I No. 1. It is published by the American Child Hygiene Association, formerly the Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, a body mainly made up of public health officials which for ten years has been working in the field of hygiene of infants and young children.

At Vesper Time

BY Ruth Baldwin Chenery, G. P. Putnam's Sons. This book contains much in little. It is made up of 79 short poems, many of them like cameo portraits of characters in history of literature, others dealing with general subjects. Among the portraits are many women—Jeanne d'Arc, Marie Antoinette, Charlotte Corday, Eugenie de Guerin, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Charlotte and Emily Brontë, Constance Fenimore Woolson, Lady Gregory, Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Two that will be of special interest to our readers follow:

JULIA WARD HOWE

*How often, when she entered, did we rise
And stand in waiting hundreds till she passed
Serenely to her place, from whence she cast
Such gracious looks on all around, from eyes
Undimmed as yet by age, so kind, so wise,
That awe mixed with our love, and when at last
Her low voice broke the silence, hearts beat fast,
Stirred by the solemn words we heard and prize!
O Sybil-eyes! O eloquent white hair!
Ye helped the burning message find its goal
In our true breasts, for not in caseful age
Wast thou content to dwell; thy brooding care
Yearned over all, O mother of the soul
That thou hast awakened to its heritage.*

LUCY STONE

*When twilight falls and all the silver grey
Invites to musing, then I ponder long
Upon life's power and meaning, and a song
Wells from the heart, grateful that such as they
Strong men and women, faithful to the sway
Of hard, insistent service, moved along
Our foot-worn paths, ennobling all the throng,
With lofty standards lifted to the day.
In that high company, a chosen one
Moved on serene in gracious womanhood;
Shriven from self, she had the seer's gaze
To foresee human needs, for not alone
By bread a race may live; she understood
That love with justice love alone outweighs.*

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Weekly in the Woman Citizen

The Book Stall

Nine Years Old

IN the nine years of its history the *National Municipal Review* has expanded until its name is no longer descriptive, for it now covers practically the whole field of study of the modernization of government. A year ago it had so far outgrown municipal interests that on the illness of the editor of *Equity Magazine*, for many years the organ of the initiative, referendum and recall, proportional representation, and all the broader movements for modernizing government, the *Review* took this magazine over. A recent issue announces the absorption of the *Short Ballot Bulletin*, so that to-day practically all that is published currently on government will be found in its pages. Recent special studies cover zoning and standardization of the public service.

The Servant Problem

THE domestic service problem is still unsettled as we all know. The *Monthly Labor Review* reports efforts at solution in England, California, New York and Chicago, discussion in the *Journal of Home Economics*, and organized effort by the National Housewife's League. The adoption of standard policies in regard to the domestic worker is reported by local consumers' leagues, as well as the organization of domestic workers in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in ten large cities. That this aggressive action and the general boycotting of domestic service that has been going on for a generation have had their effect is indicated by the conclusions drawn by the *Review*: "It is obvious that recalcitrant domestic workers have forced housewives into a more scientific consideration of household problems. Facing the alternative of doing the domestic work themselves or paying a price for it they never paid before and at the same time granting so-called privileges they never granted before, housewives are weighing in an unwonted manner the relative values of household tasks. This will undoubtedly make for higher standards in home economics."

Women and Veils

(Continued from page 187)

in this country, in the early days, there were many persons who thought it improper for women to appear in public without veils.

Howe's History of Puritan New England relates that about the year 1639 there was much discussion about women's dress and the prevailing fashions were fiercely denounced. Short sleeves were forbidden by law. Howe's History says:

"The question whether women should appear veiled or not at public assemblages got into the churches. Roger Williams, then the minister at Salem, thought they ought to wear veils, and of course, he had plenty of Scripture to prove it. John Cotton took the opposite view, and of course, he had plenty of Scripture to sustain his contention.

"But in reference to this kind of fancy, the Reverend Cotton taking an occasion about this time to spend a Lord's Day at Salem, in his exercise in the forenoon, by his doctrine, so enlightened the women in the place that it unveiled them, so as they appeared in the afternoon without their veils, being convinced that they need not put on veils on any such account as the use of that covering is mentioned in the Scripture, for, viz., not as they were virgins, which the married sort could not pretend unto; much less as harlots, as Tamor; nor yet on any such like account as is mentioned of Ruth in her widowhood; which discourse let in so much light into their understandings that they, who before thought it a shame to be seen in the public without a veil, ashamed ever after to be covered with them."

An abridgment of the great debate between these two prominent divines, Roger Williams and John Cotton, on the question of veils is given by the historian Hubbard (*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Second Series, Vol. V, 204-5).

Nowadays all this seems to us very funny; but it is no funnier than the attitude of those legislators who still oppose woman suffrage will seem to their descendants.

A. S. B.



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Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-five Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89	
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25	
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3	Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2	Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0	Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0	Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York	House, yes, 137; no, 0	Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6	Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44	Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47	Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20	Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5	Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4	Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15	Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 2, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6	Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire	House, yes, 212; no, 143	Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2	Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68	Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota	House, yes, 102; no, 6	Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota	House, yes, 52; no, 0	Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0	Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island	House, yes, 89; no, 3	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25	Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0	Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 25; no, 1	Senate, yes, 8; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24	Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0	Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10	Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 28, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12	Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40	Senate, yes, 16; no, 13
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0	Senate, yes, 40; no, 0

Where Ratification Carried by a Unanimous Vote

In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan	South Dakota
Kansas	Colorado
New York	Oregon
Nebraska	Wyoming
Utah	Arizona

Washington

In One House

Illinois	Senate
Iowa	Senate
Montana	House
California	Senate
Indiana	House
Nevada	Senate
Idaho	House

Horace Greeley began the fight for Woman Suffrage

the very day he founded
The NEW YORK TRIBUNE

THE New York Tribune did not begin working for Woman suffrage when the imminence of Votes for Women made support of the measure a political and newspaper expediency.

Margaret Fuller, a great pioneer for the cause, was one of the editors of The Tribune and won Mr. Greeley's hearty support in her advocacy of the political rights of women at a time when friends of suffrage were targets for vilification and ridicule. This early newspaper woman was interested in all the interests of women attendant on and allied with suffrage. And the policy of The Tribune has never changed.

For years The Tribune has made a specialty of women's news. This has not been segregated as in so many newspapers, but treated in the news columns along with other current events. It has been The Tribune's belief that women are interested in much the same happenings that men are, yet at the same time it credits men with a certain amount of interest

in the "women's news." Equal representation of men's and women's interests is to be found in the news columns and the various feature sections of the paper.

Perhaps no newspaper in the country has covered so fully the movements and progress of women as has The Tribune. Every step in the evolution of Woman suffrage has been followed in detail and understanding—conventions of the suffrage organizations, the action of the United States Senate and state legislatures on the Federal Amendment, legislation of interest to women, women's war activities, the newer phases of women in politics—all have been given the widest publicity in The Tribune's columns.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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The Ratification Round-up

National Republican
Committee Is Asked to
Consider the Whole
Truth

Tell It All, Governor
Clement

National American
Woman Suffrage Associa-
tion Memorializes
National Democratic
Committee

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Be Farmers' Wives

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and When He Helps the
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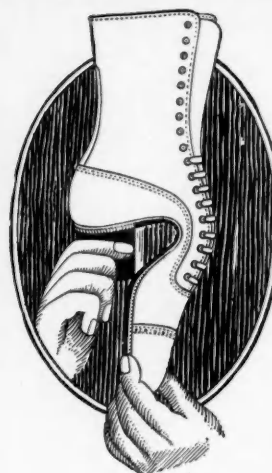
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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JULY 24, 1920

No. 8

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JULY 24, 1920

NUMBER 8

The Ratification Round-up

PROMISING is the word that comes back to National Headquarters from Mrs. Catt, who went to Tennessee last week to confer with Governor Roberts on the ratification program. Tennessee suffrage leaders are already on the spot or hurrying back from vacations to enlist in the campaign under Mrs. Catt's direction.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is now pinning its faith to the Tennessee and North Carolina prospects for the 36th ratification. It is true that the Republican party has a record of nearly five times as many ratifications as the Democratic. It is just as true that without the 36th state that record is like a great tail without a kite.

Let the Republicans halt the amendment at the point where it stands today, and they weaken their appeal to the woman voter. Let the Democrats lift the amendment into complete ratification and no power on earth can stop the effect on women's minds of the contribution of the 36th state.

As we have said before, and may say again, thirty-five ratifications mean 35 ratifications. Thirty-six ratifications mean women enfranchised.

To the Democrats

HEADED by Miss Esther Ogden, a director of the National American Women Suffrage Association, a deputation of Democratic women appeared before the National Democratic Committee when it met in Columbus, Ohio, this week, and urged that the Committee leave no stone unturned to secure ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Tennessee and North Carolina.

Miss Ogden who, as proxy-holder, sat in the committee meeting, presented a memorial from the National American Woman Suffrage Association which read as follows:

"In behalf of the women of the country, the National American Woman Suffrage Association reminds the National Committee of the Democratic party that within the grasp of the party lies the opportunity to render an act of supreme justice to the women of America by securing the 36th ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"The Amendment has been brought to the very verge of success but the 35 ratifications that it has to its credit make a lifeless record without the 36th to vitalize them. Of far greater moment than party service is the question of right, but we stand at a crisis in American history today where both questions are pressing.

"From every angle of consideration we urge the Democratic Committee to assume the responsibility of achieving the ratification of the amendment by Tennessee and North Carolina and to rest satisfied with nothing short of that achievement."

National American Woman Suffrage Association
By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President

Consider the Whole Truth

IN a statement issued by the National American Woman Suffrage Association and sent last week to every member of the Republican National Committee the Suffrage Association urges the Committee to consider the whole truth about the Republicans' record on suffrage.

"Although there are those who are insisting on leaving the suffrage question where it will make the most trouble for all concerned, instead of closing the issue, the public is obviously entitled not only to know the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and we therefore urge the attention of the National Republican Committee to immediate consideration of the following points:

"It is true that in the 66th Congress, which submitted the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the Republicans were in the majority. But the whole truth is that the Republicans in the 65th Congress, no matter what the Democratic opposition might have been, could have submitted the amendment two years earlier had it not been for a small group of senators who, with a number of southern senators, persistently directed a continual and never-pausing campaign against it. Had it been submitted then, it would have been ratified in the regular sessions of 1919 and the women would have been spared the costly experience of securing special sessions. If the Republicans are responsible for having put the Federal Suffrage Amendment through the 66th Congress, they must likewise accept their responsibility for not having put it through the 65th Congress.

"It is true that twenty-nine Republican Legislatures have ratified the Federal Amendment and that is good, but the whole truth is that by far the larger responsibility rests upon Republicans, for they control thirty-two out of the forty-eight state Legislatures. The Republican Legislatures not yet called, namely, Vermont and Connecticut, stand ready to ratify when called, but, under the direct influence of the same group of senators who for two years and a half prevented the submission of the Federal Amendment, the Governors of those states refused to call those sessions. This might be accepted as an evidence of personal hostility on the part of these Governors, were it not for the fact that in different portions of the country, Republican men have said in definite terms that the Republican Party does not intend to allow the women of the country to have the thirty-sixth state at this time, because 'there are enough women voting now.'

"To give further color to a suspicion which grows daily larger, we remind you of the noticeable difference in the tone and quality of the plank passed at the Republican Convention in Chicago and the far franker and more forceful resolution of the National Committee which had preceded it.

"More, every newspaper in the country has reported without challenge that a group of senators in a room in the Blackstone Hotel determined to push Mr. Harding forward as the candidate of the Republican Party and did so successfully. This group was the identical group which prevented the submission of the

Federal Suffrage Amendment and is now preventing the completion of ratification.

"It would be a crucial mistake for the Republican Party to rest on its suffrage record as one of sufficient glory to compel the allegiance of voting women. That record is not so glorious as some of its leaders think. It was the Republican Party that was in control of Congress for a generation, during which Republican Legislatures in dozens of states refused to allow the question to go to the voters on referendum, and Congress refused to submit the suffrage amendment. In the result our one-time mother country, Great Britain, and our neighbor, Canada, enfranchised their women some time ago, while here in the United States American women stand aghast at the growing rumor that the Republican Party deliberately intends to repudiate its pledges and delay yet longer the final extension of suffrage to women.

"A great question involved in the elemental one of extending the vote to all the people in a nation that boasts that it is 'a Government of the people, by the people and for the people,' is the question of having a majority controlled by a minority.

"At this present moment the public is believing in the sincerity and the honor of the majority, but if the majority finds no way to carry out its own will and its own pledges within its own party, then the public is driven to conclude that it yields because it so desires."

A DELEGATION of Republican women represented the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the meeting of the National Republican Committee at the Hotel Deshla in Columbus, Ohio, on Wednesday of this week. Three of the women were Easterners, Miss Mary Olcott, who acted as chairman, Mrs. James Stokes and Mrs. Wm. A. Allen, all of Connecticut.

They were joined at Columbus by mid-westerners, among whom were Mrs. George Soden, of Illinois, and Miss Ada Bush, of Indiana. As prominent workers in the Republican ranks, the women in the delegation urged on the Committee's members the necessity for completing ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a matter of justice to women and in order to make valid the claim of the Republican party as the party that has secured women's enfranchisement.

Republican women of Connecticut have already taken the stand that they will not support the Republican party until Connecticut's suffrage position is retrieved. In spite of the ratification plank of the National Republican convention, in spite of the ratification resolution of the Connecticut Republican state convention, in spite of the advertised stand of the Republican National Committee, Connecticut remains officially anti-suffrage, under the dictation of Senator Brandegee and Mr. J. H. Roraback.

Connecticut suffragists have pointed out that as long as the most powerful Republican group in Connecticut is working against ratification it is idle for the Republican party to disclaim responsibility for the Connecticut situation. The state's Republican majority slumped to 8,000 in the last election and Connecticut women insist that the state will be lost to the Republicans if the game of freezing out the women is persisted in.

Suffrage in Greece

AT a meeting of a Woman's Congress which will convene at Athens in October full political and economic rights will be demanded for the women of Greece. A general invitation has been extended to the other countries of Europe to attend the conference and discuss social and economic problems. The suffrage agitation in Greece is being carried forward by the Lyceum club, an international organization of European women.

Governor Clement, Tell It All!

An Open Letter to Governor Percival W. Clement of Vermont, from the National American Woman Suffrage Association

A CAREFUL perusal of your proclamation refusing to call the Legislature of Vermont into special session, impresses the most casual reader with the conviction that you have doubtless told the truth, but not the whole truth. No one outside of Vermont believes you have. Perhaps Vermonters, knowing local politics, may read between the lines and understand, but outsiders never.

In order that this generation of your fellowmen and posterity may not misunderstand your position, the National American Woman Suffrage Association urges you to supplement your proclamation with replies to the following questions:

Do you acknowledge that the Federal Constitution is the supreme law of this land and supersedes all state constitutions whenever the two are in conflict? Do you challenge this fact that has stood unchallenged for 131 years?

Do you know that on January 10th, 1791, Vermont ratified that Constitution, although she had one of her own, and by so doing accepted the precedence of the Federal Constitution over it and by that act was admitted into the Union as a new member of the United States of America?

If you do know these facts of common knowledge, why did you throw over your refusal to call a special session the camouflage of a dissertation about the alleged conflict between the Vermont and Federal Constitutions, which has nothing whatever to do with the calling of a special session of your Legislature?

Do you not know that the method of amending the Federal Constitution has remained unchanged from the beginning, and that over and over again Federal Supreme Courts have declared that the provision is to be interpreted exactly as it reads and in no other way? Do you not know that Vermont has ratified each and every one of the eighteen Federal amendments, and yet neither Vermont nor any other state has ever instituted a movement to change the method? Then why treat the nation to a disquisition on your personal opinion as to how constitutions ought to be amended, since such opinion cannot alter the method nor in any way affect the present procedure of ratification of the Suffrage Amendment?

Do you not know that when a Legislature acts upon a Federal constitutional amendment, it draws its authority from the Federal and not from the state constitution, and that the Governor has no responsible part in the transaction except as custodian of the amendment when it comes from the Federal Secretary of State and returns to him with the Certificate of Ratification? Then why profess such a burden of personal responsibility in the matter?

You profess to fear "an invasion of States' Rights" and take upon yourself the responsibility of preserving "the foundations of free popular government." Then why did you veto the Presidential Suffrage Bill passed by the Legislature of Vermont in 1919, which was strictly a state action and conferred the vote upon the women of Vermont alone? Women of fourteen states will vote for President and in November by the authority of such a law, the validity of which has been tested in more than one court and confirmed. Unless the women of Vermont are willing to expend the necessary money and exert the necessary energy to test the validity of your veto and carry the question to the United States Supreme Court, they will be denied the right to vote unless the ratification of the Federal Amendment takes

place. Why did you single-handed and alone thus checkmate the legal grant by the Legislature of a legal right to the women of Vermont?

Do you not realize that no Bolshevik ever made a bolder repudiation of the elemental principles of our government than when you say, "As it stands and is interpreted by the Supreme Court today, the Federal Constitution threatens the foundation of free popular government"? Then why did you say it? Was it not to bewilder those who regard constitutions as beyond the pale of ordinary understanding?

The Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, you say leaves "the people at the mercy of any group of men who may lobby a proposal for change of Federal Constitution through Congress and the Legislatures of the states" and in "the face of this situation I am asked to call the Legislature of Vermont into extraordinary session," etc.

Just who or what has been the objectionable "lobby" of this proposed change?

Your national party convention in 1916 endorsed the principle of suffrage as just, and in 1920 called for completion of ratification in time for women to vote for the next President. Your party's National Committee in the interim of conventions took action three times, once asking the Congress to submit the Suffrage Amendment, once favoring early ratification, and once calling upon Republican Governors to call special sessions in order that ratification might proceed.

Your state party convention asked you to call a special session. Your party's State Committee asked you to do the same thing. Your Legislature has asked you to call a special session in order that it might have the opportunity to take action upon the amendment. Hundreds of Vermont women recently visited you in one deputation for the purpose of asking you to call a special session. The chairman of the National Republican Committee and the chairman of your State Republican Committee have asked you to call a special session. The candidate for President of your party has asked you to call a special session. This is a very distinguished and notable group to be dismissed with the implication that your people are at their mercy.

WE, on the outside, cannot believe you so ignorant of the Federal Constitution and its history as your proclamation implies. We cannot believe that you so readily insult the Legislature of your state and set aside the wishes of so distinguished a list of your fellow-partisans without a far more controlling motive than appears in your proclamation.

Why do you repudiate the Constitution of the United States and introduce into your proclamation a long discussion of entirely extraneous subjects? Why do you slander the members of your own state Legislature by the implication that they do not possess either the judgment or the conscientious purpose to represent the people of Vermont on this question? Why do you reject the pledges and pronouncements of your state and national party? Why do you take the responsibility upon your individual self to stand between the women of Vermont as well as the women of the Nation and their right to vote in November? Why do you thus, in the year 1920, when the great nations of the world have enfranchised their women, attempt to block the normal, legal and natural procedure in this Republic?

Do you not know that by your action, in the eyes of the world you impugn the good faith of your party, that party's National Committee, its accredited leaders, and its presidential nominee on the subject of ratification?

Nobody can accept it as a fact that on you is to rest the real responsibility for your refusal to call Vermont's Legislature in

special session. To accept that as a fact is to accredit you with authority superior to that of your party and its leaders.

You cannot seriously expect to be so accredited.

You owe it to the Republican party and to the world to explain your assumption of an authority that belongs to your party leaders. By what right do you make this assumption?

Governor Clement, tell it all.

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,

(Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President.

A Load to Carry

EVIDENCE of the strong hostility to Senator Wadsworth's re-nomination within his own party is shown in a recent statement issued by George Henry Payne, Commissioner of Taxes. The statement reads:

"The candidacy of Senator Wadsworth is virtually a repudiation of the Republican national platform regarding woman suffrage. As the primary nominee he would weaken the ticket from the Presidency down. If he is nominated, tens of thousands of Republicans will vote for the Democratic nominee."

The spirit of this statement is reflected in many quarters. The New York *Globe* says, "There is an air of uneasiness in some directions as a result of the attacks directed against Senator Wadsworth, particularly the criticism aimed at him by the women voters. Republican leaders in this city have reported strong dissatisfaction among the women with the Wadsworth candidacy because of the verbal blows from Miss Mary Garrett Hay."

New York women are completing an effective anti-Wadsworth organization. The gigantic task of getting a leader even to each precinct unit is being pushed with vigor.

Victory perches on the women's banners at the start-off. This week at the unofficial primary for election of delegates to the unofficial Republican State Convention to be held at Saratoga Springs on July 27, Miss Hay, a regular candidate for delegate from the Eleventh Assembly District, who was opposed by Mrs. Edith Hill, won by a vote of nearly seven to one.

Bunker Hill

THE anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill was celebrated in Boston with the usual rejoicings. Yet the battle of Bunker Hill was a defeat. Few remember that today; and those who do remember it do not care. Some years ago an American girl visiting Canada was shown a cannon captured from the colonists at Bunker Hill. She remarked, cheerfully:

"Well, you've got the cannon, but I guess we've got the hill!"

The situation in regard to the Federal Amendment today is somewhat similar. The enemies of equal rights have got Delaware and Louisiana—for the present—but we have got the Federal Amendment to all intents and purposes. The only question is whether it shall go into effect this year or next. We are still looking to get the 36th state in time for women to vote in the presidential election. Even if we should not, the women of every state will have full suffrage in 1921.

A. S. B.

In Ceylon

THE Ceylon National Congress is seeking, through its deputation to Parliament, to gain a wider franchise for Ceylon. The reform seeks to have some of the seats in the Legislative Council filled by members elected by the people and certifies that the extended franchise should not be limited to men only.

Tempus Fugit

TIMES are changing rapidly, so far as women's part in politics is concerned.

In the national political conventions just held, no one seemed to be shocked that women should make or second nominations, and back them up by appropriate speeches. Yet it is only a few years since the anti-suffragists assured us that Jane Addams had "lost her influence" because of her unwomanly action in nominating Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency. Now such things cause hardly a ripple. Verily,

"Where the vanguard rests today
The rear shall rest tomorrow!"

A. S. B.

Friend of Women

A CHIVALROUS friend of women is honored in the erection of a bust of W. T. Stead in a conspicuous place in London. It is another instance of time's revenges.

A generation ago Mr. Stead was the worst hated and most furiously abused man in England. He had brought upon himself a storm of denunciation by publishing in his paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a singularly bold and impassioned attack upon the white slave traffic, entitled "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." It horrified all the sham respectability that was willing to have girls wronged but was shocked to have the wrong spoken of openly, and it enraged all the profligates—some of them highly placed and influential—who objected to any interference with the white slave trade. The article was called out by Parliament's long delay in passing a pending measure for the protection of girls; hence it was resented also by the government of the day.

The morning after it appeared, the office of the *Pall Mall Gazette* was surrounded by a seething crowd of poor and ragged people from the London slums. The editor telephoned for police protection. The authorities would not furnish it. They asked nothing better than to see the offices of the paper sacked by a mob. But it was soon discovered that the people had gathered to show their enthusiastic gratitude to Mr. Stead, since the victims of the white slave traffic are generally the daughters of the poor. The office of the *Pall Mall Gazette* was safer in the midst of that dreadful crowd than it would have been if surrounded by a regiment.

As soon as this was known scores of policemen appeared as if by magic and dispersed the crowd.

To prove that innocent little girls could be bought with impunity, Mr. Stead bought one from her mother, pretending that he wanted her for an evil purpose. Instead he placed her in a Salvation Army home, and then published the facts. This gave his enemies their chance. They instigated the child's father (who had made no objection to the sale) to prosecute Mr. Stead and a Salvation Army officer for abduction, and they were condemned to several months' imprisonment. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, who was then living in England, wrote to her relatives in this country that Mr. Stead was the bravest man she had known, and that she had marched in the procession which went to demand his release, behind two girls in Salvation Army bonnets. The Salvation Army in those days was much frowned upon by good society. It was Salvation Army officers who had called to Mr. Stead's attention the abuses that he exposed in "The Maiden Tribute," and both he and they had to pay the penalty; but the measure that had hung fire for years went through Parliament, at last, under pressure from the public opinion aroused by this exposure.

All his life Mr. Stead fought fearlessly for the right as he saw it; and the sight of his statue ought to put fresh courage into the heart of every passer-by who knows his history.

A. S. B.

Profiteering in 1777

THE tendency of some merchants to profiteer is nothing new, nor is the tendency of housewives to resent it. On July 3, 1777, Abigail Adams of Massachusetts wrote to her husband:

"There is a great scarcity of sugar and coffee, articles which the female part of the state is very loath to give up, especially whilst they consider the great scarcity occasioned by the merchants' having secreted a large quantity. It was rumored that an eminent stingy merchant, who is a bachelor, had a hoghead of coffee in his store which he refused to sell the committee under six shillings per pound. A number of females, some say a hundred, some say more, assembled with a cart and trunks; marched down to the warehouse and demanded the keys, which he refused to deliver. Upon which one of them seized him by his neck and tossed him into the cart. Upon his finding no quarter, he delivered the keys, when they tipped up the cart and discharged him. Then opened the warehouse, hoisted out the coffee themselves, put it into the trunks and drove off. It is reported that he had personal chastisements among them, but this I believe was not true. A large concourse of men stood amazed, silent." (Crawford's "Social Life in Old New England," page 255).

The general impression has been that our early foremothers were a weak and submissive generation; but evidently some of them were made of the same stuff as the men who threw the tea into Boston harbor. The Boston Tea Party conducted by the men has a match in the women's coffee party.

There were two differences, however: the women acted openly, without disguising themselves; and they did not waste the provisions, but utilized them.

A. S. B.

Still at Rheims

OF great interest to the United States delegates at the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva was the presence of Dr. Marie La Fort, who sat on her suitcase in the corridor of a train one whole night in order to bring to them the latest word of the work of the last remnant of the Women's Overseas Hospitals staff.

In the historic old Hospice of Saint Marcoul at Rheims, to which the newly crowned kings used to walk to lay their hands on the lepers, the American doctors who went over in the National American Woman Suffrage contingent are still bandaging the wounds of French soldiers and bringing help to hundreds of French women and children.

The hospital which has been taken over by the American Fund for French Wounded was to have been closed September first, but the pitiful appeals of the people of Rheims have secured another year's respite and the American women, Dr. La Fort, as director, Dr. Flood, Dr. Grant and Miss du Pont are to stay there, with a staff of ten nurses.

One of the ambulances given to the Overseas Hospitals has been presented to the town of Rheims and the hospital camions are still bringing back the refugees.

During the year 922 cases have been cared for in the hospital and in the dispensary 12,920, of which 5,152 were dental. There have been 225 births in the hospital during the year. One-half the work of the hospital has been with cases resulting from the war, wounds not yet healed, gas sufferers, malnutrition and accidents due to the exploding of grenades and shells which are still plentiful in the fields.

The old building, standing since 1645, has been remodeled with wards for men, women and children, and Dr. La Fort expressed the belief that it might become part of the permanent American memorial to France.

To Get Out the Vote

THOSE who love to ponder on the questions, "Did the women vote?" "How did they vote?" "Did more women vote than men?" will find their time well occupied until the elections in November if the "Every Woman a Voter in 1920 Drive," which has been launched by the National League of Women Voters, continues with the vigor and enthusiasm with which it has been started.

The League of Women Voters is not content to leave to the political parties the duty of getting out the vote. The League will see to it itself that the vote is gotten out. "We have our own message to give as we reach the women," says Mrs. George Gellhorn of St. Louis, Regional Director and Acting Director of Organization and Citizenship Schools of the National League of Women Voters.

The suggestions that have come into the office of the Director of Organization, and which have been passed on to the leaders in the various communities, offer a wide choice of activity as a means of interesting women in registration and later in voting. Picnics, boat rides, garden parties, barbecues are among the many devices suggested as useful in interesting women in their obligations and opportunities in citizenship.

It is also suggested that shortly before the day set for registration a house-to-house canvass be made by precinct workers. The workers will leave printed slips giving registration dates, location of registration offices, who must register, and even the telephone number to call in case further information is needed.

Before the final registration day a visit will be made to all who have not registered in order to get them to the polls. In the states where women are fully enfranchised records of candidates will be distributed both before and after the primaries.

A similar method is planned for reaching the women before election day.

Backing up all these measures will be publicity campaigns and talks from the pulpit. The movies and every other legitimate agency will be asked to aid in getting the women out to the polls.

"The citizenship schools are going forward at a rapid rate," says Mrs. Gellhorn, in reviewing that phase of suffrage activity.

"Many states have printed state manuals for the aid of the woman voter; records show that the following types of schools are being held: normal schools, district schools, county schools, and ward schools—no word of a precinct school has yet reached headquarters. Citizenship courses have been put into both state and privately endowed universities, into state teachers' colleges and normals, into night schools, and classes of American Citizenship into church, club, W. C. T. U., and every other kind of organization. Correspondence courses have been arranged by several states. But with all this, there is still much to do."

No Equity

THERE was a time, and a long time it was, when the government and the courts of the United States were arrayed against woman suffrage. So it was a historic day when the situation was reversed and the last survivor of those old days, snow-white of hair, reverend and trembling of mien, as hoary as the ideas he represented, rose to make the case for antisuffrage against the Secretary of State and the Attorney General of the United States.

On July 13 Everett P. Wheeler himself, before Justice Bailey in the District of Columbia Supreme Court, presented the American Constitutional League's brief for a bill to enjoin the Secretary of State from proclaiming the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment whenever the 36th state should ratify. There was

an enigmatic expression, which appeared now and again to deepen into an elusive smile, on the face of the judge and on the face of the representative of the Departments of Justice and State, the culprits brought to the bar of justice for an attack on the "framework of our government."

For an hour and a quarter Mr. Wheeler spoke, confining himself, on Judge Bailey's express recommendation, to the equity of the case. Occasionally the ardor of his feelings led him into discussion of suffrage as an abstract injustice to women, but for the most part through that hour and a quarter he confined himself to "the equity of the case."

His points against the amendment were three: (1) it violated state rights as safeguarded to the states by Amendments 9 and 10; (2) it violated the constitutional guarantee to the states of a republican form of government; (3) ratifications of Missouri and West Virginia were invalid and the ratification of Tennessee would be so on account of certain provisions in the state constitution. The latter constitutional point having already been passed upon by the Department of Justice, this fact made the department in a sense co-defendant with the Secretary of State.

Mr. Wheeler's citations to prove these points now ranged back to cases a hundred years ago, now leaped forward to modern cases as unprogressive in spirit. A favorite modern case in point was that North Carolina Boyd case on which the first Federal child labor law was thrown out.

The brief was read; the long task was done, the equity of the case was established. Mr. Wheeler paused, he spoke a few more words, he sat down.

The representative of the Department of Justice rose to his feet.

The judge waved him to sit down, asked Mr. Wheeler if he had anything more to say and, on his negative, then and there delivered his decision in about these words: "I will not pass on the law of the case. This court cannot go behind the ratification of 36 state Legislatures. *There is no equity in the case.*"

Don Quixote, it appeared, had been tilting at windmills.

The argument of the other side, prepared but not presented, made the point that the bill is premature as the 36th state has not ratified and no emergency calling for an injunction exists. Furthermore, the proclamation is a mere formality, since it is the 36 ratifications and not the proclamation that makes the amendment law.

The American Constitutional League will appeal.

Let it.

Regrettable

IT is to be regretted that Connecticut has not had a part in the inevitable victory for the suffrage cause, now espoused by Republican and Democratic leaders alike. A great forward step in the progress of mankind occurred when this, the mightiest nation in the world, eliminated the liquor traffic from our midst. Old Connecticut did not share in that glorious moral achievement. If we do not watch out, we may not share in this one. We are called a state of steady habits, but it is possible to be so steady in our habits that we are left behind in the onward march of human progress.

We smile when we think that women were one day not allowed to speak in church. It seems ludicrous that they should ever have been denied the privilege of higher education. I prophesy that before the present generation passes away it will seem equally funny that they were ever denied the right of suffrage. On ethical and religious grounds I support the suffrage movement.

ALFRED GRANT WALTON,

First Congregational Church, Stamford, Conn.

SUMMARY OF WOMAN'S POSITION IN NEWLY-ENFRANCHISED COUNTRIES.

Austria

Women have votes on the same terms as men. Two million women voted in January, 1919. There are eight women M.P.'s, twenty-two city councilors, one deputy mayor, and one hundred and twenty-six municipal councillors.

British East India

Women got votes and eligibility in 1919, on equal terms for white men and white women. They were enfranchised together.

Canada

Women have votes on equal terms. The Federal Amendment is not yet ratified. Women have not yet voted in federal elections, but have in state elections, where three women members of State Parliaments have been elected.

Crimea

(the first Mohammedan country to give votes to women). Women got votes on equal terms in December, 1917. Eighty-three per cent voted, and five women were elected, one of whom is Vice-President of the Diet.

Czecho-Slovakia

Women have votes on same terms as men. Thirteen women members are in the Lower House, and three in the Second Chamber.

Denmark

Municipal vote in 1908 and Parliamentary vote on equal terms in 1915. Women voted in 1918 and 1920 and they have now four women members in each House. They have passed a law for equal pay, equal admission to all posts, and equal status in marriage.

Estonia

Women have votes on same terms as men, and there are five women members of Parliament.

Germany

Women got votes on equal terms in 1918, eight weeks before the elections. Twenty million women are enfranchised, and 70 to 90 per cent have voted. They had thirty-nine M.P.s in last National Assembly, 155 in state Legislatures, and 4,000 city and municipal councillors. In the new elections thirty women have been elected to the Reichstag.

Great Britain

Women got votes on different terms and at a different age in 1918. They voted in 1918, and have one woman M.P. and many city and municipal councillors.

Holland (see Netherlands).

Hungary

Women got votes in November, 1918. All men have it at twenty-one, women, if they can read and write, have it at twenty-four. Having no Constitution, they fear they may lose it again. One woman was elected at a by-election. They have not yet got the municipal suffrage, as no municipal government at present exists, for men or women.

Iceland

Women have votes on equal terms, and it is part of the new Constitution. They have had city councillors for a long time, but have no woman member.

Lettonia

Men and women both got votes on equal terms in 1918. Five women have been elected to Parliament, and many to city councils.

Lithuania

Men and women both got votes on equal terms in 1920. Five women have been elected to Parliament.

Luxembourg

Women got votes on equal terms with men (at the age of twenty). They have voted twice, first in the Referendum, and then in the Elections. One woman is a member of Parliament.

Netherlands

Bill giving women votes on same terms (at twenty-five) passed in May, 1919, and received Royal Assent in September, 1919. One and a half million women are enfranchised. They have not voted yet, but will in 1922. They have, however, been eligible for some years, and both in 1916 and 1918 two women M.P.s were elected; one in each Chamber. They have eighty-eight women on city councils and some Aldermen (elected by men only).

Poland

Women have votes on equal terms with men, and eligibility.

Rhodesia

Women got votes on equal terms in 1919, and one woman M.P. has been elected.

Russia

Women got votes on equal terms during the first revolution, and several women served in Parliament and in the Cabinet.

Sweden

Women got votes on same terms in 1918, but it will not be ratified till after the Autumn elections. It will be through by February, 1921, and they will vote in the following Autumn. There will be about 1,600,000 women voters. At present there are about 400 city and municipal councillors.

Ukrania

Women and men got votes on equal terms in 1917. They voted in 1919, and nine women were elected to Parliament. Civil Service opened to both, and equal pay given.

United States

Federal Amendment giving votes in all states on equal terms has been passed, but is still awaiting ratification. Thirty-five states have ratified. One more is required. One woman has been a member of Congress.

In addition to these National Suffrage victories, several other advances have been reported:

Serbia has granted Municipal Suffrage to women.

Belgium has granted Municipal Suffrage to women.

Roumania has granted Municipal Suffrage to women.

Zionists of Palestine have full equal suffrage and eligibility.

The Commune of Fiume has granted full equal suffrage and eligibility.

Why Girls Do Not Pine to Be Farmers' Wives

ONE day last winter, while attending a hearing on the meat packers before the House Agriculture Committee, I found myself sitting next to a very attractive young woman, exceedingly well dressed and charming in appearance. The witness on the stand testifying for the packers was bemoaning the alarming decrease in the agricultural population and pointing out the disastrous results ahead if this were continued. He attributed this decline to the lure of high wages in the city.

My attractive neighbor, who seemed very much interested in the testimony, nodded her head in approval and said, "That's right. Something must be done to get them back to the farms. Things will be awful if we don't."

"You know why they don't and won't go back, don't you?" I asked.

"No, why?"

"Because the girls won't go back and those who are already there won't stay, because they know what life is for a farmer's wife. Do you blame them? Would you stay if you were in their place?"

"I would go and I would stay if I had conveniences," she replied.

"Yes, but if you didn't have them?" and then her husband, who represented the Institute of American Meat Packers, became nervous and took her away to the other side of the room.

We now have Miss Florence E. Ward, in charge of the extension work with women of the Department of Agriculture, to thank for giving us the results of recent investigations relating to women on farms, so that our statements may be backed by facts. The entire report is not yet published, but will be sent to State Chairmen of the League of Women Voters immediately upon publication. For the present I shall quote from one section which is sufficiently representative. Among 360 farms studied in Nebraska (a typical mid-western agricultural state) it was estimated that the work day was 61 per cent longer than that of the average city workers.

But listen to this! Only 30 per cent of the farm homes have running water and only 17 per cent are lighted by gas and electricity. Sixty-five per cent of the farm women carry the water used in the house an average distance of fifty-five feet.

BUT worse yet! Ninety-eight per cent still bake their own bread, 97 per cent do the family sewing, and 99 per cent the family washing and ironing.

Nor is this all. While less than 3½ per cent of the women on these farms work in the fields, 23 per cent of them help take care of live stock, 42 per cent help with the milking, 97 per cent wash the pails and 91 per cent wash the cream separator. Seventy-seven per cent make butter.

I am sure everyone who reads these statistics will be putting in an immediate application for one of Mr. Lane's farms.

Meanwhile, how can it be changed? The first step is to shorten the distance between the producer and the consumer, so the producer can secure better returns for his products on the one hand, and the consumer secure necessities at more reasonable prices. In addition the avenues of commerce must be opened so that they may function freely and free competition may reign.

But the land question, the question of transportation, of monopolies and trusts and combinations are still playing their part, and will continue to do so until we have an intelligent electorate which shall demand fundamental remedies through the power of the ballot. Unless this happens the wife of the packers' representative and others will long in vain for a general back-to-the-land movement.

JESSIE R. HAVER.

The Summer Peak of Infant Mortality

THE "summer peak" of infant deaths is now beginning. The conditions responsible for this "peak" are described in a series of studies of infant mortality made by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor in six industrial cities.

In Manchester, N. H., more babies died from gastro-intestinal diseases than from any other cause, the rate being 63 per 1,000 of the babies that were born alive. In August more deaths occurred from these diseases than occurred in any other month from all causes combined. Two-thirds of the babies in Manchester were born to foreign-born mothers, two-fifths to mothers who could not speak English, over one-sixth to illiterate mothers. Nearly half of them were in families where the father's earnings totaled less than \$650 a year, and over two-fifths were to mothers who were gainfully employed during the year following the baby's birth. Mothers who worked away from home were in most cases obliged to wean their babies, and did not understand the importance of care and cleanliness in giving artificial food. Only seldom did a mother report that she modified the baby's milk.

In Johnstown, Pa., Waterbury, Conn., and New Bedford, Mass., where similar conditions prevailed, the infant mortality rates for diseases of the digestive system were 32, 41 and 48 respectively.

In Saginaw, Mich., and Brockton, Mass., where the proportion of foreign-born, illiterate and gainfully employed mothers was comparatively low, and incomes more nearly adequate, artificial feeding when resorted to was more scientific. The infant mortality rates from gastro-intestinal diseases were only 8 and 12, respectively.

These reports emphasize the importance of family income and better domestic and municipal sanitation. But they indicate also the need of teaching mothers how to take care of babies. The lowest rates for each one of these cities were for breast-fed children, so that mothers should be taught first of all to nurse their babies. But, as several of the reports point out, the difference in rates for the artificially fed of different nationality and economic groups is almost as striking as the difference in rates between the breast and the artificially fed, due to the care, or lack of care, used in preparing the food.

Babies who perish because their mothers do not know how to take care of them, thus piling up the tall black monument of summer deaths, can be saved if baby health centers, a system of visiting nurses, and other forms of educational work are established. The infant mortality rate in cities where these measures have been tried has been markedly reduced.

Naturalize Women As Individuals

"THE Americanization Study, carried on during the past two years under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, addressed a questionnaire to the approximately 1,400 judges exercising jurisdiction over naturalization throughout the United States. This questionnaire asked among other things, for opinions, (1) as to the naturalization of foreign-born married women as individuals, regardless of the alienage of their husbands or their failure to obtain or refusal to seek citizenship. The opinion of the judges who replied (nearly 350 in number) is about two to one in favor of naturalization of women as individuals regardless of the citizenship of their husbands. (2) As to the retention of American citizenship despite marriage to aliens, of more than 360 who answered this question, the majority in the affirmative is not quite so large, but practically again two to one."

JOHN P. GAVITT.

Here Is the Eleventh-Hour Record

Where Is the Responsibility?

EVERYBODY agrees that there is political responsibility for the failure to get the 36th state on the ratification roll of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Both of the major parties are eager to claim credit. Neither will admit responsibility. Here is the eleventh-hour record. Who is to blame?

Party in Power in Legislatures

Republican
32

Democratic
16

Legislatures That Have Rejected

Republican
1

Democratic
7

Legislatures That Have Ratified

Republican
29

Democratic
6

Governors Who Have Called Special Sessions

Republican
16

Democratic
8

(Colorado, Missouri and Nevada have closely balanced Legislatures)

States Any One of Which Can End the Agony

Republican - - - 2
Vermont
Connecticut

Democratic - - - 4
North Carolina
Tennessee
Florida
Louisiana (Still in session)

Help from National Committee

Republican National Committee, June 1, Chicago:

"Whereas, the Republican National Committee at its regular meetings has repeatedly endorsed woman suffrage, and the nineteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, and has called upon the congress to pass, and the states to ratify, such amendment; and, whereas, such amendment still lacks ratification by a sufficient number of states to become a law; therefore be it

"Resolved, by the Republican National Committee, that the nineteenth constitutional amendment be, and the same is hereby again endorsed by this committee, and such Republican states as have not already done so are now urged to take such action by their governors and their Legislatures as will assure the ratification of such amendment and establish the right of equal suffrage at the earliest possible time."

Suffrage Plank (adopted at Chicago):

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in states which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country.

Help from National Committee

Democratic National Committee, May 30:

"The committee calls on Legislatures of the various states for special session, if necessary, to ratify woman suffrage, when the constitutional amendment is passed by Congress, to enable women to vote at the Presidential election in 1920."

San Francisco, June 26. To Governor Roberts of Tenn.:

"The Democratic national committee at its meeting held today by unanimous vote directed me, as chairman of the committee, to send you the following message:

"We most earnestly emphasize the extreme importance and urgency of an immediate meeting of your state Legislature for the purpose of ratifying the proposed nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

"We trust that for the present all other legislative matters may, if necessary, be held in abeyance and that you will call an extra session of the Legislature of your state for such brief duration as may be required to act favorably on the amendment. Tennessee occupies a position of peculiar and pivotal importance and one that enables her to render a service of incalculable value to the women of America. We confidently expect, therefore, under your leadership and through the action of the Legislature of your state, that the women of the nation may be given the privilege of voting in the coming presidential election.

"HOMER S. CUMMINGS,
Chairman National Committee."

Suffrage Plank (adopted at San Francisco):

We endorse the proposed Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the Legislatures of thirty-five states which have already ratified said amendment, and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such states as have not yet ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth state in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the fall election. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

Cooperation of Party Leader—Senator Harding:

"I need not tell you of my interest in the consummation of Woman Suffrage. I voted for it in the Senate, and a vote records a Senator's purpose quite as faithfully as anything he may do.

"Nothing would please me more than to have ratification made effective to give American womanhood full participation in the elections of next November. This desire, sincerely spoken, does not conflict with my determination that I could not with propriety attempt to force any state executive to hasten action in violation of his own sense of duty.

"If any state executive should ask my opinion about extraordinary efforts to consummate suffrage, I frankly will commend the thing you desire, but I cannot impose a demand, though I personally hope to see women's suffrage and women's full participation established at an early date."

Senator Harding after conferring with Governor Clement:

"I told the Governor frankly that if my advice were wanted I would be glad to see Vermont Republicans close up the great franchise reform. The women throughout the nation are deeply interested in the national campaign and the ratification must be closed soon if they are universally to participate in the Federal election."

Responses from Pivotal States

"My conception of the constitutional limitation of the authority of the governor compels me to decline to call a special session."
—Governor Holcomb of Conn.

"I have been calling on Senator Harding and we discussed the State of the Union agreeably, you can be sure, and we discussed suffrage ratification by Vermont. Our State Republican convention asked me to call the extra session. Chairman Hays has urged it on behalf of the National Committee and many requests came to me from delegates to the National Convention. Naturally, I wanted Senator Harding's views and he suggested an early call. My reluctance is due to a feeling that Vermont prefers to change the fundamental laws very deliberately. We can only change our state constitution by one direct appeal to the people and the favorable action of two Legislatures. We are reluctant, therefore, to ratify by a Legislature which was elected at a time when suffrage was not an issue."
—Governor Clement of Vt.

With a Friendly Legislature

Rutland, Vt., July 8.—Governor Clement, returning home here today for the first time since his conference in Washington with Senator Harding regarding a special session of the Vermont Legislature to make possible ratifications of the Woman Suffrage Amendment, said he was still undecided as to a special sessions.

"That Washington matter was given altogether too much publicity," he added.

Rutland, Vermont, July 12.—"Governor Clement has issued a proclamation announcing his refusal to call the Vermont Legislature in special session to make possible ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment."
—*Press Dispatch.*

In doing this Governor Clement arrogates to himself authority superior to the Federal Constitution of the United States, authority superior to the Republican party in national committee and in national convention, and places himself in direct opposition to the obvious conviction of the people of Vermont. Through their legislators the people of Vermont have signified their desire to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Governor Clement himself says that a majority of the members of the Vermont Legislature stand pledged to ratify. The legislators of Vermont represent the people of Vermont.

Cooperation of Party Leader—President Wilson:

"It would be a real service to the party and to the nation if it is possible for you, under the peculiar provisions of your state constitution, having in mind the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case, to call a special session of the Legislature of Tennessee to consider the suffrage amendment. Allow me to urge this very earnestly."
—*Telegram sent to Governor Roberts of Tennessee, by the President.*

"I am sure I need not point out to you the critical importance of the action of your great state in the matter of suffrage amendment."
—*President's telegram to Governor Bickett of N. C.*

Governor Cox

Dayton, Ohio, July 7.—Governor James M. Cox, the Democratic candidate for President, today wired Frank J. Looney, chairman of the Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee, as follows:

"I can only express my opinion. It is that the Legislature owes it as a duty to the Democratic Party to ratify at once."

Responses from Pivotal States

"I will call the session in ample time for the women to vote in the 1920 elections."
—*Governor Roberts of Tenn.*

"I hope that the Tennessee Legislature will meet and ratify the amendment and thus make immediate action by North Carolina unnecessary.

"We have neither the time nor the money, and such action on the part of Tennessee would save this state the feeling of bitterness that would surely be engendered by debate on the subject that would come up in our Legislature.

"I have said all I intend to say on the subject of ratification. While I will take my medicine, I will never swear that it tastes good, for it doesn't."
—*Governor Bickett of N. C.*

With a Hostile Legislature

Baton Rouge, La., July 8.—A motion to suspend the rules of the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature so as to permit action on the suffrage amendment before adjournment of the session was defeated by a vote of 52 to 46.

The attempt to get the proposition before the Legislature failed, despite the receipt by the chairman of the state Democratic party of a telegram from James M. Cox, the Democratic nominee for President, in which he urged immediate passage of the amendment, saying that "the Legislature owed such action to the Democratic party."

Have You a Little Psychic in Your Make-up?

ALL the world loves the psychic. At least if it doesn't it hates it with that fury which is love turned wrong side out.

Or, at least, it turns a listening ear and says, "There may be something in it after all. A woman I met last week told me that a man she knew had a friend, etc."

There seems to be no mere neutrals. Of those who politely invite conviction, Mr. Booth Tarkington in his preface to Mrs. May Wright Sewall's "Neither Dead nor Sleeping" (Bobbs Merrill Co.) has put himself on record. Indeed Mr. Tarkington says that those who refuse to be convinced are like some people by the name of Smith who lived in Topeka, Kansas, and would never hear about anything outside the state of Kansas. They wouldn't believe there was anything.

Of the habitual seekers in the spirit world none is more committed or convinced than is Mrs. May Wright Sewall, honorary president of the National Council of Women.

In her book appears what is undoubtedly one of the most astonishing records of post-mortem contacts ever believed in by a human being. There is no slightest doubt but that she herself believes sincerely that she has been for years in constant communion with the other world, and that through the ministrations of the spirits, her husband and others, she was guided into the use of supernormal powers by which she accomplished prodigies of work and overcame disease.

In the beginning of her long communications with the dead, Mrs. Sewall had recourse to all the old crude mechanism of spiritualism, such as independent slate writing, trumpet communications, spirit photographs and manifestations through mediums.

Her husband died in 1895 and the first of his message communications to her came through a trumpet at a spiritualist camp meeting at Lily Dale, New York, two years later.

All of the earlier spiritualistic manifestations to which Mrs. Sewall turned a listening mind are among those which the Seybert Commission had exposed ten years earlier.

THE Report of the Seybert Commission on Spiritualism (J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia) has recently been reprinted because of the recrudescence of interest in psychic phenomena. This commission headed by Dr. Horace Howard Furness, the great Shakspearean scholar, was not intended to persecute and drive out spiritualism but was instituted at the request of Mr. Henry Seybert, an enthusiastic believer in modern spiritualism, who left a fund to the University of Pennsylvania for purposes of investigation into "all systems of morals, religion or philosophy which assume to represent the truth and particularly of modern spiritualism."

The personnel of the commission was chosen for its freedom from bias, the acting chairman, Dr. Furness, confessing to a leaning towards psychic interests.

As a counselor the Commission had the services of Mr. Thomas Hazard, a spiritualistic friend of Mr. Seybert.

During the years from 1885-87 all of the best known mediums were investigated as well as most of the accepted methods of occult communication. Not one shred of authentic fact for belief in such communication was found by this commission. On the contrary the most barefaced fraud was discovered in the practices of nearly every professional psychist.

Slate writing in particular was in no case verified as in good faith.

The very things upon which Mrs. Sewall based her conversion

Mrs. Sewall and the Seybert Commission

to a belief in her husband's presence were those to which the commission gave its closest attention but without any convincing experience.

In the summing up of the committee's work, Dr. Furness says, "Although I have been thus thwarted at every turn in my investigation of spiritualism and found fraud where I had looked for honesty, and emptiness where I had hoped for fulness, I cannot think it right to pass a verdict, universal in its application, where far less than the universe of spiritualism has been observed. My field of examination has been limited. There is an outlying region claimed by spiritualists which I have not touched."

What is in this outlying region?

Some of it is touched upon in the latter half of Mrs. Sewall's book, by far the more remarkable part.

IN this she claims that her husband, Anton Rubinstein and Père Condé, the latter acting as spiritual physician, guided her by daily directions so that she worked through long stretches without sleep or food and was able to work without consciousness of fatigue. In fact she grew stronger as she fasted. These things were accomplished by communications of magnetic force from the "etheric plane." Under the dictation of these guides she wrote the records of what they taught her. To be sure when one reads them dispassionately they do not seem to give astonishing new light.

But the facts of her fasting and her cure from Bright's disease by psychic means should be ascertainable. Either she did achieve power and direction from some source to perform incredible things or she was self-deceived. The residual contribution in her book to the world is the value of Mrs. Sewall's own testimony. These communications from a great musician, however grotesque they may sound to the public, were convincing to her. They have what the theologians term experiential value. Religions have always banked on experience and no one can say that Mrs. Sewall did not cure a grave malady by following the directions of Père Condé.

So there remains in this discussion of psychic phenomena personal testimony for whatever it may be worth.

IN Mrs. Hester Travers Smith's *Voices from the Void* (E. P. Dutton & Co.), there is a similar weight of testimony. The author is the daughter of Sir Edward Dowden, literary critic and Shakspearean scholar. Most of her psychic experiments were performed by means of a ouija board or automatic writing.

The author is evidently a woman of probity and endeavors to give a fair account of her experiments, most of which were carried on blindfolded and by people of high standing, without professional mediums. All of these people thought themselves open-minded and eager to ascertain facts.

One experience which must rest for its value upon the character of these who witnessed it was a communication from Sir Hugh Lane who was lost on the Lusitania. As he was drowning and while no one present at the psychic sitting knew that he was amongst the Lusitania's passengers he sent a message telling of his dying condition and giving instructions about the disposition of his valuable collections.

That this communication was received before word of the Lusitania's sinking reached England was testified to by several who were present when it came.

Mrs. Travers-Smith is a careful writer. She warns people generally against the use of the ouija board and against psychic

experimentation. She believes most of the so-called messages are inexplicable upon some basis of sub-conscious mental activities even when they are genuine. But she records circumstances which she finds explicable in no other way than by communications from the dead.

There remains therefore the element of personal testimony from creditable witnesses as one of the few substantial reasons for conceding to Mr. Tarkington's plea for fair play to the psychics.

"Certain men have said that they have evidence of survival, and some of these men are scientists.

"There is no doubt that these men believe the evidence, and their critics, unable to assail their sincerity, attack them upon the point of gullibility. But this leads a person of open mind to suspect the critics of a gullibility of their own, that is, that they may be galled by their prejudices.

"Only levity sneers at them now, at these patient men who have sought truth in the dust heap.

"They have not yet failed, neither have they shown the truth—if they have found it—so that all men may see and know that it is indeed truth."

THERE is another aspect than that of testimony which remains as a factor to be reckoned with in any weighing of values concerning communications from beyond. That is the unsolved riddle of personality. Professor Hoffding in his *History of Philosophy*, grants that when the last word has been said on philosophic questions, there will always be left the unexplained mystery of personality.

When a vivid soul like Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's goes out of life, it is unthinkable that there should be no continuance of that blending of qualities which marked her as an individual.

This continuance of personality is the basic theme of Mrs. Desmond Humphreys's *The Truth of Spiritualism* (J. B. Lippincott).

She does not ask at all that any one accept such demonstrations as convinced Mrs. Sewall. She finds these all crude and belittling to the subject.

She considers spiritualism—the belief in uninterrupted life after death—as a high form of religion. She finds convincing proof of this continuing life even in the many trivial messages that have come through. Mrs. Humphreys piles up no scientific argument whatsoever and her plea for personality as a compelling factor in spiritualistic belief is not worked out logically. Yet one feels that here if anywhere must rest the case for spiritualism, the only ground that gives it any dignity. It is a more compelling presentation than the rubbishy messages usually given by controls.

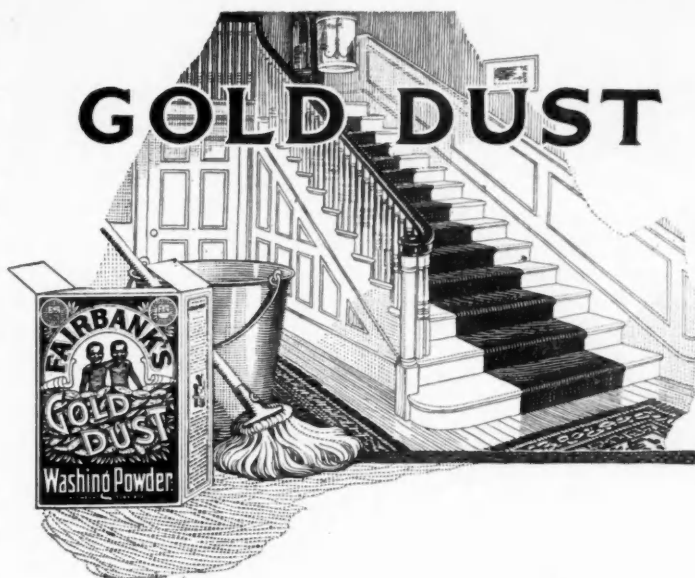
Unless some deep craving of the human soul demands immortality, humanity will not believe though one come back from the dead.

"Perhaps the longing to be so,
Helps make the Soul immortal."

Divorce in Italy

THE women of Italy who stand for equality of the sexes are planning to enter a formal protest against the divorce law which is to be presented to Parliament for adoption, on the ground that the law discriminates against women. The law, the first of its kind in Italy, provides for divorce for the returned soldier who finds that his wife has been unfaithful during his absence. It makes provision, also, for divorce on the ground of childlessness, insanity and disease. But it makes no provision for women to obtain divorce even on similar grounds.

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OF course when you clean your woodwork you want a cleanser that contains soap—a good deal of soap. You want a quick, thorough cleansing agent—and yet a gentle, velvety cleansing agent, *without a particle of grit*—like Gold Dust. Follow this simple Gold Dust recipe. Learn for yourself how quickly—how cleansingly—soapy Gold Dust takes care of your very best woodwork:

Dissolve a tablespoonful of Gold Dust in a little hot water. Add this soapy Gold Dust mixture to a full pail of warm water. Dip a soft, clean cloth in this water. Then lightly rub the surface to be cleaned. *Rinse* with clear warm water. Then finish with soft, dry cloth.

For unpainted floors, porches, etc., use more Gold Dust and a scrubbing brush or mop.

Now notice that fresh, clean smell! And see how spotless and new it looks!

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Let the Gold Dust



Twins do your work



The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

LESSON XV

WHEN one reads that one of the first acts of the Turkish Nationalists under Kemel Pasha was to establish a ministry of education, the fact is emphasized that the United States has never had a Minister of Education, that is, a cabinet officer whose business is to preside over the educational system of this nation.

We have a Federal Bureau of Education, but this is a subdivision of a department and accounted a union subdivision at that.

The Turkish Nationalists on the other hand, established Halideh Hanoum, one of the most highly educated of modern Turkish women, as Minister of Education almost as soon as Kemel Pasha began to make claims as a separate Turkish power.

The same was true of Kerensky's provisional government in Russia which also saw an educational department as one of the first requisites of a state.

This shows something of the respect with which a Department of Education is generally looked upon in modern governments.

Recently a separate department has been urged in this country with a secretary of education in the President's Cabinet. It is suggested that this secretary should be a woman, since 80% of the teaching force of the United States is feminine.

It is true that education in this nation has always been very largely controlled by the several states. Under the Ordinance of 1787 the states were urged by Congress to encourage education.

With unequal results the states have done so, yet not without federal aid. Beginning with Ohio in 1802, each new state admitted to the Union was given one section in each township for the support of elementary schools, and those admitted after 1850 were given two sections in each township.

THE Federal Bureau of Education is a division of the Department of the Interior. At the Bureau's head is a commissioner whose duties are many.

One of them is to collect statistics as to the condition and progress of education in the various states and in foreign lands; another, to diffuse information respecting the organization and management of school systems

The Departments of the Interior and of Agriculture

When Uncle Sam is the nation's schoolmaster, when he is the "weather man" and when he helps the housewife.

and methods of teaching, and in general to promote the cause of education throughout the country.

His functions are chiefly advisory to the states, since these control their own school systems, and are severally responsible for the degree of attainment to which they have arrived.

The Commissioner of Education is also charged with administering the funds appropriated for the support of the Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. He is responsible for the supervision of education in Alaska and for what seems a totally unrelated matter—the reindeer industry in that country.

Here is seen one of the confusions of government departmentalism—the whole question of responsibility for education being scattered through the branches of government.

The technical schools for training soldiers and sailors are, as we learned last week, under the departments of War and Navy.

The schools for teaching the Indians are under the Department of the Interior, but Indian schools are not under the Commissioner of Education, but under the Bureau of Indian affairs, which maintains some 300 reservation schools, besides twenty-five Indian schools, the most famous being those at Hampton, Va. and Carlisle, Pa.

AGRICULTURAL colleges, which are frequently experiment stations in animal husbandry, in plants and soils and work therefor, in conjunction with the Federal Department of Agriculture, are assisted in each of the states by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior. Funds for them are granted through the disposal of public lands which are under the control of the largest division of the Department of the Interior, the General Land Office.

Under the Morrill Act of 1862, 10,000,000

acres of land were given to the states for the establishment of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts. This same department has assisted in the establishment of schools and state universities. In some of the more recently admitted states from one to four townships were given by the federal government for the establishment of state universities. Six states which were admitted to the Union between 1889 and 1900, received 23,000,000 acres for this purpose.

Congress also appropriates annually the sum of \$25,000 to each state (or territory) for the benefit of an agricultural college.

Thus it may easily be seen that it would need a guide book to mark the various departments through which Uncle Sam functions as a schoolmaster.

He offers a practical education to the adults of the country in a thousand ways. Take one only, the Bureau of Entomology, which is a part of the Department of Agriculture.

Do you want to know how to get rid of the rose bugs which destroyed your best June roses or the currant worms which threatened your crop of jelly? You have only to write to the Department of Agriculture or to the nearest state agricultural college and you will get practical scientific directions by return mail. Every time you smack a mosquito at your summer camp you might recall the Bureau of Entomology which has done some remarkable things with the mosquito problem.

If you want to drain your summer camp, spray your trees, get rid of vermin on your poultry, test your soil as a crop producer, or put up your pickles, the Secretary of Agriculture stands ready to give you the same high grade of information your expert neighbor acquired when he took a course in agriculture at Cornell or New Brunswick.

THE Departments of Agriculture and of the Interior are related to you at every turn. They are almost as closely related to each other as are those of War and Navy, since both deal with the natural resources of the country.

Under the Department of Agriculture the forests of the country are preserved. This service has charge of the national forest reserves which now amount to about 190,000,000 acres.

The Department of Agriculture has charge of the forest patrols, a police force of rangers who prevent disastrous fires and thefts of lumber. This service also replants large areas with trees suitable to the climate and soil of the region.

All other public lands come under the charge of the General Land Office. This has control of the national parks and reservations. The reclamation service of the department restores arid soil by irrigation.

The Land Office opens up the question of how land came to be the property of the nation, instead of the property of the states, a question which introduces the subject of territorial rights and makes a big chapter in itself.

Under this division of the public domain, which was once controlled by the Treasury Department, but was transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1849, the United States has distributed an empire. Some of it was sold at a nominal price to early settlers or given as bounties for military or naval service. Some of it has been given to corporations for the purpose of aiding railroad construction, or as grants to aid improvements in the various states, such as education.

There still remained to the United States, as late as 1916, a vast estate of 700,000,000 acres of public lands, more than one-half of it in Alaska.

By the Homestead Act, it has been provided that any adult citizen of the United States, who is the head of a family and not already the proprietor of 160 acres of land, is entitled to enter a quarter section of unappropriated land and may acquire title to it by maintaining his residence upon it, improving and cultivating it for a period of three years and by paying a nominal fee.

Efforts have been made to provide soldiers returned from the World War with public lands.

UNDER the control of the Department of the Interior is the soldiers pension fund. The Commissioner of Pensions, aided by two deputy commissioners, supervises and decides claims for pensions on account of military or naval services.

During its existence and before the end of the great World War in November, 1918, the United States had disbursed over four and one-half billions of dollars in pensions for military and naval services. By far the greatest part of this enormous expenditure of the Nation's funds was in Civil War pensions—the sum being \$4,294,596,944.47.

It is stated that in the importance and diversity of its business, the Department of the Interior ranks as one of the greatest of the executive departments.

It is one of the older divisions of the federal government, dating from 1849. The Department of Agriculture was begun as a bur-

eau, with a commissioner, in 1862, but it was not until 1889 that it was raised to the rank of a cabinet department with a secretary at its head.

It is now a very important department and bids fair to become more so as the questions of food production and distribution become more intense.

Under the Secretary of the Interior, in addition to the bureaus enumerated, Land Office, Education, Pensions and Reclamation, there are several other important bureaus, such as the patent office; the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which has had control of Indian reservations, of trust funds, of Indian educational matters; the Bureau of Mines; of Geological and Land Surveys. The Department of the Interior also supervises certain hospitals and charitable institutions in the District of Columbia.

The Department of Agriculture touches the daily lives of all the inhabitants of the United States every day in the year through its weather bureau. When the thermometer mounts higher and higher and the "weather man" is relentless about a cool wave, it is really the Department of Agriculture which is being berated by a suffering public.

This bureau renders an important service to agriculturists in forecasting storms. Meteorological observations are taken at over two hundred stations and the information is forwarded to Washington, where weather predictions for the succeeding day or week are made.

This Department also aids the farmer through the publication of technical bulletins. It safeguards the public by inspecting domestic meat and food products. It maintains bureaus of chemistry, of soils, of statistics, of biological survey, an office of experiment stations, of publications, of public roads.

It should be the housewife's best friend as it is the farmer's best friend.

Pilgrim Mothers

AFESTIVAL of the Pilgrim Mothers was held this week by the Women's Freedom League of England in commemoration of the part the Pilgrim Mothers played in the heroic struggle for religious freedom. The affair took the form of a brilliant garden fête at Hampstead on July 22, the three-hundredth anniversary of the sailing of the Mayflower from England. On November 21 of that same year the Pilgrims landed at Provincetown, Massachusetts. Readings from Longfellow's *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, and talks on the Pilgrims featured the program. Remembering the fact that no Pilgrim Mother's name was appended to the Civil Contract which was drawn up and signed by forty-one Pilgrim Fathers when the Mayflower landed in America, a model parliamentary election was held during the evening to emphasize the right of modern women to full partnership in contracts of citizenship.

Kentucky's Achievement

THE *American Child*, organ of the National Child Labor Committee, characterizes the child welfare legislation of Kentucky in 1920 as "one of the outstanding achievements of recent years in matters pertaining to social advance." A field study of the condition of children in Kentucky was made by the National Child Labor Committee in 1919 at the request of the governor and various recommendations were made for remedial legislation. The enactments and amendments by this year's Legislature preserve the letter or the spirit of these recommendations.

In education the legislation includes compulsory physical education, schoolhouses as community centers, vocational education, consolidation of county schools, minimum salary of \$75 a month for teachers, and higher requirements for certification, a higher minimum tax rate for schools, better school buildings, a new compulsory school law and measures that will help take the executive school personnel out of politics and improve its quality. Other measures are greatly increased appropriations for education and for health work, one of the best child labor laws in the south and the appointment of a commission to survey the schools, and of a children's code commission.

Convinced

LEADERS in the political parties in Massachusetts are convinced that the thirty-sixth state will ratify in time for the women to participate in the presidential elections and to that end are working to get out a record registration of women. Under a legislative act of 1920 provision was made for the registration of women in anticipation of the final adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Both major parties are using a house to house canvass, flyers and literature to acquaint the women with their new duties.

The chairman of the Republican State Committee has issued a letter to all chairmen of Republican city and town committees stating "Woman suffrage will be a fact by the time the committees elected at the September primary begin to function." He urges, therefore, that women be given a liberal representation on all ward and town committees, and suggests that women be sent as delegates to the Republican state convention in September.

First Daily Newspaper

THE first daily newspaper in the world is said to have been established by a woman, Miss Elizabeth Mallette, in London, March, 1702. She published and edited the *Daily Courant*, which she founded for the purpose of doing greater justice for women.

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Organization Notes

In Vermont

THE result of a poll of the legislators of Vermont regarding their attitude on ratification as reported at the thirty-seventh convention of the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association, July 1, at St. Albans, by Mrs. Lilian H. Olzendam, Chairman of Ratification, shows that the "Favorables" are in the majority in both houses. Only the continued refusal of the Governor to call the special session stands in the way of the great triumph.

It was a rousing convention. Just after the mass meetings came the news from Washington that Governor Clement had indicated his intention of calling a special session. This, together with the knowledge of the certain result, caused wild rejoicing among the suffragists. "Prospects for favorable action were never so bright as they are just at this minute," Mrs. Olzendam told the delegates. The shadow of the later unfavorable decision by the Governor was not at the time visible. That that decision was very much in the nature of a revocation of an almost avowed decision is shown by the certainty with which the press of Vermont viewed the session as about to be called. Meantime something or somebody intervened to swing Governor Clement back into line with his earlier position. Who or what that was remains to be seen.

GOVERNOR JOHN H. BARTLETT of New Hampshire was the honor guest at the convention. In his address, the New Hampshire governor spoke of the friendly relations existing between himself and Governor Clement and of the various talks they had had when suffrage played a prominent part in the conversation. He told of the prediction he had made to the Vermont Governor that sooner or later he would have to respond to the insistent demand of public sentiment and call a session of the Legislature to pass upon the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Governor Bartlett further said he had advised Governor Clement to jump into the suffrage pond, that he would find the water fine once he got in.

The New Hampshire Governor prophesied that everything would come out right and that Governor Clement would finally do the right thing by calling the special session.

"In closing," says a press dispatch from Vermont, "Governor Bartlett made his only allusion to party politics when he declared that he was a Republican and wanted to see the solid North with solid old Vermont have the honor of emancipating the women in their fight for political freedom and not the solid South and Tennessee. But party affiliations aside, he declared he was willing to belong to any party which would make the grand old flag prouder or the country a bit more secure. He said he believed that this was the stand any patriotic

American would take whether Republican or Democrat, man or woman. He believed in suffrage because it was fundamentally right that all those who must be governed participate in that government."

Before going to Vermont to accept the invitation to address the suffrage gathering Governor Bartlett consulted Governor Clement in regard to his feelings in the matter. Governor Clement's telegraphed reply was "I shall be glad to have you—Regret to be unable to hear you." National Republican Chairman Hays also urged Governor Bartlett's attendance at the session.

THE struggle the women of Connecticut have had was brought out during a talk by Miss Katherine Ludington, President of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association and Regional Director for the League of Women Voters. Miss Ludington gave a graphic report of Connecticut conditions and urged the women to continue the struggle until victory crowned their efforts.

Although Governor Clement could not be present at the convention, there were a number of state executives of prominence present at the gathering. Among those seated on the platform beside Governor John H. Bartlett, of New Hampshire, were Mayor Charles A. Buck, M. H. Alexander, Dr. George Mitchell, George T. Catlin, Nelson Goodspeed, W. D. Chandler, Charles E. Schoff, of St. Albans; Harry A. Black, secretary of state, of Montpelier, W. H. Fairchild, ex-senator of the state, of Fairfield, Curtis Emery, of Newport, candidate for the Republican nomination for governor; W. A. Myers of Burlington, State Forester W. G. Hastings, of Montpelier, Mrs. L. K. Thomas, of Richford, Anne Batchelder, of Burlington, Mrs. Lilian H. Olzendam, of Woodstock, Miss Katharine Ludington, of Connecticut, director of League of Women Voters; Mrs. Julia A. Pearce, of Rochester, and Mrs. Annette Parmalee, of Enosburg Falls.

Mayor Buck extended the freedom of the city to the Association and to Governor Bartlett, saying he would hail the time, which he believed was near at hand, when the women of the United States would have full and equal suffrage. The response of welcome was given by Mrs. E. H. Reade, acting president, who spoke in the absence of Dr. Marion Horton, President of the state association, who was unable to be present.

The address of the mass meeting which was listened to with most vivid interest was that of Mrs. Olzendam who is guiding the ratification activities. She told forcefully of the work done in Vermont and the pressure which had been brought to bear upon Governor Clement to induce him to call a special session of the Legislature. She gave facts and figures to prove that

Organization Notes

Vermont stands ready to ratify the moment the Governor will call the session.

During the course of the convention the delegates took several opportunities to express in applause and in words their keen appreciation of Mrs. Olzendam's work as Chairman of the Ratification Committee and of the inspiration that she had been to all of them to forge ahead. Similar appreciation of her work and ability was expressed by politicians and men of prominence present at the gathering. It was not surprising that she should be unanimously elected chairman of the Vermont League of Women Voters.

Miss Anne Batchelder, a prominent Vermont suffrage worker, told of the strenuous work the suffragists had carried out during the past months and years.

A resolution passed at the mass meeting called upon Governor Clement to call a special session of the Legislature before August 9th, that Vermont might have the honor of being the thirty-sixth state.

At the morning session a number of matters came up for discussion. One thing that was decided upon was the necessity of having a factory inspector in Vermont. It was voted to have a woman on the boards of all state institutions where women are confined.

Mr. William Dudley Pelley was elected Chairman of Publicity and Miss Anne Batchelder, Chairman of Finance.

In Connecticut

THE women of Connecticut are going steadily forward with their preparations for the ballot, Governor Holcomb to the contrary notwithstanding. This week at Willimantic a successful Citizenship Institute was held under the direction of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. The principal speakers were Mr. A. B. Meredith, Secretary of the State Board of Education; Miss Mary McDowell, of Chicago, Chairman of the Women in Industry Committee of the National League of Women Voters; Miss Gertrude Folks of New York City, rural education expert of the National Child Labor Committee; Mr. Edwin Davies Schoonmaker, who lectured on the League of Nations, and Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker, who lectured on Political Parties and Elections. Mayor Gates of Willimantic welcomed the "scholars."

Among the women in charge of the Institute

were included the following Vermonters: Miss Rosamond Danielson, Putnam; Mrs. F. U. Johnstone, Woodstock; Mrs. Otton Robinson and Miss Ora Clark, Willimantic.

In Illinois

WITH the slogan "Every Woman at the Polls in November," the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association is driving forward in the effort to bring about a record-breaking registration and vote by the women of that state this fall.

The campaign includes women of all parties and is being conducted from a strictly patriotic standpoint. The state is to be thoroughly circularized by pledge cards reading: "Peace Patriotism is as important as War Patriotism. Therefore, I Will Demonstrate My Patriotism by Voting for My Country at the Presidential Election in November." The effort is being made to convince the women that a voter who does not endeavor to make intelligent use of the ballot is a slacker both in citizenship and patriotism. By the time this educational drive is over, the workers hope to have made voting so popular in Illinois that "getting into politics" will be considered not only the duty but the privilege of every citizen.

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, State Chairman of this campaign, says: "In war we fight to defend our Government. In peace we vote to maintain our Government. It is self-evident that those who vote will control the country and those who do not will have to submit and should do so without complaining if they voluntarily exile themselves into the non-voting, non-effective class of citizens."

The organization will extend down to wards, precincts and blocks, and the work will be divided under the following committees: Organization, Finance, Press, Publicity, Schools, Moving Pictures, Ward, Church and Foreign Groups, Speakers Bureau, Resolutions, Conventions, Business and Professional Women and Epigrams.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN view of the reluctance of some states to ratify the Suffrage Amendment would it not be well to ascertain the willingness of the Presidential candidates to make all federal appointments, where possible, from states which are real democracies.

Fulton, N. Y.

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Organization Notes

In South Carolina

NO sooner was the League of Women Voters born in South Carolina, June 29th, than it developed from a precocious infant to a full grown adult almost overnight with a program of work that would stagger the most seasoned veteran.

Mrs. Frederick Munsell, of Columbia, newly elected chairman, in announcing the plan of work for the coming year said that the League would first of all concentrate until the fall election upon the educational program, holding citizenship schools in every section of the state.

Immediately after the close of the state convention the delegates met to put their program in operation and to prepare themselves for their new duties and responsibilities as a League of Women Voters by attending the first citizenship school to be held in the state. This was held at the State University in Columbia in co-operation with that institution.

Miss Marie B. Ames, of St. Louis, National Field Director of the League of Women Voters, conducted the school, assisted by Dean Baker and other members of the faculty. Twice a day the women assembled to learn "The History and Growth of Political Parties," "How Political Parties Operate," "Analysis of the Democratic and Republican Platforms of 1920," "How a President is Elected," "How you can secure legislation in So. Carolina," "State and Local Government in its relation to the Home," and "Legislative Program of the League of Women Voters."

That women from all sections of the state might have an opportunity to attend school this summer the school at the State University was immediately followed by a two weeks' course at Winthrop College, the state and normal college for girls. In addition to the regular summer course this short course is conducted for the women of the state each year. This year the most popular subject is "citizenship." Women, who in previous years have been interested only in domestic science gathered this year to learn all about government and political parties. The lectures are given by Dr. James E. Walmsley of the faculty and Miss Marie Ames and are similar to those given in Columbia.

One woman attending the citizenship course is the mother of nine children. She wishes to "keep up with the children," and is fitting herself to return home and discuss intelligently with them the party platforms and the coming election. Another woman is attending with her daughter and together they appear at the classes and lectures. The husbands too, are showing a keen interest in the political education of their wives, many driving to Rock Hill to spend Sunday with them at the College.

"Winthrop College," said Mrs. Munsell at

the opening of the Citizenship Course, "is the most wonderful institution in the South and its influence is the most far reaching. The esprit de corps among the students and the way in which they carry the message of a new era for women, a better home and a better community into the highways and byways of the state is more evident every year. Furthermore, the suffrage movement in the last few years has done much to awaken the civic, social and political consciousness of the students and of the women.

In Minnesota

THE Minnesota League of Women Voters, having completed its organization by Congressional Districts has begun through these districts to organize its 86 counties. Miss Gladys Harrison, Executive Secretary of the State League, reports 75 appointments of county chairmen already made and that 68 of these are already functioning.

A conference of chairmen of counties was called July 15th in Minneapolis at the Curtis Hotel where the problems of county organization were well aired and the importance of getting out a big vote in November and responsibility for the same laid upon the County Chairmen.

The Conference was a huge success. Outside the two cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, 42 counties sent representatives, ten district chairmen attended the meeting and all but one of the special committee chairmen of the League. Interested women came into the conference and 150 women attended the luncheon and all day sessions.

From four to six o'clock a garden party in honor of the county chairmen was given at the residence of Mrs. Andreas Ueland on Calhoun Boulevard.

An interesting feature of the affair was the fact that three women prominent in the League from other states were present and took part in the discussion; Mrs. Clifton A. Verner, Chairman, Allegheny County, Pa., Mrs. C. C. Sadler, the newly appointed Chairman of the recently formed Montana League, and Mrs. G. Kinney, Secretary of the Arkansas League of Women Voters.

It is felt by the Minnesota officers that the getting together of county chairmen for conference is invaluable both to them and to the state board. Many of the chairmen were so appreciative of the fact that they stayed over another day and held many consultations on finance, press, organization work with the League's specialists at the State Headquarters, 321 Meyers Arcade. Minnesota expects to hold such Conferences four times a year.

VIVIAN STANLEY THORP.

Correspondence

As a Vermonter

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

AS a Vermonter I am deeply chagrined and ashamed that we have such a small man in the Governor's Chair.

I have just read his announcement with a great deal of regret, both that he puts himself above his party in wisdom and knowledge, and also that he tries to bolster up his weak argument with false and long-ago exploded statements about the loyal Christian workers who stood for the 18th Amendment. But we can expect nothing different from one who represents the Wet element—who have stopped at nothing in the way of money and debauchery to gain their ends.

For myself I do not care what state is the 36th so long as it is passed and you get the vote. While I hoped it would be a Republican state, yet to me it does not matter so long as we get what we want. We know, however, that it is only brought about by Republican states, as you acknowledge in your issue which I read today.

FRED I. LUCE.

Old Orchard, Maine.

The Prices You Pay

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I CANNOT refrain from commenting on the article by Mrs. Edward P. Costigan in the June 5th issue of THE WOMAN CITIZEN, under the title "The Prices You Pay."

In the first place it seems to me that Mrs. Costigan painted altogether too dismal a picture of general living conditions. It is true that prices have risen tremendously. It is true that there are many people who are under-nourished; unfortunately, there always have been. But to say that "thousands of men and women are not only going without luxuries and extravagant clothes but also without necessary food and clothing" seems rather an over-statement of the case when it is well recognized that more people are buying extravagant clothes and luxuries today than ever before, and when it is known that the standard of living of the American people has appreciably risen rather than fallen during the past few years.

It also seems misleading to couple the packing-house problem with this outcry against high prices, because, except for a phenomenal increase in live cattle and beef prices in June, due to an unusual shortage in the supply of beef cattle, the wholesale prices of meats have fallen in the past year more than the prices of any other important class of commodities, whereas the average price of all commodities has advanced as Mrs. Costigan says.

The profit figures quoted from the Federal Trade Commission Report are entirely misleading. It is true that the present investment of the packers has been built up largely by saving

a part of the profits each year and reinvesting them. It is true also that stock dividends have been issued to capitalize these reinvested profits, —a perfectly legitimate thing to do. Swift & Company has probably been as successful as any of the large packers, and yet the average profit of this company for the past twenty years has been only about 2½ per cent of sales and about 11 per cent of the investment!

It is also true that profits increased during the war, especially during 1916 and 1917, but these were profits represented by increased inventory values and have already been largely wiped out by falling prices, a situation that we felt sure would occur. Even during the year 1917, when we made our largest profit, it amounted to only a fraction of a cent per pound, and if it had been wiped out entirely there would have been practically no effect on prices.

The Federal Trade Commission is quoted as authority for the statement that the packers' profits of 2 or 3 cents on each dollar of sales amount to a high rate on investment (15 per cent or more) and that rate on investment is the correct basis for judging the reasonableness of profits.

In Swift & Company's business a profit of 2 cents on each dollar of sales means a profit of about 11 per cent on investment, because we "turn-over" our capital about five and one-half times a year. We emphasize the smallness of our profit as compared with sales for the simple reason that that is the only method by which one can judge the effect of profits on prices. Rate of profit on investment gives no idea at all of the effect of profits on prices. One is tempted to suspect that the Federal Trade Commission has tried to evade the fundamental fact that our profits have practically no effect on prices.

As for the accuracy of our accounting system, we know that the present system is the result of careful study over the past twenty years and that it is as nearly accurate as we know how to make it. We find it sufficiently accurate to use it as a guide in conducting our business in perishable products and at fluctuating prices, and in which the profit averages only a fraction of a cent per pound of product sold. Even if our profit were twice as large as our accounting system shows it to be, it would still be so small as to have practically no effect on prices.

In the final analysis, our total annual result is the outcome of what is actually paid out for raw materials, labor, and other expenses, as against the actual proceeds in the sale of our products and inventories at conservative values. These figures are certified by public accountants and substantiate the claim that our profit is only about two cents on the average dollar of sales or only a fraction of a cent per pound of product.

We believe that the League of Women Voters

(Continued on next page)

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Correspondence

should consider these incontrovertible facts in deciding whether special legislation is needed for the packing industry. When the Food Supply and Demand Committee can furnish positive evidence of manipulated prices, of monopoly, of unfair trade practices, of profits that raise the price of meat, etc.,—then it will be time to talk about restrictive legislation. Nothing good or constructive can come out of misinterpreted figures or out of agitation that is not based on solid facts.

SWIFT & COMPANY,

Per L. D. H. WELD,

Manager, Commercial Research Department.

the women can vote in November. I think that our organization should go to the utmost limit to compel that autocratic governor of Vermont to stop blocking the march of democracy. His criticism of the Supreme Court is surely laughable and deserves very sharp censure. There must be some serious mental deficiency in a man who reasons as he does. Can we not devise some means to convince him that he cannot keep the U. S. among the backward countries?

ELIZABETH CAHILL,

Philadelphia, Pa.

In Reply

As One Man Sees It

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I BELIEVE that the Republican party is holding up the ratification of the suffrage amendment—or at least trying to—while it appears to be in favor of it. It now seems probable that a Democratic state will be the thirty-sixth to ratify the amendment, but in that event I can see no reason why I, or any other voter, should support the fortunes of the Democrats.

The politicians in both old parties would no doubt like to be assured that a majority of the women will vote for their nominees next fall. On the other hand, if the Democrats fail to ratify and a majority of the women vote the Republican ticket next fall, the Republican states will tumble over each other to be the first after the election, to ratify the amendment. The matter with taking these quotations of candidates seriously is that they do not count after election; we govern by parties and what the "party" wants done is what we usually get. And that, I believe, is the reason Connecticut and Vermont are not allowed to ratify the suffrage amendment this year. If history could be faithfully recorded I believe much evidence would be found to support this claim. I know of instances in the good old State of Maine which strongly corroborate it.

FRANKLIN SKILLINGS.

Peak's Island, Me.

Sinister

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THERE can be no doubt whatever in any one's mind that some very "sinister" influence is at work holding back the extra session in Vermont. From more than one source I have heard that the liquor interests will resort to any means within reach to hold back the thirty-sixth state because they want to elect a wet congress this fall and they have little hope of doing so if

THE Republican Party of Connecticut, through the obstinacy of its Republican Governor, is withholding the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and making it possible for 9,500,000 women to be deprived of their franchise. In the face of this the Republican Party of Connecticut is asking the Republican women of Connecticut to give their service in boosting the party in that state during the presidential campaign.

The reply is a very emphatic protest, signed by a large number of Connecticut women, who hold up their right hands and pledge that they will *not* help the Republican Party in Connecticut by contributing money, raising money, or speaking in the campaign until the thirty-sixth state has ratified, and the position of the women as voters in the Presidential election is established on the right side. The protest not only gives the views of the women on the state Republican attitude but throws considerable light upon the feeling in that state regarding the plank in the national platform. The protest on this point reads:

"The Republican Party has repeatedly promised to do its utmost to secure ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in time for women to vote in the November election. Although twenty-nine of the thirty-five states which have ratified the amendment are Republican, we have good reason to believe that the party has purposely held back from giving us the thirty-sixth state which would complete ratification. The farcical plank in the National Platform is proof enough of this intention."

Among well known Republican women who lead in the protest movement are: Mrs. Willis Austin, Mrs. Wm. H. Deming, Mrs. T. B. Chapman, Mrs. Wm. C. Cheney, Miss Edna Leighton Tyler, Mrs. J. G. Gregory, Mrs. Rosemary Anderson, Mrs. Ernest Thompson, Mrs. W. H. Allee, Mrs. Samuel Shaw.

Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-five Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89	
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25	
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3	Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2	Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0	Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0	Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York.....	House, yes, 137; no, 0	Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6	Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44	Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47	Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20	Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5	Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4	Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15	Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 2, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes; 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6	Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire....	House, yes, 212; no, 143	Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2	Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68	Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota.....	House, yes, 102; no, 6	Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota.....	House, yes, 52; no, 0	Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0	Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island.....	House, yes, 89; no, 3	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25	Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0	Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 25; no, 1	Senate, yes, 8; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24	Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0	Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10	Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 28, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12	Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40	Senate, yes, 16; no, 13
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0	Senate, yes, 40; no, 0

Where Ratification Carried by a Unanimous Vote

In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan	South Dakota
Kansas	Colorado
New York	Oregon
Nebraska	Wyoming
Utah	Arizona
	Washington

In One House

Illinois	Senate
Iowa	Senate
Montana	House
California	Senate
Indiana	House
Nevada	Senate
Idaho	House

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POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JULY 31, 1920

No. 9

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VOLUME V

JULY 31, 1920

NUMBER 9

The Tennessee Prospect

ON July 26 Mrs. Catt announced from Nashville, where she is directing the ratification campaign, that sufficient pledges had been obtained to insure ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the special session of the Tennessee Legislature which Governor Roberts has announced he will call for August 9.

Messages of congratulation that she is remaining in Tennessee for the suffrage ratification campaign and of confidence in favorable action by the Tennessee Legislature were sent to Mrs. Catt in Nashville by Governor Cox and Senator Harding following a visit to the presidential nominees by committees of the National American Woman Suffrage Association last week.

The statement from Governor Cox was, "I am very much gratified at the news that you are to remain in Tennessee for the ratification campaign. It gives me added reason for expressing confidence that the Tennessee Legislature will act favorably, which will greatly please the national Democratic party."

Senator Harding wired Mrs. Catt: "I am exceedingly glad to learn that you are in Tennessee seeking to consummate the ratification of the equal suffrage amendment. If any of the Republican members of the Tennessee Assembly should ask my opinion as to their course, I would cordially recommend an immediate favorable action."

Commenting on these two statements, the first given to any suffrage organization upon the notification of the candidates, Mrs. Catt said: "No one can possibly doubt that the two dominant parties in the nation now competing with each other for the privilege of administering the national government are urgent in expressing their desire that Tennessee shall ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Governor Cox came out for suffrage some years ago and showed his sincerity by using his influence with his state Legislature which granted presidential suffrage and later by urging ratification when the Ohio Legislature ratified the federal amendment. Franklin Roosevelt, Democratic vice-presidential nominee, has long been a strong advocate of the Federal Amendment and has spoken in the New York state suffrage campaigns. Senator Harding voted for the submission of the Federal Amendment each time that it came to vote in the Senate during his membership. He urged the Governor of Vermont to call a special session of his Legislature which is ready to ratify. He expressed his disappointment when the Governor refused and generously asked the Republicans in Tennessee to vote for ratification. Governor Coolidge urged ratification in the Massachusetts Legislature when that conservative state ratified and thus insured the final passage of the amendment. All of these men desire ratification by Tennessee."

In her first speech on the Tennessee suffrage ratification campaign before a guest meeting of the Nashville Kiwanis Club, Mrs. Catt last week made a spirited defense of the constitutionality of a vote on ratification by the present state Legislature.

"Those who are urging that legislators who vote for ratification will be violating their oath to support the state constitution, forget that every legislator takes an oath of loyalty to two constitutions," she said. "The oath is no more in support of one than the other.

In fact the obligation to take an oath to support the constitution comes from the federal constitution (Article 6, section 3). The possibility of conflict between the two was foreseen and the federal constitution (Article 5, section 2) declares that to be the supreme law of the land, 'and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' The legislator does not vote to nullify the Tennessee constitution when he votes to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. A state constitution is already nullified when it conflicts with the federal constitution. This is no theoretical statement. The Supreme Court has so declared over and over again. If the legality of the Tennessee provision should ever reach the Supreme Court it will, without the slightest question, declare it to be already nullified and to all intents non-existent."

The Crusade Begins

LONG ago the *Woman Citizen* hazarded the conviction that a campaign against Senator Wadsworth would not be a campaign for the women of New York state, that it would be a crusade.

On Friday of last week the crusade was inaugurated at the Hotel McAlpin in New York City. No one there could mistake the spirit of the meeting. Around the standard of Miss Hay, as the leader of the opposition to Senator Wadsworth, the women massed with the old-time fervor and the old-time consecration. In a speech which was received with storms of applause, Miss Hay declared her unfaltering opposition to any state machine headed by William Barnes, pointed out the state machine's intention to bend the popular will to Wadsworth at any cost, and reminded the women that just as Wadsworth had failed to represent New York state at Washington, so had he failed to represent the New York state Republican party at the Chicago convention.

"Did the chairman of the New York delegation (Senator Wadsworth) do as his constituents wanted him to do at that convention?" she asked.

"No!" cried the women in unison, while the cheering mounted to the ceiling.

Below are given in full the protest to the Republican state party, the appeal to the Democrats and the questionnaire to Senator Wadsworth himself which were projected at the meeting.

Questionnaire

Addressed to Senator James W. Wadsworth by the Women Voters at the Meeting at the Hotel McAlpin, July 23, 1920.

1. Do you believe that women should vote?
2. In the face of the only honest answer that you can make to question number one, do you expect to ask New York women to vote for you if you enter the senatorial contest in November?
3. Will your plea to those women be, "Give me your votes so that I can return to Washington and continue to do what I can to delay ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment?"

4. Is it not a fact that except for your refusal to represent the people of New York in the United States Senate, the Federal Suffrage Amendment would have been submitted to the state Legislatures in the regular sessions of 1919, all the delay and expense of twenty-four special sessions in 1920 would have been saved, and all the women of America would be completely enfranchised at this moment?

5. Did you not, with others, plot and plan to put into operation this very program of delay?

6. Are you not, with others, still plotting and planning to hold back the 36th ratification of the Amendment?

7. Is it not part of this plan, between yourself and others, that there shall be a great surface appearance of suffrage friendliness on the part of both major parties but that beneath the surface the 36th ratification is to be held back by both parties until after the November elections?

8. Do you not know that, because of your opposition to woman suffrage and your misrepresentation of New York state in the United States Senate, you will be a weight on the Republican ticket?

9. Do you not know that leaders in your own party organization admit it in their private councils?

10. Are your personal political ambitions of more concern to you than the success of the Republican ticket?

Appeal to Democratic State Committee

IN view of Senator James W. Wadsworth's announced candidacy for the Republican nomination for the United States senatorship, we women voters of New York state assembled at the Hotel McAlpin, New York, on July 23, 1920, appeal to you to insure that the Democratic party shall nominate a candidate for the United States Senate for whom the women of the state, without regard to party affiliation, can vote with confidence in the twentieth century quality of his mind and in his intention and ability to represent the great state of New York with his face toward the future instead of toward the past.

Resolution of Protest

WHEREAS, Senator James W. Wadsworth has announced his intention of entering the New York state primaries for the selection of himself as the Republican party's nominee for the United States senatorship, and

WHEREAS, Republican party machinery is being obviously relied on to further his candidacy. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we women voters of New York state, assembled at the Hotel McAlpin on July 23rd, do hereby protest Senator Wadsworth's effort to have himself renamed as the Republican party's nominee for the United States Senate.

In particular do we protest any and all efforts to have Senator Wadsworth's nomination fastened upon the Republican party by the use of inside organization influence.

Senator Wadsworth has been given six years in which to prove his ability to represent the state of New York in the Senate of the nation. He has failed to represent it. In the case of woman suffrage his flaunting of the people's mandate and the mandate of the New York Legislature was as complete as it was flagrant.

As a member of the so-called Senate ring in Washington he has been aligned on the side of reactionary influences hurtful to the public interest. We urge that his name be not designated by the unofficial Republican conference to be held at Saratoga on July 27th.

Pitfalls

IT is increasingly borne in upon students of the disabilities of married women that every new law on this subject must in express terms wipe out the old law. A recent example of this need comes from Vida Goldstein, of Australia. Writing to Miss Alice Henry in respect to the independent citizenship of married Australian women which we have been contentedly congratulating ourselves upon as a settled matter she says: "In 1903 Australia got a Naturalization Act passed by the Commonwealth Parliament which made naturalization practically equal for men and women, but through an arbitrary ruling of Mr. Hughes when Attorney-General in 1911, the Imperial Naturalization Act is made to apply to Australian women. The bill as drafted, contained all the disabilities which English women labored under in the Imperial Act of 1870. *We got them struck out*, but because a substantive clause was not inserted providing that notwithstanding anything contained in any other act placing disabilities upon women, the new act should apply, Hughes ruled that Australian women are governed by the Imperial Act. An Australian woman married to a foreigner can, however, apply to be renaturalized and so record her vote."

Governors and Senators

THIRTY-FIVE states will elect governors next fall at the general election when the President and Vice-President are chosen. Thirty-two United States senators, to take office March 4, 1921, also are to be selected.

Of the governors whose terms expire next year, 22 are Republicans and 13 are Democrats; while 17 of the 32 senators are Democrats and 15 are Republicans.

The 17 Democratic places in the Senate to be filled are:

Alabama, Oscar W. Underwood; Arizona, Marcus A. Smith; Arkansas, William F. Kirby; California, James D. Phelan; Colorado, Charles S. Thomas; Florida, Duncan U. Fletcher; Georgia, Hoke Smith; Idaho, John F. Nugent; Kentucky, J. C. W. Beckham; Louisiana, E. J. Gay; Maryland, John W. Smith; Nevada, Chas. B. Henderson; No. Carolina, Lee S. Overman; Oklahoma, Thomas P. Gore; Oregon, George E. Chamberlain; So. Carolina, Ellison D. Smith; So. Dakota, Edwin S. Johnson.

The 15 Republican places in the Senate that are to be filled are:

Connecticut, Frank B. Brandegee; Illinois, Lawrence Y. Sherman; Indiana, James E. Watson; Iowa, Albert B. Cummins; Kansas, Charles Curtis; Missouri, S. P. Spencer; New Hampshire, George H. Moses; New York, James W. Wadsworth; No. Dakota, Asle J. Gronna; Ohio, Warren G. Harding; Pennsylvania, Boies Penrose; Utah, Reed Smoot; Vermont, Wm. P. Dillingham; Washington, Wesley L. Jones; Wisconsin, Irvine L. Lenroot.

The 35 governorships to be filled are:

Arizona, T. E. Campbell (Rep.) two years; Arkansas, C. H. Brough (Dem.) two years; Colorado, O. H. Shoup (Rep.) two years; Connecticut, M. H. Holcomb (Rep.) two years; Delaware, J. G. Townsend (Rep.) four years; Florida, S. J. Catts (Dem.) four years; Georgia, H. M. Dorsey (Dem.) two years; Idaho, D. W. Davis (Rep.) two years; Indiana, J. P. Goodrich (Rep.) four years; Illinois, F. O. Lowden (Rep.) four years; Iowa, W. L. Harding (Rep.) two years; Kansas, H. J. Allen (Rep.) two years; Maine, C. E. Milliken (Rep.) two years; Massachusetts, C. Coolidge (Rep.) one year; Michigan, A. E. Sleeper (Rep.) two years; Minnesota, J. A. A. Burnquist (Rep.) two years; Missouri, F. D. Gardner (Dem.) four years; Montana, S. V. Stewart (Dem.) four years; Nebraska, S. R. McKelvie (Rep.) two years; New Hampshire, J. H. Bartlett (Rep.) two years; New Mexico, O. O. Larroza (Rep.) two years; New York, A. E. Smith (Dem.) two years; North Carolina, T. W. Bickett (Dem.) four years; North Dakota, L. J. Frazier (Rep.) two years; Ohio, J. M. Cox (Dem.) two years; Rhode Island, R. L. Beeckman (Rep.) two years; South Carolina, R. A.

Cooper (Dem.) two years; South Dakota, Peter Norbeck (Rep. two years; Tennessee, A. H. Roberts (Dem.) two years; Texas, W. P. Hobby (Dem.) two years; Utah, S. Bamberger (Dem.) four years; Vermont, P. W. Clement (Rep.) two years; Washington, L. F. Hart (Rep.) four years; West Virginia, J. J. Cornwell (Dem.) four years; Wisconsin, E. J. Phillip (Rep.) two years.

Miss Williams of Memphis

MISS CHARL WILLIAMS, of Memphis, Tenn., who was selected as a vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee at the committee meeting in Columbus, July 20th, is a member of the Suffrage Ratification Committee of Tennessee, as formed by the state auxiliaries of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Miss Williams is county superintendent of education of Shelby County, Tenn., and is considered the leading woman educator of the state. She was the first woman appointed on the state text book commission, having served during the year 1919. She is now president of the State School Officers' Association, State Department of Education. The educational work that she has done is regarded by educators as of an unusually high standard. She began her work as a teacher.

Women in the Ministry

THE Church of England is a long way behind other religious bodies on the question of women in the ministry, according to Miss Maud Royden, who has the honor to be the first woman to preach in the City Temple. Miss Royden's statement to this effect was made at a meeting held for the purpose of drawing up a resolution to be forwarded to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the 250 bishops assembled in England at that time for the Lambeth Conference. The resolution adopted read "This meeting considers that sex should be no disqualification for admission to all lay ministries of the Church." The Lambeth Conference is a deliberative body only, but its influence would be of inestimable value in bringing about the reform for which there is considerable agitation.

It Should Be Decisive

THE enemies of equal suffrage, like the reactionary interests in general, are strictly nonpartisan. While they are sending Miss Annie Bock's eight-year-old slander upon suffrage in California to the Democratic legislators of Tennessee as a new document, a Maine woman belonging to a distinguished Republican family writes that two Republican newspapers in Portland, Maine, have been giving great prominence to it there.

California has given clear evidence of its approval of woman suffrage, in the complete and ignominious failure of the only attempt ever made there to repeal it.

The amendment enfranchising women carried in 1911 by only a small majority. The next year the opponents started an initiative petition for its repeal. Under the initiative and referendum law of California, the people can get rid of any law, or of any state constitutional amendment, that the majority do not like. Both men and women were eligible to sign the petition, and the antisuffragists spent \$1,500 in circulating it, according to their own statement in a printed appeal for funds which they sent out by mail. A copy of this appeal was on exhibition for a long time at the office of the *Woman's Journal*. There were about 1,500,000 men and women of voting age in California, yet the opponents failed to get the 32,000 signatures needed to resubmit the question. The attempt has never been renewed.

This fact speaks for itself; and it should be decisive as to the attitude of most Californians upon the question. A. S. B.

Women Voters of the U. S. A.

FIFTEEN FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
1. Arizona	1912	48,419	3
2. California	1911	872,802	13
3. Colorado	1893	264,647	6
4. Idaho	1896	105,146	4
5. Kansas	1912	471,854	10
6. Michigan	1918	848,916	15
7. Montana	1914	103,975	4
8. Nevada	1914	26,611	3
9. New York	1917	3,125,999	45
10. Oklahoma	1918	470,176	10
11. Oregon	1912	221,008	5
12. South Dakota	1918	161,024	5
13. Utah	1895	100,646	4
14. Washington	1910	444,919	7
15. Wyoming	1869	37,146	3
		7,303,288	137

THIRTEEN PRESIDENTIAL, OR PRESIDENTIAL PLUS MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE STATES

(Those starred have both. Women do not vote for Congressmen in any of these thirteen states.)

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
16. *Illinois	1913	1,699,160	29
17. Indiana	1919	800,484	15
18. Iowa	1919	603,644	13
19. Maine	1919	234,765	6
20. Minnesota	1919	558,528	12
21. Missouri	1919	931,998	18
22. *Nebraska	1917	318,903	8
23. *North Dakota	1917	157,903	5
24. Rhode Island	1917	183,030	5
25. *Tennessee	1919	564,104	12
26. Wisconsin	1919	653,936	13
27. Ohio	1919	1,496,225	24
28. Kentucky	1920	597,149	13
		8,809,829	173

TWO PRIMARY SUFFRAGE STATES

(The chance to help choose the Democratic candidates at the Primary is the only choice any voter can effectively exercise in Southern one-party states. Ohio women also have primary suffrage.)

29. Arkansas	1917	355,514	9
30. Texas	1918	999,166	20
		1,354,680	29

MAKING A GRAND TOTAL FOR THE 30 STATES

Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
17,467,797	339

Therefore, there are 17½ million women over voting age who live in the 30 states where women have the right to vote for the next president of the United States, whether ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is completed before election or not. The eighteen states in which women are inhibited from voting in the presidential elections are Vermont, Connecticut, North Carolina, Delaware, South Carolina, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, New Mexico

How It Feels To Be 35/36 of a Voter

Republican Women of Connecticut Tell the World

MISS KATHERINE LUDINGTON, of Connecticut, regional director of the League of Women Voters and president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, is gripping Connecticut suffragists to the task of a new onslaught on the Republican party. Most Connecticut women are Republicans. It matters not. All are subscribing to the working policy of the state board, which, as tersely laid down by Miss Ludington, holds the Republican party responsible as the party in power in Connecticut. The state Republican machine has been the outstanding opponent of suffrage. The state Republican Convention in March, while passing a suffrage resolution, put back into power and strongly endorsed the very group of men who have steadily opposed suffrage, thus putting the party behind them in their anti-suffrage stand. Wherefore, the C. W. S. A. will oppose the Republican party of the state in the campaign, making specific exception of those candidates who will come out openly and help in the ratification fight.

Full and detailed instructions as to the carrying out of this policy have been given to the county chairmen and given by them to the county executive boards and local workers.

This is Miss Ludington's way of analyzing the situation:

"Although ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment has gone more rapidly than any ratification in the history of this country, yet the women have every reason to be deeply dissatisfied with the present status of their movement. The outstanding facts are these:

"Our fight now is 'November, 1920.' One of the most important presidential elections in years is to be held then. Women are just as vitally affected by and as deeply interested in it as men. Although thirty-five out of the necessary thirty-six states have ratified, no women can vote in this election under the Federal Amendment until the thirty-sixth state has ratified.

"It is curious how slow the public—women as well as men—have been to realize this. They talk of being 'almost' voters. They do not seem to understand that although Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., have ratified the Amendment, the women of these states will not vote until the thirty-sixth state ratifies.

"Who is responsible for the delay which may keep over 10,000,000 women from the vote for President and about 20,000,000 from the vote for members of Congress, state officials, etc.? Both great political parties, but the Republican party in greater degree.

"The Republican party is in power in thirty-two out of the forty-eight states, and the states it controls are those which have no complicating factor like the negro problem.

"Twenty-nine of these thirty-two Republican states have ratified. Delaware has indefinitely postponed action—two more, Connecticut and Vermont, have so far failed to act.

"It lies in the power of the Republican party to speak the word that will fully enfranchise the women of this country, and where there is power there is responsibility.

The "Almost Voter" Surveyed Coolly, Critically, Sardonicly

"But," the Republicans say, "we have given you twenty-nine states, think of that! You ought to be grateful."

"Exactly," we answer, "but you have withheld that one state which would make just the difference between our voting or not voting."

"The politicians know well enough the difference between 'in' and 'out' when it comes to the votes of 20,000,000 women, but they think they can pull the wool over the women's eyes."

"There is a world of difference between being obliged to sit and contemplate gratefully those 35 states and having a chance to go out in November and help decide who is to be President."

"But (the Republicans say) we have given you twenty-nine states. Think of that! You ought to be grateful to us.

"'Exactly,' we answer, 'but you have withheld that one state which would make just the difference between our voting or not voting. And, by the way, you didn't 'give' us those twenty-nine states—we had to work pretty hard to get some of them!'

"An emancipator is not the man who takes the prisoner all the way to the door and lets him look out—but the man who actually unlocks the door and lets him go free.

"Once in history the Republican party played the part of a genuine emancipator. Now it looks very much

as if it was playing petty politics.

"Astonishing that they can think the women are so simple that they don't see this! The politicians know well enough the difference between 'in' and 'out' when it comes to the votes of 20,000,000 women—but they think they can pull the wool over the women's eyes. They seem to think that a woman can get some satisfaction in being 35-36ths of a voter—forgetting that you either are a voter or you are not—which would be quite simply demonstrated if you went to the polls and tried to cast 35-36ths of a vote!

"There is a world of difference between being obliged to sit and contemplate gratefully those thirty-five states and having a chance to go out in November and help decide who is to be President, who congressmen, who senators, and who governors or legislators through the next few years.

"At the time of the state convention, the *Hartford Courant* obligingly explained that the suffrage resolution passed by this convention was a pretense and really meant nothing, a statement, it is only fair to say, repudiated by many honorable Republicans.

"Now it is Mr. Roraback, who, with happy unconsciousness that he is exhibiting his party in a 'yellow' light, tells the public that the national Republican platform should not be taken seriously.

"At the request of certain members of the Connecticut delegation, the original form of the suffrage plank was changed and all the 'teeth' were taken from it. Now, Mr. Roraback tells us that even in its milder form it was not intended seriously.

"The leaders of the party,' he says, 'put it in to please women in the voting states, but they meant nothing by it.'

"Are the men who are to lead a great party as double-faced and untrustworthy as Mr. Roraback paints them? Were they laughing in their sleeves as they wrote the solemn pledges in the rest of the national platform?

"We wonder if Connecticut Republicans will let Mr. Roraback smirch the party honor unchallenged.

"The course for the C. W. S. A. is clear. We must play our part in this sector of the national suffrage struggle and we must let our opponents see that they cannot keep American citizens out of their fundamental rights with impunity."

Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-five Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3 Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2 Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0 Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0 Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York	House, yes, 137; no, 0 Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6 Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44 Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47 Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20 Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5 Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4 Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15 Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 2, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes; 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6 Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire	House, yes, 212; no, 143 Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2 Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68 Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota	House, yes, 102; no, 6 Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota	House, yes, 52; no, 0 Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0 Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island	House, yes, 89; no, 3 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25 Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0 Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 25; no, 1 Senate, yes, 8; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24 Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0 Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10 Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 28, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12 Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40 Senate, yes, 16; no, 13
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0 Senate, yes, 40; no, 0

Where Ratification Carried by a Unanimous Vote

In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan	South Dakota
Kansas	Colorado
New York	Oregon
Nebraska	Wyoming
Utah	Arizona

Washington

In One House

Illinois	Senate
Iowa	Senate
Montana	House
California	Senate
Indiana	House
Nevada	Senate
Idaho	House

Where the Revolution Has Put German Women

THE new German Constitution enfranchises every German man and woman at the age of twenty. As the female population of Germany exceeds the male one by over two millions, about 53 per cent of the voters are women. The one important fact throws sufficient light on the part women are destined to play in all future German politics.

The new franchise was put into practice in January, 1919, when the elections for the National Assembly took place. Considering the fact that the gift of the suffrage had come very suddenly to the women of Germany, the share they took in this first election surpassed all expectations. Though their political education had been sorely neglected in former years they showed themselves thoroughly equal to the new task laid on their shoulders and the number of women who made use of their votes did not fall short of the standard reached by men.

In comparison to the large numbers in which women had gone to the polls, the number of women who actually got into Parliament was small, although much higher than in any other newly enfranchised country. Among the three hundred and ten women candidates who had been nominated by the different parties, only thirty-eight became members of the National Assembly; three of these were members of the Nationalist party, one belonged to the National-Liberals, six to the Center (Roman Catholic party), eight to the Democratic party, seventeen to the Social-Democrats, and three to the Independent Socialists. As the Assembly counted four hundred and twenty-one members, women made up about a tenth part of it.

THE share these women took in the actual work of legislation was personally very different. Several of them became prominent members of their parties and held their own not only in the discussions of the position of women, but also in the general debate on important political questions. On three or four occasions the leading women members succeeded in bringing together the female members of all parties in the proposal of a joint motion in favor of the employment of women, of infant and child welfare and similar projects. This shows that there is a solidarity of sex which is able even to break through the boundaries drawn by party politics.

In spite of this the formation of a feminist party, consisting of women members only, was never attempted, neither at the beginning nor before the new elections on June 6th, nor is there any record of an attempt at proposing a purely feminine list of candidates. Most feminist leaders joined the Democrats, but female names of high repute were to be found also in nearly every other party.

AT the beginning it was thought that the female influence would have a great effect on legislation, especially with regard to the position of women in the trades and professions. In this respect, however, the women of Germany became disappointed as the time went on. Though the women in Parliament succeeded in altering several articles of the Constitution and a good many paragraphs of other bills in favor of the female sex, and though some of them did most assiduous work on the various

THIS survey of the position of the German women since the Revolution was made by Dr. Elisabeth Altman-Gottheimer and published in the English paper, "The Woman's Leader." In it Dr. Altman-Gottheimer shows to what extent the political parties of Germany are allowing women to have recognition in the governing bodies of the nation.

It also shows that, judging by the Cologne vote, where separate records were kept of men's and women's votes, German women were not particularly attracted to the radical parties, the coalition parties getting over 77,000 women's votes in comparison with over 75,000 men's votes.

"The woman's movement has not finished its tasks, its goal is not reached by a formal concession of equal rights. A great deal of up-hill work is still to be done."

committees, on the whole things remained very much as they had been beforehand, and it became apparent that the sprinkling of women in Parliament did not suffice to alter the fundamental conditions of women's work and wages very considerably. Tradition is a very strong factor, and the fact that—owing to the shortage in raw material—the labor market continued unfavorable during the whole session of the National Assembly did not con-

tribute toward an improvement in the position of women. Many women workers were dismissed to make room for men, and their wages and salaries hardly anywhere reached 80 or 90 per cent of the men's. It will thus be evident that a good deal of work remains to be done before the actual position of women in Germany corresponds to that granted to the female sex by the Constitution of August 11th, 1919. This became more apparent than ever during the time when the political parties were canvassing for the new elections for the Reichstag. According to the new Suffrage Act, every sixty thousand men and women who give their vote to a certain party send one candidate belonging to that particular party into the Reichstag. In each constituency the different political parties prepare lists containing the names of the candidates they want sent in. The best names are, of course, put at the head of this list, as this gives the greatest chance of election. As may be imagined there very often arises a long bartering concerning the places the various candidates are to be given on the lists, and it is hardly astonishing that in this struggle the men candidates generally get the upper hand. This time only a very few of the women had good places on the different party lists, and only three were honored by being given the first place.

IN consequence of this, the number of women who enter the new German Reichstag elected on June 6th, 1920, is considerably smaller than the number of women in the National Assembly. Only thirty have actually got in, several of whom will have to leave after the *plébiscites* have taken place in the border territories of Schleswig, West and East Prussia, where elections were not allowed to be held, and which are still represented by the old members of the National Assembly. Of the thirty women members of the Reichstag, three belong to the Nationalist party. The Center party has only got in four female candidates; the National-Liberals, who formerly had only one woman member, now can boast of three; the Democratic party has lost four out of its eight women and will suffer a further loss after the *plébiscites*. The Social Democrats got in nine instead of seventeen women; the Independent Socialists, on the other hand, gained three, which takes their number up to six, and the Communist party, which had not been represented at all in the National Assembly, has given one of its two seats to a woman.

THE elections have brought about a situation which makes it impossible for the old Coalition parties (Social Democrats, Center and Democrats) to continue to form the Government, and already voices are being raised to put the responsibility for this dilemma on the women voters. This is as easy as it is unjust. It is easy because it cannot be discovered how the women have voted, for as a rule there are no separate ballot-boxes for the two

sexes. It is unjust because the only existing clue as to which parties the votes of women have gone to points in the opposite direction. In the city of Cologne men and women gave their votes in separate rooms. This proceeding had the following results:

Parties.	Men voters.	Women voters.
Center	32,964	49,154
Social Democrats	36,295	24,134
National Liberals	17,768	15,914
Independents	18,245	8,973
Democrats	6,554	4,677
Christian Party	4,247	4,060
Nationalists	3,190	3,422
	119,263	110,334

These statistics show that the coalition parties got altogether 77,965 women's votes and 75,813 men's votes. They also show that the radical parties on either side did not particularly attract the women. The Independent Socialists got nearly 10,000 votes less from women than they did from men, and the plus of 232 for the Nationalist Party is not worth mentioning.

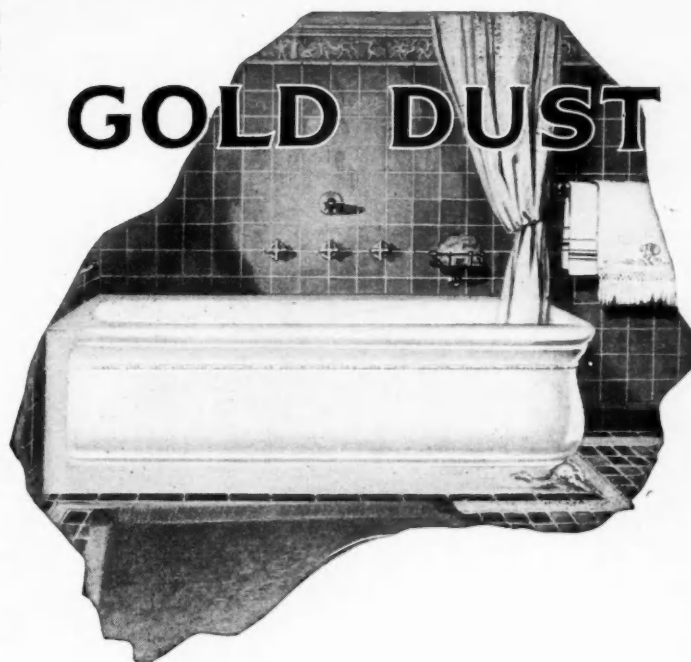
THE new German Reichstag will have to solve a great many problems in which women are deeply interested. The reform of the penal code and of the code of civil law, both of which are impending, are tasks of such immense importance that the women members who feel themselves to be the representatives of their whole sex will have to work very hard in order to deserve the confidence placed in them. Fortunately they are not isolated from their former co-workers, but will continue to work hand in hand with their organizations affiliated to the German Council of Women and to other great unions working for the interests of the female sex. The presidents of the three greatest organizations are members of the new Reichstag and that is the best guarantee for mutual help and assistance. For this is the lesson the women of Germany have learned in the course of the eighteen months they have been in the possession of the vote; the women's movement has not finished its tasks, its goal is not reached by the gift of a formal concession of equal rights. A great deal of up-hill work is still to be done. But there are women ready to accomplish it who will not lose heart even if they cannot achieve at a stroke what they consider to be their and their sisters' due.

In Mexico

THE value of education as a stabilizing influence in government is being shown by the provisional government of Mexico, which has instituted a novel plan of warfare on illiteracy. According to the plan, the National University of Mexico will send out an appeal from that institution addressed to all who have a knowledge of reading and writing and are capable of instructing others. All who offer to give such instructions will be registered by the University. These honorary instructors will give at least one lesson a week in reading and writing to no less than two persons. These lessons may be given in the instructor's home or elsewhere. As soon as one hundred pupils of any one instructor shall have passed suitable test, the voluntary instructor will be given a certificate and the influence of the University will be extended toward having these teachers rewarded by preference for certain positions under the control of the University. Writing materials to be used by the instructors will be furnished free by the University.

A BILL pending before the Parliament of Greece aims to eliminate the discriminations against women in the civil code. Some of its provisions are equal guardianship, the right of the wife to control her own property and the equalizing of grounds for divorce.

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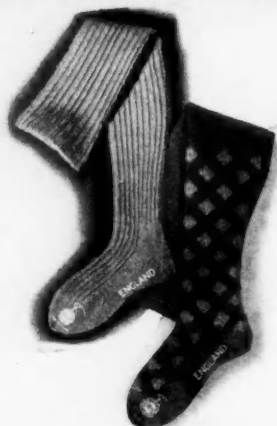
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States That Have Ratified

R—In Regular Session (10)

S—In Special Session (25)

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R	June	10
2. Wisconsin.....	R	June	10
3. Michigan*.....	S	June	10
4. Kansas.....	R	June	16
5. Ohio.....	R	June	16
6. New York.....	S	June	16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R	June	24
8. Massachusetts.....	R	June	25
9. Texas.....	R	June	28
10. Iowa.....	S	July	2
11. Missouri.....	S	July	3
12. Arkansas.....	S	July	28
13. Montana.....	S	July	30
14. Nebraska.....	S	Aug.	2
15. Minnesota.....	S	Sept.	8
16. New Hampshire.....	S	Sept.	10
17. Utah.....	S	Sept.	30
18. California.....	S	Nov.	1
19. Maine.....	S	Nov.	5
20. North Dakota.....	S	Dec.	1
21. South Dakota.....	S	Dec.	4
22. Colorado.....	S	Dec.	12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R	Jan.	6
24. Kentucky.....	R	Jan.	6
25. Oregon.....	S	Jan.	12
26. Indiana.....	S	Jan.	16
27. Wyoming.....	S	Jan.	27
28. Nevada.....	S	Feb.	7
29. New Jersey.....	R	Feb.	9
30. Idaho.....	S	Feb.	11
31. Arizona.....	S	Feb.	12
32. New Mexico.....	S	Feb.	19
33. Oklahoma.....	S	Feb.	28
34. West Virginia.....	S	Mch.	10
35. Washington.....	S	Mch.	22

Failed to Ratify

1. Alabama.....	5. South Carolina.....
2. Georgia.....	6. Virginia.....
3. Maryland.....	7. Delaware.....
4. Mississippi.....	8. Louisiana.....

Pending in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

North Carolina (special session scheduled).....	August 11
Tennessee (special session scheduled).....	August 9

Regular Session in 1921

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Connecticut.....	January
Vermont.....	January
Florida.....	April

(Delaware, South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia also have regular sessions in 1921. It is expected that North Carolina will ratify at its special July session. The Legislatures of the other three states defeated ratification in 1920. But the Legislatures of 1921 are to be elected in November, so that there will be another chance for ratification in 1921 in each of these states.)

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama.....	January
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Recapitulation

Ratified.....	35
Failed to ratify.....	8
Special session pending for 1920.....	2
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	3

*Michigan's Legislature was in special session when the amendment was passed. It promptly ratified.

Party in Power in Legislatures That Have Ratified

Ratified		Not Ratified	
Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
Arkansas	California		
Arizona	Colorado		Connecticut
	Illinois		
	Indiana	Florida	
	Idaho		
	Iowa		
	Kansas		
	Kentucky		
	Maine		
	Massachusetts		
	Michigan		
	Minnesota		
Missouri	Non-Partisan Legislature, but Republican in presidential elections.		
	Montana		
	Nebraska		
	Nevada		
	New Hampshire		
	New Jersey		
	New Mexico		
	New York		
	North Dakota		
	Ohio		
	Oregon	North Carolina	
Texas	Pennsylvania		
Utah	Rhode Island		
	South Dakota		
	Washington		
	West Virginia		
Oklahoma	Wisconsin	Tennessee	Vermont
	Wyoming		
6	29	3	2

Rejected

Republican	Democratic
Delaware	Alabama
	Mississippi
	Georgia
	South Carolina
	Maryland
	Virginia
	Louisiana
1	7

Of Twenty-four Special Sessions Called to Ratify Including Delaware

By Democratic Governors	By Republican Governors
New York.....Smith	Arizona.....Campbell
Missouri.....Gardner	California.....Stephens
Arkansas.....Brough	Delaware.....Townsend
Utah.....Bamberger	Idaho.....Davis
Montana.....Stewart	Indiana.....Goodrich
Nevada.....Boyle	Iowa.....Harding
Oklahoma.....Robertson	Maine.....Milliken
West Virginia.....Cornwell	Minnesota.....Burnquist
	Nebraska.....McKelvie
	New Hampshire.....Bartlett
	New Mexico.....Larrasolo
	North Dakota.....Frazier
	Oregon.....Olcott
	South Dakota.....Norbeck
	Wyoming.....Carey
	Washington.....Hart

(8)

(16)

It is the 36th state that counts at this crisis. It takes a 36th state to make the other 35 ratifications operative. Who wants to be 35-36 of a voter?

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

LESSON XVI.

FOUR additional departments cover all the government activities which are represented in the President's Cabinet. Of these two were created in the twentieth century; one in the nineteenth, and one goes back to the Continental Congress for its beginnings.

The Department of Commerce entered the executive branch of government in 1903, so that both it and the Department of Labor are very modern institutions.

Of the ten executive departments, five—State, War, Navy, Treasury and Post Office—are practically as old as the government itself. Three—the Interior, Agriculture, and Justice—are of the nineteenth century, and two are of the twentieth.

It might be said that these are significant in point of time. The first five were conventional divisions of older states, the post office being at that time a rather new note in governmental management. The three departments which developed in the nineteenth century, were natural evolutions. They were inevitable; for land became one of the greatest questions of the young, growing nation; land in all its forms—by purchase, by conquest, by settlement. The problem of producing food was the immediate interest of every inhabitant.

THE Departments of the Interior and of Agriculture, as we have already seen, were in their several ways both concerned with the land.

The Department of Justice was an evolution to cover the legal needs of a spreading nation. The office of Attorney General existed from 1789, and the man who filled the post had always been a member of the Cabinet; but it was not until 1870 that these duties expanded into a separate executive department. The Attorney-General is now the official head of the Department of Justice, and the chief law officer of the government.

He represents the Government in all cases to which the nation itself is a party. He is the legal adviser to the President and to the heads of all other departments. Under the direction of the President he institutes proceedings and prosecutes cases against corporations and persons who violate the laws of the United States, or he directs his district attorneys to do so.

His opinions, which are from time to time published, make quite a body of constitutional and administrative law. This is considered as

The Departments of Justice, Labor, Commerce, Post Office

Uncle Sam as Letter Carrier, as Employment Agent.

When He Counts You a Citizen and When an Alien.

What He Does for the Newest Citizens of All—The Babies.

having great weight on any question involved.

One district attorney and one marshal are appointed over each judicial district of the United States, and over these the Attorney-General has supervision. They report to him, and he examines all their reports. An innovation in the Department of Justice was the appointment this year of Annette Adams Abbott as assistant Attorney-General, the first time in our history that a woman has been made assistant to a head of one of the executive departments.

This department examines into the title of all lands which the Government intends to purchase for public purposes. It makes an annual report to Congress concerning its business. It also represents the United States in cases in which the nation is a party before the Supreme Court. This is done through the Solicitor-General, next in rank to the Attorney-General, whose orders the Solicitor-General carries out.

A NEW emphasis was given to the Department of Justice during the war. It was always a duty of this department to supervise penal and reformatory institutions of the nation; to investigate applications for pardons and advise the President in his use of pardoning power; to supervise the codification of federal laws. But until the war these matters seemed as remote as the judgment day to most people. After the enactment of the espionage acts during the war, it suddenly seemed as if the Department of Justice, formerly little known or noticed by the ordinary citizen, was everywhere at once. One of the most outstanding war events—the deportation of Russians suspected of anarchistic ideas—was dependent upon the decision of the Attorney-General. This brings one again in front of the interlocking powers of the executive departments.

It is the business of the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Labor to enforce laws

concerning undesirable aliens; but it was the duty of the Department of Justice to determine whether the laws of the country were broken.

It is the business of the two bureaus—those of naturalization and immigration—to make and unmake citizens of this country. That these two important functions should be given to the youngest child of all the executive divisions is perhaps due to the fact that so many immigration restrictions involve labor questions.

But if the Department of Justice is party to the acts of the Immigration Bureau, so is Congress. Passengers as well as goods come within the meaning of the term commerce, and it is the constitutional prerogative of Congress "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian Tribes," so it becomes the business of Congress to make immigration laws.

It was the early policy of this country to encourage immigration to this country; but fear of depreciating wages and lowering the standards of living has recently led to strict surveillance. From 1901 to 1910, nearly 9,000,000 immigrants came to this country. In 1914, there were more than 1,200,000 incoming aliens, 33,000 of whom were turned back. War and other causes had reduced immigration to 366,748 in 1916.

At the present time convicts, insane, diseased, epileptics and feeble-minded, anarchists, polygamists, illiterates and immoral persons are excluded.

Alien contract laborers, and Chinese are also among the excluded. The head tax of eight dollars levied on each immigrant has also been found a deterrent.

UNDER the Bureau of Naturalization various questions of citizenship are raised, amongst them the burning one whose reform has entered into the platform of both major parties this year upon the request of the League of Women Voters—the question of the naturalization of married women.

At present, a woman takes the nationality of her husband whether she will or not. The reform demanded would give all married women the right to choose their own nationality and become naturalized separately, under the same conditions as govern in the case of men.

The Naturalization Bureau demands that foreigners coming to this country may acquire citizenship only after a residence of five years. They must be of good moral character, attached

to the principles of the American Constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the country.

According to the law of 1916, they must be able to write their own language and read and speak English. Chinese, Japanese, Burmese and East Indians can become citizens only if born here. Polygamists, anarchists and women married to unnaturalized foreigners may not become citizens in any case.

WE have seen in past studies how executive departments tend to fall into pairs. Of the three sets of twins in the Government departments, two recently reviewed, the Army and Navy Departments, belong together because they work in unison and generally under the same provocative causes. The Department of Agriculture and the Interior supplement each other in certain respects, because they deal with the natural resources of the country; but the Departments of Commerce and Labor are even more closely allied. They were one and the same until the year before the war. In 1913, the Department of Labor was made an executive department on its own account, and its head is the most recent acquisition to the President's Cabinet.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics was formerly a division of the Joint Department of Commerce and Labor and the nucleus of the present Department of Labor. It furnishes statistics on important subjects connected with labor and its relations to capital. It is especially charged with the controversies and disputes concerning employment. The demands of this department in the platforms of four political parties this year need the most thoughtful study on the part of every voter. A division of the Department which has absorbed the attention of women for nearly a decade is the Children's Bureau, begun in 1912. It is supposed to give to the youngest citizens of America the same careful attention which is given to little pigs and soy beans by the bureaus of animal industry and plant industry in the Department of Agriculture. But up to now appropriations have been all to the good of the pigs and the soy beans. The baby and the baby's mother are expected to get along with attention which would depopulate a poultry farm in six months.

THE foster mother of the Department of Labor, the Department of Commerce, has under its jurisdiction many seemingly unrelated things. This department takes the ten-year census of the United States—a job which once belonged to the Department of State and was handed over from it to the Department of the Interior and from there has come into the hands of the Department of Commerce.

Up to 1902, the census was an affair whose machinery ran down between the decades when it was supposed to be at work. In that year a permanent census bureau was established.

There is also a bureau of navigation in the Department of Commerce, which must not be

confused with one by the same name in the Navy. This one has charge of trading vessels; it collects tonnage duties; supervises the shipping commissioners who administer laws for the protection of seamen. The Department of Commerce also inspects steamboats registered under the American flag. It examines and licenses officers.

The bureaus of fisheries, of light houses, of standards of weights and measures, of coast and geodetic surveys, of foreign and domestic commerce are all under the Department of Commerce.

Several commissions directly appointed by the President are modern appliances for taking care of highly specialized matters connected with commerce and labor.

THE Federal Trade Commission, composed of five members, appointed by the President at a salary of \$10,000 each, was developed in 1914 out of the bureau of corporations—then a division of the Department of Commerce. The bureau of corporations was abolished in favor of the commission, created to enforce the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914. It applies only to persons or corporations engaged in interstate commerce or trade.

Federal regulation of commerce has been one of the most persistent problems of this country. It was the foundation of one of the most important of the compromises of the federal constitution. Foreign commerce and interstate commerce have produced many tangles. The Interstate Commerce Commission of 1887 began to reduce to a system the necessary regulation of conditions governing the various questions arising.

This commission is also directly appointed by the President. It has nine members each with a salary of \$10,000 and has power to determine what are just and reasonable railway and freight rates.

The labor wage board is also a specially created group now attempting to settle various after the war questions.

THE Post Office Department is probably that one of the departments of governments which is most often with us. Upon it we depend morning, noon and night. However constant are the grumblings of American citizens, they would be in bad case if the "swift emissaries" of this department should falter. The Postmaster General is at the head of this extension division. He has power to establish or discontinue post offices. He issues postal regulations, makes postal treaties with foreign governments, with the approval of the President; awards mail contracts, and has the general supervision of all domestic and foreign postal service.

The postal service has had a long and honorable history. It runs back to the beginning of the nation when Benjamin Franklin was appointed its head by the Continental Congress in 1775. In 1776 there were twenty-eight post of-

fices. In 1917 there were more than 60,000, over 25,000 different routes and about 450,000 miles covered in deliveries. The receipts of the post office for the year 1917-18 aggregated \$329,726,116 and the expenditures were \$319,838,718, a surplus of more than \$9,000,000.

It has been said that "the postal establishment of the United States is the greatest business concern in the world. It handles more pieces, employs more men, spends more money, brings more revenue, uses more agencies, reaches more homes, involves more details, and touches more interests than any other human organization, public or private, governmental or corporate."

In 1913, nearly 11,000,000,000 stamps were sold, about 16,000,000,000 pieces of mail were handled, more than \$650,000,000 worth of domestic money orders were issued and more than 40,000,000 articles were registered.

IT is to Congress that power is given to say what matter shall be admitted to or excluded from the mails. Some of these articles are amusing. One may, for instance, send live queen bees and dried insects. One may not send dead animals, nor liquor, nor poison, nor anything weighing more than twenty pounds. The mails are strict against advertisement of intoxicating liquors, against printed matter advocating treason, resistance to the law, etc.

In the early history of the post office, cost of mailing was regulated by a zoning system, according to distance carried. In 1863 a uniform rate was established. In 1883 this was fixed at two cents. In 1917 it was raised to three cents for the duration of the war and dropped back to two cents again in 1919. Postal cards were introduced in 1872.

In 1917 the zoning system of charging for second-class matter was adopted by Congress—a question which aroused much opposition amongst the publishers of magazines. By this system a graduated increase in the rates on the advertising portions of newspapers and magazines was established, the amount depending on the distance carried. The excuse for this increase was that all second-class mail—that is newspapers and other periodical publications—was carried at a loss. In the year 1917, more than 1,200,000,000 pounds of second-class matter were transported at a loss of over eight cents a pound. This constituted over 60 per cent of all domestic mail, but yielded less than five per cent of the postal revenues. Against this have been urged the facts that advertising stimulates first-class postage. Fifty pages of second-class advertising matter may produce 50,000 first-class letters and the Government profit from these easily wipes out the loss from the second-class matter. Educational benefits from the extensive circulation of trade journals, farm journals, magazines of culture and opinion are such as to make their dissemination of value to the whole nation.

Free rural delivery began as an experiment

(Continued on page 233)

Rich Men Will Tell You

They found the first hundred dollars the hardest to save. At first it is hard to save. Then it becomes a habit. TODAY is the time to start saving.

INVEST YOUR SAVINGS in GOVERNMENT SAVINGS SECURITIES

PRICES IN AUGUST

Thrift Stamps at twenty-five cents.

\$5 Government Savings Stamps for . . .	\$4.19
\$100 Treasury Savings Certificates for . .	\$83.80
\$1000 Treasury Savings Certificates for . .	\$838.00

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120 Broadway, New York

To the Woman Voter

IN November you will take part in the most important voting bee that the world knows—choosing a President for the United States.

Are You Ready to Vote Intelligently?

Follow the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

Weekly in the Woman Citizen

Organization Notes

"The Deadly Insult"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN her leading editorial in a recent issue of *The Woman Patriot*, the organ of the anti-suffragists, published in Washington, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., wife of the senior Senator from New York, says that in drafting the suffrage plank at San Francisco the Honorable Carter Glass of Virginia offered the women "the most deadly insult he could conceive." In the Democratic endorsement of the Nineteenth Amendment Mrs. Wadsworth sees a sinister attempt to "buy the vote of the women by furnishing the last state," and she is surprised at Senator Glass. "The Anti-suffragists did not look for much stamina from Mr. Wilson's machine," she says, "but they little dreamed that the platform so favorable to Alice Paul would be drafted by a man blacklisted as a leader of the antis."

Senator Glass is one of the many statesmen in both parties whom the march of events has shown the justice of woman's demand for the vote, and in wanting his party to have the distinction of furnishing the thirty-sixth and final necessary ratification he is in accord with the best political wisdom! Senator Glass is not inconsistent, but what shall be said of the consistency of James W. Wadsworth, Jr., candidate to succeed himself in the United States Senate? Speaking of "deadly insults," was ever such an insult offered the intelligence of women as that implied in Mr. Wadsworth's demand that his women constituents use the vote he tried to keep from them to re-elect him that he may continue to misrepresent them and the great state from which he comes?

In 1917 the women of New York, opposed to the last ditch by Senator Wadsworth and by his wife, who was then national president of the anti-suffragists, won the franchise by the decision of a majority of their men. At least half the inhabitants qualified to go to the polls in this state next November are women. Senator Wadsworth knows that he could not possibly be elected without the votes of a good many women. He and his campaigners are already trying to line them up. And even while Senator Wadsworth is asking the women of his State to further his interest, he is doing everything in his power to keep the women of other States unenfranchised. He voted against the Nineteenth Amendment each time it came up in the Senate. His influence has been used against ratification in more than one state, and so has that of his wife.

If Senator Wadsworth came before the people of New York saying: "I do not wish the votes of women. Having always believed and asserted, that it was best for the Commonwealth that women should not participate in elections, I urge them to remain away from the polls

next November," we would respect him as a consistent man. But now—!

Always the antis have declared that woman suffrage was allied with the worst of evils. They have bracketed it with Bolshevism, Socialism, Mormonism. They have predicted that for women to vote would be to break up the home, and to open the gates to radicalism and the worst forms of license. *The Woman Patriot*, with which Mrs. Wadsworth has been so prominently identified, has been full of these awful prognostications. And now Senator Wadsworth is willing to seize personal profit, or try to, out of the thing he and his allies said would bring the pillars of Society tumbling down about our heads.

Senator Glass's plank may have been a bid for the votes of women, but at least it offered something in return. It didn't say: "We'll keep the ballot from you if we can, but if you get it, use it for us."

BIRDSALL OTIS EDEY
(Mrs. Frederick Edey).

Bellport, L. I.

In Connecticut

WOMEN of Republican party affiliation in every county of the state of Connecticut are sending assurance of support to Mrs. Willis Austin of Norwich, chairman of the committee of Republican women, pledging themselves to withhold funds and aid from the state Republicans until the thirty-sixth state ratifies the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Indignation over the blocking of suffrage ratification is not confined to women. A well-known Republican man, to show his approval of the women's course, has signified that he is withholding a \$1,000 contribution to the Republican party until the Anthony amendment has been ratified.

Mrs. George Maynard Minor of Waterford, who was recently chosen president general of the National D. A. R., and Mrs. John Laidlaw Buel of Litchfield, leader of the Connecticut D. A. R., are among the signers of the pledge. Wives of several members of the General Assembly are also included in the number. By counties some of the well-known signers are:

New London County:—Mrs. George Maynard Minor, Waterford; Mrs. William A. Norton, Norwich; Mrs. Albert H. Chase, Norwich; Miss Louise B. Meech, Norwich; Mrs. H. W. Jacques, Waterford; Mrs. Harry B. Hunt, Niantic; Mrs. Arthur H. Myers, Mystic.

Fairfield County:—Mrs. James Stokes, Ridgefield; Miss Mary Olcott, Ridgefield; Mrs. John Adams Thayer, Westport; Miss Dotha Stone Pinneo, Norwalk; Miss Margaret S. Wilson, Norwalk; Mrs. Percy Brooks, Norwalk; Mrs. Spencer S. Adams, Norwalk; Mrs. J. Milton Coburn, South Norwalk; Miss Louise B. Bige-

Organization Notes

low, Newtown; Miss Alice C. Judson, Stratford; Mrs. Nellie M. Campbell, Stratford; Mrs. A. E. Kingsbury, Bridgeport; Miss Edna Schoyer, Ridgefield; Miss Nellie J. Leslie, Stratford; Miss Helen Louise Peck, Stratford; Miss Katharine Barry Langzettell, Westport; Miss Caroline W. Lawrence, Glenbrook; Miss E. Frances Phillips, Glenbrook.

Litchfield County:—Mrs. John L. Buel, Litchfield; Mrs. Frank B. O'Neill, Woodbury; Mrs. John C. Brinmade, Washington; Mrs. Lester D. Brown, Lakeville; Mrs. C. E. Hough, Washington; Mrs. H. L. Bissel, Litchfield; Miss E. W. Hartland, Woodbury.

The members of the committee which Mrs. Austin heads are Miss Edna Leighton Taylor and Mrs. Rosemary Anderson of New London, Mrs. William H. Deming and Mrs. Thomas B. Chapman of Hartford, Mrs. W. H. Allee of Ridgefield, Mrs. J. G. Gregory of Norwalk, Mrs. William C. Cheney of South Manchester, Mrs. Samuel C. Shaw of Bridgeport, Mrs. Grace Thompson Seton of Greenwich, and Mrs. William P. Couch of Cromwell.

The pledge reads in part: "We declare that we will not help the Republican Party in Connecticut by contributing money, raising money or speaking in the campaign until the thirty-sixth state has ratified and our position as voters is made secure."

In Minnesota

THE big feature of League work carried on in Minnesota is and has been its Schools of Political Education. A State Director of Political Education, Miss Emily Kneubuhl, was engaged directly after the Chicago convention—she took the Political Education Course there under Mrs. Catt—since that time she has travelled over the State continuously holding schools of from one to three days duration with marked success. Some forty schools have been held outside the Twin Cities and the difficulty is to divide Miss Kneubuhl into enough parts to cover her many engagements.

The women are eager for just what the League offers, a non-partisan course of study entirely lacking in party bias, and the state Board has been most wise in its selection of Director. Miss Emily Kneubuhl is young, good looking, intellectually alert and a fine speaker. Her audiences flock to her after meetings with personal problems and she is besieged for prom-

ises of second visits. This naturally contributes much to the popularity of the schools.

The Fifth Congressional District of the state, which is Minneapolis alone, has also its own Director of Political Education, Mrs. Ruth Haynes Carpenter, who is at the head of a most efficient Speaker's Bureau. The experience of the Minneapolis League is that the organizations of the city look to the League to supply speakers and teachers for citizenship work. During the summer the work has lightened but in the spring and winter months it was difficult to get enough of the right quality of speakers.

The Church Council

A unique feature of League work in Minneapolis is the forming of a Department of Christian Citizenship which works with the Church Societies, Bible Classes, Christian Endeavor and Epworth Leagues in putting in courses in Political Education. The co-operation of the Church groups is held through a Church Council composed of representatives of all Churches of all denominations which supervises the Church work. The slogan of this Department, which is carried on under the Fifth District Field Director, Mrs. Leslie Gray, and Mrs. James Paige, Fifth Regional Director, is "Every Voter Christian—Every Christian Voting."

Legislative Council

Mrs. Andreas Ueland, so long President of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association and first Chairman of the League in Minnesota has resigned the Chairmanship of the State League to take over the Legislative work. This will be carried on by a Legislative Council or Committee composed of the Legislative Chairman of all state organizations having legislative committees and so will have the backing of every big woman's organization in the community and state.

The New State Chairman

Miss Marguerite Milton Wells, formerly First Vice-Chairman was the unanimous choice of the State Board to succeed Mrs. Ueland. Miss Wells is a fine executive. She has had experience on the suffrage board and has been a keen enthusiast about the League from its inception. She is recognized as an excellent speaker all over the state and is known nationally as a Trustee of Smith College. Under Miss Wells as State Chairman and Mrs. Ueland as Chairman of the Legislative Committee, a banner year is confidently expected by the Minnesota League of Women Voters.

Citizenship Course

(Continued from page 231)

in 1897. In 1917 there were more than 40,000 rural free delivery routes in operation.

This is another service which has operated at a financial loss but has been the means of an imponderable gain to the nation. It has brought the remote dweller into the currents of life, it has increased farm values; encouraged road building.

Free delivery in cities began during the Civil War, and the service has been extended to include all places of not less than 10,000 inhabitants or where the postal receipts are not less than \$10,000 a year. In 1885 the "special delivery" provision was made.

The post office department is not merely nor perhaps primarily a mere business. It is a great humanizing social agency whose benefits cannot all be counted in dollars and cents.

Women on Juries

THE Lord Chancellor of England has announced that, starting with this month, women are liable to jury service the same as men. This radical departure was made possible by an act of the last Parliament. The new venture will be watched with interest by all countries where the question of women on juries has been agitated. Trying it out on so wide a scale will offer an excellent opportunity for some authentic deductions as to woman's fitness for jury service. The proponents of the movement are confident of its success.

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LEGAL NOTICE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS

3-2-20-400 (2-8211)

ONE
EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York will be submitted to the people for the purpose of voting thereon at the next general election to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING TO AMEND SECTIONS TWO, FOUR, FIVE, ELEVEN AND TWELVE OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO DEBTS CONTRACTED BY THE STATE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), that sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 2. The state may [], to meet casual deficits or failures in revenues, or for expenses not provided for, contract debts; but such debts, direct or contingent singly or in the aggregate, shall not at any time exceed one million of dollars; and the moneys arising from the loans creating such debts shall be applied to the purpose for which they were obtained, or to repay the debt so contracted, and to no other purpose whatever. [contract debts in anticipation of the receipt of taxes and revenues, direct or indirect, for the purpose of paying the amounts of appropriations therefor made; bonds or other obligations, for the moneys so borrowed shall be issued as may be provided by law, and shall with the interest thereon be paid from such taxes and revenues within one year from the date of issue.]

§ 4. Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, no debt[s] shall be hereafter contracted by or in behalf of this state, unless such debt shall be authorized by law, for some single work or object, to be distinctly specified therein. [No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted to be determined by general laws, which determination shall be conclusive, nor for more than fifty years from the time of the contracting of such debt. A debt hereafter contracted by the state, pursuant to an authorization hereafter made, and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted, may, if provided by the law authorizing such debt, be paid in equal annual instalments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year, and the last of which shall be payable not more than fifty years, after such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. Such law shall if it authorize the contracting of a debt payable otherwise than in equal annual instalments impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay, and sufficient to pay, the interest on such debt as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof. No law authorizing the contracting of a debt pursuant to this section shall take effect until it shall, at a general election, have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election. On the final passage of such bill in either house of the legislature, the question shall be taken by ayes and noes, to be duly entered on the journals thereof, and shall be: "Shall this bill pass and ought the same to receive the sanction of the people?" No such law shall take effect until it shall, at a general election, have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election nor shall it be submitted to be voted on within three months after its passage nor at any general election when any other law, or law which shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may, at any time after the approval of such law by the people, if no debt shall have been contracted in pursuance thereof, repeal the same; and may at any time by law, forbid the contracting of any further debt or liability under such law [but the tax, if any, imposed by such act, in proportion to the debt and liability which may have been contracted in pursuance of such law, shall remain in force and be irrevocable, and be annually collected, until the proceeds thereof shall have made the provision for the equalization thereof to pay and discharge the interest and principal of such debt and liability.]

Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, all debts contracted by the state after January first, nineteen hundred and twenty, pursuant to an authorization hereafter, heretofore or hereafter made and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted irrespective of the terms of such authorization, shall be paid in equal annual instalments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year, and the last of which shall be payable not more than fifty years, after such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted, to be determined by general laws, which determination shall be conclusive.

The legislature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt which has been or may be authorized pursuant to the provisions of this section or upon any part of such debt provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be altered upon any part of such debt or upon any bond or other evidence thereof which has been or shall be created or issued before such alteration.

The money arising from any loan [or stock] creating such debt or liability shall be applied to the work or object specified in the act authorizing such debt or liability, or for the payment of such debt or liability, and for no other purpose whatever. [No such law shall be submitted to be voted on, within three months after its passage or at any general election when any other law, or any bill shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may provide for the issue of bonds of the state to run for a period not exceeding fifty years in lieu of bonds heretofore authorized but not issued and shall impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax for the payment of the same as heretofore required. When any sinking fund created under this section shall be equal in amount the debt for which it was created, no further direct tax shall be levied on account of said sinking fund and the legislature shall reduce the tax to an amount equal to the accruing interest on such debt. The legis-

LEGAL NOTICE

lature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt which has been or may be authorized pursuant to the provisions of this section, or upon any part of such debt, provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be altered upon any part of such debt or upon any bond or other evidence thereof, which has been or shall be created or issued before such alteration. In case the legislature increase the rate of interest upon any such debt, or part thereof, it shall, if such debt be payable otherwise than in equal annual instalments, impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay and sufficient to pay the increased or altered interest on such debt as it falls due and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof, and shall appropriate annually to the sinking fund moneys in amount sufficient to pay such interest and pay and discharge the principal of such debt when it shall become due and payable.]

§ 5. The sinking funds provided for the payment of interest and the extinguishment of the principal of the debts of the state heretofore contracted shall be continued; they shall be separately kept and safely invested, and neither of them shall be appropriated or used in any manner other than for [the specific purpose for which it shall have been provided] such payment and extinguishment of the debts of the state heretofore contracted. The year appraise the securities held for investment in each of such funds at their fair market value not exceeding par. He shall then determine and certify to the legislature the amount of each such fund and the amounts which, if such fund and the accumulations thereof, are applied with the fund and with the accumulations thereon and upon the contributions thereto, computed at the rate of three per centum per annum, produce at the date of maturity the amount of the debt to retire which such fund was created, and the legislature shall thereupon appropriate as the contribution to each such fund for such year at least the amount thus certified.

If the income of any such fund in any year is more than a sum which, if annually added to such fund would, with the fund and its accumulations as aforesaid, retire the debt at maturity, the excess income may be applied to the interest on the debt for which the fund was created.

After any sinking fund shall equal in amount the debt for which it was created no further contribution shall be made thereto except to each such fund, and the income thereof shall be applied to the payment of the interest on such debt. Any excess in such income not required for the payment of interest may be applied to the general fund of the state.

The legislature may also by general laws provide means and authority whereby outstanding bonds of the state, for such sinking funds are provided, may be exchanged at par for cancellation, for a serial bond of the form authorized under section four of this article, upon such terms and conditions as to interest and otherwise as it may in its discretion authorize or determine except that the debt as thus refunded shall finally mature no later and at no greater comparative cost to the state than the original debt; the determination of the legislature as to such comparative cost shall be conclusive. No further contribution to the respective sinking funds shall be made on account of bonds so exchanged and the proportion of any such sinking fund which the amount of the bonds so exchanged shall bear to the amount of bonds outstanding of the same issue may be appropriated as required, for the payment of the substituted serial bonds.

§ 11. [The legislature may appropriate out of any funds in the treasury, moneys to pay the accruing interest and principal of any debt heretofore or hereafter created, or may contract or incur any debt or liability, or may otherwise than in annual instalments, set apart in each fiscal year, moneys in the state treasury as a sinking fund to pay the interest as it falls due and to pay and discharge the principal of any debt heretofore or hereafter contracted under section four of this article, or to provide substitution until the same shall be wholly paid, and the principal and income of such sinking fund shall be applied to the purpose for which said sinking fund is created and to no other purpose whatever; and, in the event such money is set apart in any fiscal year, such money shall constitute a sinking fund, a direct annual tax for such year need not be imposed and collected, as required by the provisions of said section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof. The legislature shall annually as the same shall fall due provide by direct tax, appropriation or both for the payment of the interest upon and instalments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state, payable in annual instalments, pursuant to section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof. The legislature shall annually provide by appropriation for the payment of the interest upon and instalments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state except those contracted under section two of this article, as the same shall fall due, and for the contribution to all of the sinking funds heretofore contracted or by law of the amounts annually to be contributed under the provisions of section five of this article. If at any time the legislature shall fail to make any such appropriation, the comptroller shall set apart from the first revenues thereafter received, applicable to the general fund of the state, a sum sufficient to pay such interest, instalments of principal, of contributions to such sinking fund, as the case may be and shall so apply the moneys thus set apart. The comptroller may be required to set aside and apply such revenues as aforesaid, at the suit of any holder of such bonds.]

§ 12. Debts heretofore authorized for the improvement of highways shall be created only in the manner provided in section four of this article. No provision of this article shall be deemed to impair or affect the validity of any debt of the state heretofore contracted or any right or obligation heretofore created between the state and any of its civil divisions.

[A debt or debts of the state may be authorized by law for the improvement of highways. Such highways shall be determined under general laws, which shall also provide for the equitable apportionment of the same among the counties. The aggregate of the debts authorized by this section shall not at any one time exceed the sum of fifty millions of dollars. The payment of the annual interest on such debt and the creation of a sinking fund of at least two per centum per annum to discharge the principal of such debt shall not be diminished during the existence of any debt created thereunder. The legislature may by general laws require the county or town or both to pay to the sinking fund the proportionate part of the cost of any highways within the boundaries of such county or town and the proportionate part of the interest thereon, but no county shall at any time for the improvement of highways be required to pay more than thirty per centum of the cost of such highway, and no town more than fifteen hundred dollars of the provisions of the fourth section of this article shall apply to debts for the improvement of highways hereby authorized.]

LEGAL NOTICE

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be submitted to the people for approval at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty, in accordance with the provisions of the election law.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 16, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

April 18, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

TWO

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
STATE OF NEW YORK,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section one of article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TWO

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION ONE OF ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO QUALIFICATION OF VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section one of article two of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. Every citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ninety days, and an inhabitant of this state one year preceding an election, and for the last four months a resident of the county and for the last thirty days a resident of the election district in which he or she may offer his or her vote, shall be entitled to vote at such election in the election district of which he or she shall at the time be a resident, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now are or hereafter may be elective by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people, provided however that a citizen by marriage shall have been an inhabitant of the United States for five years; and provided that in time of war no elector in the actual military service of the state, or of the United States, in the army or navy thereof, shall be deprived of his or her vote by reason of his or her absence from such election district; and the legislature shall have power to provide the manner in which and the time and place at which such absent electors may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election districts in which they respectively reside].

Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, after January first, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, no person shall become entitled to vote by attaining majority, by naturalization or otherwise, unless such person is also able, except for physical disability, to read and write English; and suitable laws shall be passed by the legislature to enforce this provision.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 14, 1919.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 18, 1919.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

THREE

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be

LEGAL NOTICE

held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THREE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO ABSENT VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article two of the constitution be amended by inserting therein a new section, to be section one-a, to read as follows:

§ 1-a. The legislature may, by general law, provide a manner in which, and the time and place at which, qualified voters who may, on the occurrence of any general election, be unavoidably absent from the state or county of their residence because their duties, occupation or business require them to be elsewhere within the United States, may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election district in which they respectively reside].

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 15, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOUR

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section six of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOUR

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SIX OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section six of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 6. Each member of the legislature shall receive for his services an annual salary of (one thousand five hundred) three thousand dollars. The members of either house shall also receive the sum of one dollar for every ten miles they shall travel in going to and returning from their place of meeting, once in each session on the most usual route. Senators, when the senate alone is convened in extraordinary session, or when serving as members of the court for the trial of impeachment, and such members of the assembly, not exceeding nine in number, as shall be appointed managers of an impeachment, shall receive an additional allowance of ten dollars a day.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 1, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 14, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

FIVE

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIVE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO APPOINTMENTS OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE TO THE OFFICE OF NOTARY PUBLIC.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment within this state or the senate of the United States from the governor, the governor and senate, or from the legislature, or from any city government, during the time for which he shall have been elected [;], and all such appointments and all votes given for any such member for any such office or appointment shall be void; *provided, however, that the legislature may provide by law that any such member may be appointed during such time to the office of notary public.*

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Mar. 3, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Mar. 25, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SIX

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to sections twenty-six and twenty-seven of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SIX

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTIONS TWENTY-SIX AND TWENTY-SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION TO ENABLE THE LEGISLATURE TO PROVIDE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE COUNTIES OF WESTCHESTER AND NASSAU.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That sections twenty-six and twenty-seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 26. There shall be in each county, except in a county wholly included in a city, a board of supervisors, to be composed of such members and elected in such manner and for such period as is or may be provided by law; The legislature may provide by law for forms of government for the counties of Westchester and Nassau, or either, subject to adoption and approval by the electors of any such county at a general election in an odd-numbered year. Any such form of government shall include the transfer to the county or to county officers of any functions now exercised by towns or town officers. The law providing for such form of government shall also prescribe the manner in which the county affected may subsequently abandon it, and revert to its former form of government. The adoption of such form of government by the county shall not preclude the legislature from amending or modifying such plan. If under such form of government the board of supervisors be abolished, the powers and duties of the board of supervisors, as prescribed by the constitution, or by statute if not provided for by such form of government shall devolve upon the governing elective body in such county.

§ 27. The legislature shall, by general laws, confer upon the boards of supervisors, or other governing elective bodies, of the several counties of the state such further powers of local legislation and administration as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient [;], and in counties which now have, or hereafter have, county auditors or other fiscal officers, authorized to audit bills, accounts, charges, claims or de-

LEGAL NOTICE

mands against the county, the legislature may confer such powers upon [said] such auditors, or fiscal officers, as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendments be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SEVEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section nine of article five of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SEVEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION NINE OF ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO PREFERENCES, IN EMPLOYMENT AND PROMOTION, OF SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND MARINES.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section nine of article five of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 9. Appointments and promotions in the civil service to the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive, and provided, that honorably discharged soldiers, [and] sailors [from] and marines who shall have served as such in the army, [and] navy or marine corps of the United States in [the late civil] time of war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made; *provided they were residents of this state at the time they entered said army, navy or marine corps; and provided also that soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the civil war shall have preference over all others on the same list.*

Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 19, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 19, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EIGHT

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

AMENDMENT NUMBER EIGHT

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state], comptroller, [treasurer], and attorney-general [and state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be required: (1) To audit all vouchers before payment and all official accounts; (2) To audit the accrual and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) To prescribe such methods of accounting as are necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature shall define his powers and duties and may also assign to him the supervision of the accounts of any political subdivision of the state, but shall assign to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incidental to the performance of these functions, any other provision of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. The elective state officers in office at the time this article is amended take effect shall, at stated times during his continuance in office, receive for his services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected; nor shall he receive to his use any fees or perquisites of office or other compensation. [No person shall be elected to the office of state engineer and surveyor who is not a practical civil engineer.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following, and shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.]

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive compensation to be fixed by law. He shall be required by law to give security for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by law, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works, in writing, the cause of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be subject to suspension or removal by him. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners, as now declared by law, until otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.]

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same. The superintendent of state prisons shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.]

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.]

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.]

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature, whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.]

LEGAL NOTICE

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation and finance; 4. Law; 5. State; 6. Public works; 7. Agriculture and markets; 8. Education; 9. Labor; 10. Education; 11. Health; 12. Mental hygiene; 13. Charities and correction; 14. Public service; 15. Banking; 16. Insurance; 17. Civil service; 18. Military and naval affairs; 19. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government, to the several departments, in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein in a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new departments shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purpose and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article is amended take effect shall continue in office until the end of the terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing officer are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of audit and control shall be the comptroller, and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All offices for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever, are hereby abolished; and no such office shall be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purpose hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 7. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK, IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK, IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in Italics is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER NINE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state] comptroller, treasurer,

and attorney-general [and state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be required: (1) To audit all vouchers before payment and all official accounts; (2) To audit the accrual and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) To prescribe such methods of accounting as are necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature shall define his powers and duties and may also assign to him supervision of the accounts of any political subdivision of the state, but shall assign to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incidental to the performance of these functions, any other provision of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by him, subject to modification by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works, in writing, the cause of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be subject to suspension or removal by him. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners, as now declared by law, until otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following, and shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.]

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive a compensation to be fixed by law. He shall be required by law to give security for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by him, subject to modification by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works, in writing, the cause of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be subject to suspension or removal by him. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners, as now declared by law, until otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.]

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.]

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.]

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.]

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.]

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Agriculture and markets; 9. Education; 10. Labor; 11. Education; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Banking; 18. Insurance; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government, to the several departments, in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein in a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new departments shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purpose and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article is amended take effect shall continue in office until the end of the terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing officer are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

LEGAL NOTICE

the functions of the state government, to the several departments in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new department shall be erected hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article, by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the term for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and offices now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller; and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor, in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ [5] 5. All officers for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ [9] 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list for which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected in favor thereof.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

Given under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.], this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state] comptroller, treasurer, and attorney-general [and state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be required: (1) To audit all vouchers before payment and all official accounts; (2) to audit the account and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) to prescribe such methods of accounting as are necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature may define the powers and duties and may also assign to him supervision of the accounts of any political subdivision of the state, but shall assign

LEGAL NOTICE

to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incidental to the performance of these functions, and other provisions of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. He [each of the officers in this article named, excepting the speaker of the assembly,] shall, at stated times during his continuance in office, receive for his services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected; nor shall he receive to his use any fees or perquisites of office or other compensation. [No person shall be elected to the office of state engineer and surveyor who is not a practical civil engineer.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following, and shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.]

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive a compensation to be fixed by law, and shall be required by law to give security for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, he shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by him, subject to confirmation by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works; and the superintendent of public works shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.]

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate; and hold his office for five years, unless he is removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him an opportunity to be heard against him, and an opportunity to copy in his defense.

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the canal fund. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.]

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.]

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.]

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Conservation; 9. Agriculture and markets; 10. Labor; 11. Education; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Banking; 18. Insurance; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Agriculture.

§ 3. At the season immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government to the several departments in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new department shall be erected hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this constitution, by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the

LEGAL NOTICE

terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller; and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor, in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ [8] 5. All officers for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever, are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health of the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ [9] 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

Given under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.], this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article six of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ELEVEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SIX OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF JUDGES AND ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE COURT OF APPEALS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section seven of article six of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The court of appeals is continued. It shall consist of the chief judge and associate judges now in office, who shall hold their offices until the expiration of their respective terms, and their successors, who shall be chosen by the electors of the state. The official terms of the chief judge and associate judges shall be four years from and including the first day of January next after their election. Five members of the court shall form a quorum, and the concurrence of four shall be necessary to a decision. The court shall have power to appoint and to remove its reporter, clerk and attendants. Whenever and as often as a majority of the judges of the court of appeals shall certify to the governor that said court is unable, by reason of the accumulation of causes pending therein, to hear and dispose of the same with reasonable speed, the governor shall designate not more than four justices of the supreme court to serve as associate judges of court of appeals. The justices so designated shall be relieved from their duties as justices of the supreme court and shall serve as associate judges of the court of appeals until the causes undisposed of in said court are reduced to two hundred, when they shall return to the supreme court. The governor may designate justices of the supreme court to fill vacancies. No justice shall serve as associate judge of the court of appeals except while holding the office of justice of the supreme court, and no more than seven judges shall sit in any

LEGAL NOTICE

case. The judges of the court of appeals, including those now in office, shall receive for their services the sum of seventeen thousand five hundred dollars per year. A justice of the supreme court while serving as associate judge of the court of appeals shall receive the same compensation as judges of the court of appeals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 21, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

TWELVE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eighteen of article six of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TWELVE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHTEEN OF ARTICLE SIX OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO CHILDREN'S COURTS AND COURTS OF DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section eighteen of article six of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 18. Inferior local courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction may be established by the legislature, but no inferior local court hereafter created shall be a court of record. [The] Except as herein provided the legislature shall not hereafter confer upon any inferior or local court of its creation, any equity jurisdiction or any greater jurisdiction in other respects than is conferred upon county courts by or under this article. The legislature may establish children's courts, and courts of domestic relations, as separate courts, or as parts of existing courts or courts hereafter to be created, and may confer upon them such jurisdiction as may be necessary for the correction, protection, guardianship and disposition of delinquent, neglected or dependent minors, and for the punishment and correction of adults responsible for or contributing to such delinquency, neglect or dependency, and to compel the support of a wife, child or poor relative by persons legally chargeable therewith who abandon or neglects to support any of them. In conferring such jurisdiction the legislature shall provide that whenever a child is committed to an institution or is placed in the custody of any person by parole, placing out, adoption or guardianship, it shall be so committed or placed, when practicable, to an institution governed by persons, or in the custody of a person, of the same religious persuasion as the child. In the exercise of such jurisdiction such courts may hear and determine such cases, with or without a jury, except those involving a felony. Except as herein otherwise provided, all judicial officers shall be elected or appointed at such times and in such manner as the legislature may direct.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

THIRTEEN

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THIRTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE FOREST PRESERVE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section seven of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. The lands of the state, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as now fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be leased, sold or exchanged, or to be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the timber thereon be sold, removed or destroyed. Nothing contained in this section shall prevent the state from constructing a state highway from Saranac Lake in Franklin county to Lake Umbagog in Hamilton county and thence to Old Forge in Herkimer county by way of Blue Mountain lake and Raquette lake.

The legislature may by [general] laws provide for the use of not exceeding three per centum of such lands for the following purposes: for the construction and maintenance of reservoirs for municipal water supply, or the canals of the state and to regulate the flow of streams, and may further provide for the development of water power and for rights of way for electric transmission lines, all of which are hereby declared to be public use. Such reservoirs, water power, and transmission lines shall be constructed, owned and controlled by the state, but such work shall not be undertaken until after the boundaries and high flow lines thereof shall have been accurately surveyed and fixed, and after public notice, hearing and determination that such lands are required for such public uses. The expense of any such improvements shall be apportioned on the public and private property and municipalities benefited to the extent of the benefits received. Any such reservoir shall always be operated by the state and the legislature shall provide for a charge upon the property and municipalities benefited for a reasonable return to the state upon the value of the rights and property of the state used or leased and the services of the state rendered in the construction, control and operation of said reservoirs, water power and transmission lines, which charge shall be fixed for terms of not exceeding ten years and be readjustable at the end of any term. Any such water power may be leased for terms of not exceeding ten years. Unsanitary conditions shall not be created or caused by any such public works. A violation of any of the provisions of this section may be restrained at the suit of the people or, with the consent of the supreme court in appellate division, on notice to the attorney-general at the suit of any citizen.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and, in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution, be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 20, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOURTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eight of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOURTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 8. The legislature shall not sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the Erie canal, the Oswego canal, the Champlain canal, the Cayuga and Seneca canal, or the Black River canal; but they shall remain the property of the state and under its management forever. The prohibition

LEGAL NOTICE

of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal [in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained] between Rome and Mohawk. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 15, 1920.

This bill was duly passed a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 23, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FIFTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eight of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIFTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 8. The legislature shall not sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the Erie canal, the Oswego canal, the Champlain canal, the Cayuga and Seneca canal, or the Black River canal; but they shall remain the property of the state and under its management forever. The prohibition of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained; nor shall such prohibition apply to that portion of the existing Erie canal in the county of Herkimer between the easterly portion of the line of Mohawk and the county boundary line between the counties of Herkimer and Oneida. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Mar. 12, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 15, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

SIXTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred and ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section ten of article eight of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SIXTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION TEN OF ARTICLE EIGHT OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE AMOUNT TO BE RAISED BY TAX FOR COUNTY OR CITY PURPOSES IN CERTAIN COUNTIES AND CITIES.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section ten of article eight of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 10. No county, city, town or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money or credit to or in aid of any individual, association or corporation, or become directly or indirectly the owner of stock in, or bonds of, any association or corporation; nor shall any such county, city, town or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness except for county, city, town or village purposes. This section shall not prevent such county, city, town or village from making such provision for the aid or support of its poor as may be authorized by law. No county or city shall be allowed to become indebted for any purpose or in any manner to an amount which, including existing indebtedness, shall exceed ten per centum of the assessed valuation of the real estate of such county or city subject to taxation, as it appeared on the last assessment for said county or city, or the last assessment for state or county taxes prior to the incurring of such indebtedness; and all indebtedness in excess of such limitation, except such as now may exist, shall be absolutely void, except as herein otherwise provided. No county or city whose present indebtedness exceeds ten per centum of the assessed valuation of its real estate subject to taxation, shall be allowed to become indebted in any further amount until such indebtedness shall be reduced within such limit. This section shall not be construed to prevent the issuing of certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes for amounts actually contained, or to be contained in the taxes for the year when such certificates or revenue bonds are issued and payable out of such taxes; nor to prevent the city of New York from issuing bonds to be redeemed out of the tax levy for the year next succeeding the year of their issue, provided that the amount of such bonds which may be issued in any one year in excess of the limitations herein contained shall not exceed one-tenth of one per centum of the assessed value of the real estate of said city subject to taxation. Nor shall this section be construed to prevent the issue of bonds to provide for the supply of water; but the term of the bonds issued to provide for the supply of water, in excess of the limitation of indebtedness herein, shall be created on the issuing of the said bonds for their redemption, by raising annually a sum which will produce an amount equal to the sum of the principal and interest of said bonds at their maturity. All certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes, which are not retired within five years after their date of issue, and bonds issued to provide for the supply of water, and any debt hereafter incurred by any portion or part of a city if there shall be any such debt, shall be included in the calculation of the power of the city to become otherwise indebted; except that debts incurred by the city of New York after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and four, and debts incurred by any city of the second class after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and eight, and debts incurred by any city of the third class after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and ten, to provide for the supply of water, shall not be so included; and except further that any debt hereafter incurred by the city of New York for a public improvement owned or to be owned by the city, which is to be paid out of the current net revenue, after making any necessary allowance for repairs and maintenance for which the city is liable, in excess of the interest on said debt and of the annual instalments necessary for its amortization may be excluded in ascertaining the power of said city to become otherwise indebted, provided that a sinking fund for its amortization shall have been established and maintained and that the indebtedness shall not be so excluded during any period of time when the revenue aforesaid shall not be sufficient to equal the said interest and amortization instalments, and except further that any indebtedness heretofore incurred by the city of New York for any rapid transit or dock investment may be so excluded proportionately to the extent to which the current net revenue received by said city therefrom shall meet the interest and amortization instalments thereof, provided that any increase in the debt incurring power of the city of New York which shall result from the exclusion of debts heretofore incurred shall be available only for the acquisition or construction of properties to be used for rapid transit or dock purposes. The legislature shall prescribe the method by which the amount of any debt to be so excluded shall be determined, and no such debt shall be excluded except in accordance with the determination so prescribed. The legislature may, in its discretion, confer appellate jurisdiction on the appellate division of the supreme court in the first judicial department for the purpose of determining the amount of any debt to be so excluded. No indebtedness of a city valid at the time of its inception shall thereafter become invalid by reason of the operation of any of the provisions of this section. Whenever the boundaries of any city are the same as those of a county, or when any city shall include within its boundaries more than one county, the power of any county wholly included within such city to become indebted shall cease, but the debt of the county, heretofore existing, shall not, for the purposes of this section, be reckoned as a part of the city debt. The amount hereafter to be raised by tax for county or city purposes, exclusive of appropriations for educational purposes, for any county containing a city of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, or any such city of this state, in addition to providing for the principal and interest of existing debt, shall not in the aggregate exceed in any one year two per centum of the assessed valuation of the real and personal estate of such county or city, to be ascertained as prescribed in this section in respect to county or city debt.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be

LEGAL NOTICE

going amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

April 20, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

April 23, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SEVENTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred and ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eleven of article eight of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SEVENTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION ELEVEN OF ARTICLE EIGHT OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES, THE STATE COMMISSION IN LUNACY AND THE STATE COMMISSION ON MENTAL HYGIENE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section eleven of article eight of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 11. The legislature shall provide for a state board of charities, which shall visit and inspect all institutions, whether state, county, municipal, incorporated or not incorporated, which are of a charitable, eleemosynary, correctional or reformatory character, excepting state institutions for the education and support of the blind and the deaf and dumb, and excepting only such institutions as are hereby made subject to the visitation and inspection of either of the [commissions] authorities hereinafter mentioned, but including all reformatories [except those in which adult males convicted of felony shall be confined] for juveniles; a state commission [in lunacy] or commissioner on mental hygiene, which shall visit and inspect all institutions, either public or private, used for the care and treatment of the insane, epileptics, idiots, feeble-minded or mentally defective [not including institutions for epileptics or idiots]; a state commission of prisons which shall visit and inspect all institutions used for the detention of sane adults charged with or convicted of crime, or detained as witnesses of debtors.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

April 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

April 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EIGHTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provision of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred and ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section two of article twelve of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER EIGHTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION TWO OF ARTICLE

LEGAL NOTICE

TWELVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO CITY BILLS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section two of article twelve of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 2. All cities are classified according to the latest state enumeration, as from time to time made, as follows: The first class includes all cities having a population of one hundred and seventy-five thousand or more; the second class, all cities having a population of fifty thousand and less than one hundred and seventy-five thousand; the third class, all other cities. Laws relating to the property, affairs or government of cities, and the several departments thereof, are divided into general and special city laws; general city laws are those which relate to all the cities of one or more classes; special city laws are those which relate to a single city, or to less than all the cities of a class. Special city laws shall not be passed except in conformity with the provisions of this section. After any bill for a special city law, relating to a city, has been passed by both branches of the legislature, the house in which it originated shall immediately transmit a certified copy thereof to the mayor of such city, and within fifteen days thereafter the mayor shall return such bill to the clerk of the house, from which it was sent, [or] who if the session of the legislature at which such bill was passed has terminated, shall immediately transmit the same to the governor, with the mayor's certificate thereon, stating whether the city has or has not accepted the same. In every city of the first class, the mayor, and in every other city, the mayor and the legislative body thereof concurrently, shall act for such city as to such bill; but the legislature may provide for the concurrence of the legislative body in cities of the first class. The legislature shall provide for a public notice and opportunity for a public hearing concerning any such bill in every city to which it relates, before action thereon. Such a bill, if it relates to more than one city, shall be transmitted to the mayor of each city to which it relates, and shall not be deemed accepted unless accepted as herein provided, by every such city. Whenever any such bill is accepted as herein provided, it shall be subject as are other bills to the action of the governor. Whenever, during the session at which it was passed, any such bill is returned without the acceptance of the city or cities to which it relates, or within such fifteen days is not returned, it may nevertheless again be passed by both branches of the legislature, and it shall then be subject as are other bills, to the action of the governor. In every special city law which has been accepted by the city or cities to which it relates, the title shall be followed by the words "accepted by the city," or "cities," as the case may be; in every such law which is passed without such acceptance, the words "passed without the acceptance of the city," or "cities," as the case may be.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred and ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposition, chapter eight hundred seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred twenty will be submitted to the people for the purpose of voting thereon at the next general election to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE

CHAPTER 872

AN ACT MAKING PROVISION FOR ISSUING BONDS TO THE AMOUNT OF NOT TO EXCEED FORTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE PAYMENT OF A BONUS TO PERSONS WHO

SERVED IN THE MILITARY OR NAVAL SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES AT ANY TIME BETWEEN THE SIXTH DAY OF APRIL, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN, AND THE ELEVENTH DAY OF NOVEMBER, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN, AND PROVIDING FOR A SUBMISSION OF THE SAME TO THE PEOPLE TO BE VOTED UPON AT THE GENERAL ELECTION TO BE HELD IN THE YEAR NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY.

Became a law May 21, 1920, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.
The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:
Section 1. Bond issue authorized. There shall be issued, in the manner and at the times hereinafter recited, bonds of the state in an amount not to exceed forty-five million dollars, which bonds shall be sold by the state and the proceeds thereof paid into the state treasury, and so much thereof as may be necessary ex-

(Continued on page 242)



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Women's Work in Republican Ranks

A SURVEY of the report by the Republican Women's National Executive Committee as submitted by Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman, at the National Republican convention, illustrates the strength of the co-operation that has been given the men by the new voters. Starting with the appointment of a Women's Executive Committee by Chairman Hays to act with the Republican National Committee in September 1918, the report follows in detail the work of the Women's Executive Committee up to June 8th of this year. Chairman Hays first appointed six women, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mrs. Florence Collins Porter, who met and elected Mrs. McCormick Chairman, Miss Hay as Treasurer, and Mrs. George W. Reinecke as Executive Secretary, with headquarters at Washington, D. C. Shortly afterwards Mr. Hays appointed Mrs. John G. South, Miss Maude Wetmore and Mrs. Thomas Carter, Miss Bina West, and Mrs. C. A. Severance to this committee. A plan of organization was drawn up by the committee and work started with vim. So fast did the program grow that, following a conference of the men and women leaders at Washington, a Republican Women's National Executive Committee was formed of which Miss Hay was Chairman, for the purpose of aiding in organization work, developing a speakers' bureau, doing Americanization work, etc., in so far as it is conducted in a general way by the National Committee.

A WOMAN'S Division was formed of which Mrs. Medill McCormick was chairman and the vice-chairmen were Miss Hay, Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter and Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston. A Republican Women's National Council of One Hundred composed of women of national importance, representing women's activities of all sorts, was formed to meet and discuss the general policies of the party at such times and places as necessary but not to assume any executive responsibilities.

Because of ill health Mrs. McCormick found it necessary to resign from her chairmanship in November 1919 and Mrs. John Glover South of Kentucky was appointed to the place.

By June 1919 headquarters were opened in New York with Mrs. Charlotte Farrar in charge of the office.

An office was still kept in Washington, D. C., under the charge of Mrs. Florence T. Coldrom.

Among the most important of the many preliminary meetings, discussions and gatherings were the district conferences held at Chicago, Denver and San Francisco. Miss Hay, as chairman of the Executive Committee, presided at the conferences.

At the San Francisco conference a number of

resolutions were adopted which represented a suggested list of policies and reforms which the women of the western states wished incorporated in the national platform in June. It covered national and state legislation for child labor, eight-hour day, forty-four-hour week, establishment of a Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor, compulsory education for children from six to sixteen, direct citizenship for women, naturalization of women to be made possible, vocational education to secure equal rights for men and women, civil service reforms and others which would insure women equal rights with men.

It is interesting to note that practically all these suggestions were incorporated in the permanent Republican platform.

The report shows that in thirty-eight states there is a woman leader acting closely with the head committee and devoting her entire time to the work of building up a Republican organization; 1,700 county leaders are listed and more than 30,000 precinct leaders. In nearly all the thirty-eight states some member of the Women's National Executive Committee made a thorough canvass of the active women in the state. Field organizers have been actively at work for some time in the several sections of the country.

THE Executive Committee endeavored to have a personal representative at each national convention where women were in attendance. The women were canvassed as to their political affiliations and records forwarded to headquarters in New York, notations were made of all good speakers and later they were asked to affiliate with the Speakers' Bureau.

Tens of thousands of form letters were sent out to women allied with various organizations. These names were card-indexed and then forwarded to the Republican women leaders in each state.

The demands for speakers have been heavy and, anticipating still heavier demands, speakers' schools were established in the several states, Illinois, Minnesota, New York and Iowa being among the first to establish them. Prominent Republicans were asked to furnish five-minute speeches which might be used as models at these schools.

Nearly 4,000,000 pieces of literature have been distributed under the direction of Mrs. Farrar and a very practical "guide to Citizenship," written by Mrs. C. A. Severance, has been much in demand.

The newspaper publicity under the direction of Mrs. Amanda M. Miller has been extensive. A weekly clip sheet has gone out to some 5,000 of the leading papers of the country, interviews have been gathered and given out, data compiled and special articles and features sent throughout the country. Five thousand photo-

graphs of women leaders have found their way to the press.

Prominent Republican women and writers with Republican leanings contributed articles which appeared in leading magazines. More than 100 articles have appeared.

Through the joint co-operation of Mrs. Miller, Miss Marion Parkhurst and Miss Mary Stewart, an authentic bulletin covering the Party's stand on War Waste, High Cost of Living, Child Labor, and the Budget System, has been issued fortnightly to the leaders and speakers.

During the summer of 1919 Miss Hay engaged Miss Marion Parkhurst to carry out an extended program of Americanization. A survey of available material for study was made and literature in various languages is under way.

All the women's committees have worked in close accord with the similar committees in the men's organization.

A Nun Feminist

THE Latin-American countries will probably be the object of a good deal of attention in future to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, as the only large part of the civilized world where women are still denied the right to vote.

In most of these countries the woman movement is still in its infancy, but in many of them courageous voices have been uplifted from time to time in behalf of justice to women. A Mexican nun of the seventeenth century, Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, has left behind her a spirited poem in advocacy of an equal standard of morals.

She was a remarkable person. Juana Inez de Asbaje y Ramirez de Cantillana was born in 1651. She learned to read at the age of three, and at eight composed a "loa" in honor of the holy sacrament. She begged her parents to send her to the University of Mexico disguised as a boy, but had to content herself with twenty lessons in Latin. By her own efforts she learned the language well. She became maid of honor to the wife of the Viceroy of Mexico, and she was "tormented for her wit and pursued for her beauty." At seventeen she took the veil, but her love of study continued, and she gathered in her cell a library of four thousand volumes. At one time her superior forbade her to use her books. She obeyed for three months, but meanwhile she "studied all the things that God had created," as she wrote in a letter which has survived.

She wrote poems, plays and allegories. Her collected works fill three volumes. She was called by her contemporaries the Tenth Muse. Dr. Alfred Coester, in his "Literary History of Spanish America," says that of all the women of American birth who have written in Spanish, she ranks second only to the Cuban poetess, Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda,

and that "those verses of hers which have been best remembered were satirically directed against the detractors of women."

THE Bishop of Puebla became concerned because of her worldly learning and profane literature, and wrote her a letter over the signature of "Sor Philotea de la Cruz," purporting to come from an admiring sister, and urging her to have a care for her soul. She replied with a defence of the education of women, which the Bishop caused to be printed. Nevertheless, she was moved by his letter to sell her books and devote herself to acts of piety. She died soon after, in 1695, a victim to an epidemic.

The readers of the *Woman Citizen* will enjoy one of her poems, which might be read with profit even today by many of the critics of women:

"Foolish men who accuse woman without reason, without seeing that you yourselves are the cause of the very thing that you blame!"

"If with unparalleled longing you importune her when she scorns you, why do you want women to do well if you incite them to evil?"

"You combat their resistance, and soon you gravely declare to be light-mindedness that which your diligent efforts have brought about."

"The audacity of your mad opinion is like a child who sets up a bugbear and presently is afraid of it."

"With foolish presumption, you wish to find her whom you seek. Thais when you attempt her and Lucretia when you possess her."

"What humor can be more extraordinary than that, lacking good counsel, the same man should tarnish the mirror and regret that it is not clear?"

"You blame women alike whether they favor you or despise you, complaining of them if they treat you ill, mocking them if they love you dearly."

"No woman gains your good opinion, since the most prudent is ungrateful if she does not yield to you, and lightminded if she does."

"You always proceed so foolishly that, with unequal measure, you blame one for being cruel and another for being too easy."

"Your amorous pains cast off restraint, and after making women bad, you want to find them very good."

"Who is more at fault in an erring passion, she who falls through entreaty or he who entreats her to fall?"

"Or which is the more to blame, although both do ill, she who sins for pay or he who pays for sinning?"

"Then why are you terrified by the fault that you yourselves have? Love women such as you make them, or make them such as you want them to be."

"But between the anger and the pain that

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your longing undergoes, God bless her who does not love you! Complain and welcome.

"How then must she be tempered, the woman whom your love claims, if she who is ungrateful offends you and she who is easy angers you?"

"Cease to entreat, and then with more reason you may accuse the inclination of her whom you go to ask.

"Well and with many weapons I maintain that your arrogance must contend, since in promises and importunity you unite the world, the flesh and the devil!"

LEGAL NOTICE

(Continued from page 239)

pendent for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States, at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, as hereinafter provided. Such bonds when issued shall be exempt from taxation.

§ 2. Sale; interest. The comptroller is hereby directed to cause to be prepared the bonds of this state to an amount not to exceed forty-five million dollars, such bonds to bear interest at the rate of not to exceed five per centum per annum, which interest shall be payable semi-annually in the city of New York. Such bonds, or the portion thereof at any time issued, shall be made payable in twenty-five equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable one year from the date of issue, and the last of which shall be payable twenty-six years from the date of issue. The comptroller is charged with the duty of selling such bonds at not less than par to the highest bidder after advertising for a period of twenty consecutive days, Sunday excepted, in at least two daily newspapers printed in the city of New York and one in the city of Albany. Advertisements shall contain a provision to the effect that the comptroller, in his discretion may reject any or all bids made in pursuance of such advertisements, and in the event of such rejection, the comptroller is authorized to readvertise for bids in the form and manner above described as many times as in his judgment may be necessary to effect a satisfactory sale.

§ 3. Commission to distribute proceeds. The proceeds of such bonds, after appropriation or appropriations therefrom by the legislature, shall be distributed by a special commission created by the legislature for such purpose, to the persons entitled thereto, under the provisions of this act, on application within a time to be prescribed by the legislature.

§ 4. Disability fund. The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment and administration of a fund to be used for the amelioration of the condition of residents of this state who are suffering disability incurred in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the date when they were honorably separated or discharged from such service, and shall authorize any person who so desire to assign to such fund the bonus to which he is entitled under this act.

§ 5. Bonuses to certain persons who were in the service of the United States in the war with the German empire and its allies. Every person, male or female, who

LEGAL NOTICE

was enlisted, inducted, warranted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, for a period longer than two months, and who at the time of entering into such service was a resident of the state of New York, and is a resident at the time this act takes effect, and who was honorably separated or discharged from such service, or who is still in active service, or has been retired, or has been furloughed to a reserve, shall be entitled to receive from the proceeds of such bonds as a bonus the sum of ten dollars for each month or major fraction thereof that such person was in active service, of not exceeding a total of two hundred and fifty dollars. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who at the time of being separated or discharged from such service, or at the time of being retired or furloughed to a reserve, or at the time of his death in the service, was an officer in the army or marine corps above the grade of captain, or in the navy above the grade of lieutenant, senior grade. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who being in the military or naval service of the United States subsequent to the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, refused on conscientious, political or other grounds to subject himself to military discipline or to render unqualified service, or whose only service was in the students' army training corps, or who received from another state a bonus or gratuity of a like nature provided for by this act. The husband or wife, child, mother, father, brother and sister in the order named and none other, of any deceased person, male or female, who was enlisted, inducted, warranted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States, as provided in this section, shall be paid the sum or allowance that such deceased person would be entitled hereunder if such deceased person had lived.

§ 6. Payment exempt from taxation and execution. All payments or allowances made under this act shall be exempt from all taxation, and from levy and sale on execution.

§ 7. Submission of law to people. This law shall not take effect until it shall at a general election have been submitted to the people and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election; and the same shall be submitted to the people of this state at the general election to be held in November, nineteen hundred and twenty. The ballots to be furnished for the use of voters upon the submission of this law shall be in the form prescribed by the election law, and the proposition or question to be submitted shall be printed thereon in substantially the following form, namely: "Shall chapter eight hundred and seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty,' be approved?"

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original law.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

[L. S.] FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE.
"Shall the proposed amendment to Sections Two, Four, Five, Eleven and Twelve of Article Seven of the Constitution, in relation to debts contracted by the state," be approved?"

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE.
"Shall chapter eight hundred seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty,' be approved?"

Connecticut

THE new policy of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, to meet opposition with opposition, was set in motion recently when the executive board announced its opposition to the candidacy of Judge James F. Walsh of Greenwich for the Republican nomination for governor. In the event of his nomination the suffragists will work against his election. Some time ago the suffragists determined to oppose the nomination or election of any gubernatorial candidate who represented the forces impeding the immediate ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Connecticut. It is reported that Judge Walsh is the choice of the Roraback machine to succeed Holcomb.

Women Register

THE eagerness with which women are registering and taking the steps preliminary to casting their vote at the polls in November shows they intend to play no passive part in the result. The press of Rhode Island under such captions as "Phenomenal Registration," is calling attention to the record-breaking registration in that state due to the large number of women registering. In Providence the records show 30,471 women registrants and 29,792 men. What is true of Providence holds good in practically every part of the state.

Arkansas is a close rival for honors. Records show that practically 1000 women in the Fort Smith District registered this year that they might qualify as voters in the November elections. A tally of the last 300 tax receipts issued to men and women from that district showed that fifty per cent were women.

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FOUNDED JUNE 2, 1917

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Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

AUGUST 7, 1920

No. 10

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

AUGUST 7, 1920

NUMBER 10

When You Get Into the Parties

WHEN, at the great suffrage convention in Chicago last February, the assembled delegates voted to "get into the parties," they did so with eyes fairly wide open.

They knew, for instance, that party organization was a series of charmed rings and that getting into a party did not mean getting into the ring that runs the party. They knew that the slogan they adopted "get into the parties" did not, for them, carry the adjunct "leave your conscience outside" when you get in. They knew that to men who run parties "the organization," "party interest," "good of the party" are words that roll up into a juggernaut to pound conscience to a pulp. They knew that conventions are "fixed" and primaries are fixed and that elections, too, are fixed insofar as party politicians can fix them.

In view of all that they knew, there could not be much surprise to wise women in the way the national convention at Chicago was run and in the way the national convention at San Francisco was run. At both they saw the inner rings in control allow just enough rope to the delegates to tie themselves up in. They saw each convention signed, sealed and delivered with the mark of the ring.

This has to be written too early in the week to cover pertinently the New York state Democratic unofficial convention held at Saratoga August 3 and 4, but it is a safe hazard that the women who have gotten into the Democratic party in New York state and were present at the convention had the opportunity to see party machinery there revolving with impressive precision. It is not too early to remark in passing that the essential news from the convention was headlined "Tammany in Control."

At the New York Republican convention held there last week, the procedure being admittedly machine-made, women who have gotten into the Republican party and were present at the convention, had the opportunity to see a political program clicked off by the machine without the slip of a cog, although, due primarily to certain of the women delegates, there was some straining and creaking of the bands when Senator Wadsworth was designated as the man for whom the Republicans will ask New York women's votes in November. However, as for the most part all delegates to the convention had been hand-picked with reference to their willingness to stand for Wadsworth, the machine movement was virtually unimpeded. This was true in the main even of the 200 women among the thousand delegates present. Having been selected on that basis, with some notable exceptions, the women delegates voted for Senator Wadsworth's designation. There was in his designation nothing spontaneous, nothing remotely significant of New York women's attitude on the question.

Between Senator Wadsworth's forced designation and the women of New York State lie both the primary and the election.

In neither the national nor the state demonstrations of machine movements of this sort can there be much in the way of surprise to wise women, or much in the way of disillusionment. They must have known, they did know, from the beginning that such programs are inevitable. They must have known, they did know, that the most they could legitimately expect from men politicians when they got into the parties was some perfunctory, ostentatious, our-

hands-on-our-hearts attention, and for the rest calm unawareness of their existence. From themselves they had, of course, the right to expect, at least, the ability and the disposition to watch and to learn.

That they are watching and learning is evident from every source. Even the women of the most strongly stamped party imprint are frank in their protest at much that they have come to close grips with by reason of having gotten into the parties. They are standing steady for the moment, they are holding their noses, they are reminding themselves that they knew what to expect, but they are repelled just the same. Already it is apparent that getting into the parties is not going to mean for any save a few women getting into a sacrosanct place where one may not protest, may not think, may not act. Thinking and protesting and acting—at the polls—are all in reserve. In spite of the demonstrations at Chicago and at San Francisco, and at Saratoga, it is far too early for women to feel that they are never to be able to make themselves felt within the party. They can do it and eventually they will do it, even though a little demonstration outside of the party may be likewise in order.

In Tennessee

WITH Speakers Seth Walker and A. L. Todd designated to introduce the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment in the special session of the Legislature the Tennessee campaign for ratification is entering upon the last week preceding the call for the Legislature. The two speakers have been named in accordance with the formal procedure of having the amendment pass from the federal Department of State to Governor Roberts and from him to the speakers, and they have been formally invited by Mrs. Guilford Dudley, third vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, for the four ratification committees, the League of Women Voters, of which Mrs. John M. Kenny is chairman, Democratic women with Mrs. Leslie Warner chairman, Republican women with Mrs. James Beasley chairman, and the Men's Committee headed by former Governor Rye.

These four chairmen have signed a formal statement which reads: "We the undersigned chairmen of ratification committees desire to say to the public, any statement to the contrary notwithstanding, that we are working and shall continue to work for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and that your ratification committees take no stand on partisan and political differences of opinion."

Legislators who have accepted Attorney-General Thompson's opinion and those of other authorities that action by the special session for ratification is legal will be interested in a supplementary opinion by him on the fine point that there is no violation of oath involved.

Mr. Thompson has written to Mrs. Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, as follows: "The argument and conclusion contained in my opinion of June 24, 1920, to the Governor established the fact that such member would not in so doing violate his oath." And further: "The act of ratification or rejection of a proposed amendment is not a legislative act controlled by the constitution of the state of Tennessee but

the same is a political act controlled by the federal constitution. The power and right of a Tennessee legislator to perform this political act is given to him by the federal constitution and not by the state constitution. In voting either for ratification or rejection of this amendment the Legislature is not passing any law or exercising a legislative duty controlled by the Tennessee constitution, but upon the contrary, it is performing a political act under the direction and subject to the power conferred upon each individual member composing the body by the federal constitution, Article 5. Each takes an oath to support this federal constitution with full knowledge that it commits to him this power and duty of ratifying or rejecting not only this but any other amendment that may be submitted by Congress, and also with full knowledge that it is the supreme law of the land and superior to the state constitution. There is, therefore, no conflict in the two oaths which he takes, one to support the federal constitution and the other to support the state constitution, because, first, the state constitution conflicts with the federal constitution and must yield on this point, and second, his power to act at all on ratification or rejection is derived from the federal constitution."

From all over the state are coming legal opinions from leading lawyers who hold that the Legislature is entitled in special session to act upon ratification of the federal amendment. T. K. Riddick, William H. FitzHugh, J. W. Canada, Walter P. Armstrong and R. G. Brown of Memphis have signed the following: "We have carefully looked into the question as to whether the present Legislature of Tennessee can lawfully ratify the nineteenth amendment of the federal constitution giving suffrage to women and we are decidedly of the opinion the present Legislature has this right and power. We base our opinion upon the decision of the Supreme Court in the very recent case of Hawke against Smith, Secretary of State, in which the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the referendum provision of the Ohio constitution did not apply to the action of the Ohio Legislature ratifying the prohibition amendment, notwithstanding a direct provision in the Ohio constitution that the referendum did apply to such ratification. In substance and effect the Supreme Court of the United States held by unanimous opinion that the actions of the various state Legislatures in ratifying amendments to the federal constitution were wholly controlled by the provision of that constitution and that no state constitution or statute could affect it at all. We cannot understand how any disinterested or impartial lawyer could read the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States above referred to and have any reasonable doubt upon this question."

All signs indicate that the Democrats of Tennessee as of the nation are alive to the fact that for a Democratic state to fail to take the 36th place on the roll for ratification would be fatal to the Democratic party's claim to women's votes in November. The Republicans score on every other count save this of the wind-up of ratification. Democratic opportunity is inextricably entangled with ratification in Tennessee and North Carolina.

At a luncheon given at the Knoxville Board of Commerce on August 2, Mrs. Catt said: "Ratification is an American issue, not a partisan measure. However in voting for ratification Republican legislators will be upholding their platform, their candidates, their national committee, and Democratic legislators who vote for ratification will be standing by their platform, their candidates, their national committee. For the first time in sixty years both major political parties are agreed upon one thing, ratification in Tennessee. The Tennessee legislature will be voting for a measure for the benefit of the state and also to bestow upon the women of the United States the same rights and privileges now enjoyed by federal enactment by the women of most of the other large nations."

Refusing State Rights to Women

IT seems that the governor has sacred rights which are so powerful that they have obliterated state rights in Vermont.

Vermont, as a state, has at present no rights but those the governor grants.

It has no right to do any of these things:

To ratify an amendment according to the provisions of the federal Constitution;

To determine its presidential electors according to the formula of the basic law of the United States;

To follow the declared wishes of its citizens, of its legislators, of its dominant political parties.

These were once state's rights—the sacred rights retained by the states themselves or given them explicitly by federal decision. But in Vermont they do not operate.

Only the governor operates. He has snatched away from his state not only the powers specified as belonging to it, but those which are inherent in the principles of American government, such as the right of the governed to give their consent to government.

Governor Clement does not care whether he has the consent of the people of his state or not. His concern is with something quite different.

He has claimed for himself, in opposition to the federal Constitution, the Supreme Court and American principles, the following powers:

To decide how and when a constitutional amendment shall be ratified;

To deny and abridge, in contradistinction to Article XV of the Constitution, the right to vote of some 9,500,000 adult women citizens of the United States who could enjoy that privilege this year but for him;

To abridge the privileges and immunities of these same 9,500,000 citizens in contradistinction to Article XIV.

He has also arrogated to himself the right:

To refuse the petitions of the women of his state;

To set aside the acts of the Legislature which invested the women of Vermont with the presidential vote in accordance with the provisions of the United States Constitution for choosing of presidential electors.

It is not the rights of Vermont which are in jeopardy from a special session to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. It is the rights of Governor Clement to obey some other master's voice than that of the people who elected him to be their executive.

Of what is he then the executive? Certainly not of the people of his state. Certainly not of the Legislature; certainly not of his party.

From whence comes his master's voice which refuses to Vermont women their state rights?

The Simple Facts

"In view of the fact that the suffrage amendment can be ratified or rejected only by action of the State Legislatures, Governor Clement's attitude seems to be beside the question. The simple facts are that several million women demand the right to vote in the coming national election and they can obtain that right only by ratification of the amendment by one or more States. Surely they have a right to expect that the question be submitted to any state that has not yet acted on the proposition, and the fact that a national election is only a few months ahead is ample justification for holding a special session to consider the matter."

—*The Ledger*, Newark, New Jersey.

Why Not Try a Change?

IN pleading for woman's voice in international politics in order to avoid war, the Spanish suffrage leader, Marchesa del Ter, is in entire accord with Madame de Witt Schlumberger, leader of the French suffragists.

"It is a fatal mistake to close the doors of international diplomacy to women," says the Marchesa, who is leader of the Spanish suffrage association, affiliated with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

"Wars might well have been abolished long ago," continued the Spanish leader, "if women had had a say in the affairs which lead up to them.

"Men see clearly, but they are more interested in business than in the common laws of humanity. They forget they are dealing with human lives and that their mistakes are not counted in dollars and cents, but in blood.

"Women would not forget the sacredness of the diplomat's mission. They would not lose themselves in petty quarrels, as men do. Neither would they decide the fate of nations between the coffee and the cigarette.

"Any woman, no matter how patriotic, would hesitate to plunge the world into war.

"It is essential that governments should use the services of eminent women for confidential diplomatic posts. The old, old fable that women cannot keep a secret is a lie and a libel. There are many noble-minded, intelligent and patriotic women in every nation who would be admirably suited for diplomatic missions.

"Now that we have women members of parliament the woman ambassador is, I am assured, not merely a dream but a soon-to-be-seen reality."

At about the same time that women of Spain and of France were voicing their belief that women would help the peace of the world, Miss Maude Royden, London's famous woman preacher, said this:

"I am persuaded that someone has got to get into this thing—this shadow that we call 'The League of Nations'—who has not been trained in the old ways. Not necessarily someone better, someone wiser or someone stronger; just someone who has not trampled his rut so deep that he can't see over the top of it.

"Women, in short.

"There is just one thing to be said for women in this matter, and that is that they have none of the traditions which make it difficult for men to see sense."

THE editor of the Philadelphia *Record* has taken up the cudgels in behalf of the stand taken by Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter of Topeka, who believes that it is not necessary for a woman to give her exact age when registering. "The Kansas woman who refuses to state more than she 'is past twenty-one years of age' for the purpose of qualifying for a voter, is not trying to defeat the registration law", says the *Record*, "she is trying to make it workable. * * * The women have been long enough securing the vote to justify a policy of making it as easy as possible for them to exercise the right when it comes. If the women say they are past twenty-one, that ought to qualify them".

THE republic of Czecho-Slovakia is not yet two years old, and here are some of the conditions, already established, under which the wage-earning women of the Republic work: The eight-hour day, compulsory sickness and death insurance, maternity benefits, universal organization of workers, the women on equal plane with the men.

The Little Argentine Schoolmistress

IN a recent issue of "Nuestra Causa," the women's paper published at Buenos Aires, Maria Teresa de Basaldua claims that such general culture as exists in Argentina is due to the women.

The mass of the people, she says, attend the lower schools, and 90 per cent of them go no further. The teaching in these common schools is done mainly by women:

"Day by day the Argentine school mistress has penetrated more and more deeply into the hot forests, and into the frozen deserts of the South; to the foot of the Andes as on the plain of the La Plata. Wherever the Argentine flag shines, there is a school, and generally a woman's voice is heard in it."

There have been some noteworthy men in the teaching profession in Argentina, she says, and there are some still, but few make a life work of it; they give it up for something else, while the women stick to it: "Women like Juana Manzo, to whom Sarmiento entrusted the presidency of the General Council of Education during his visit to North America; like Caprile, like the never-to-be-forgotten Miss Mary O. Graham, like Angela Menéndez, like Canetti de Rosales and a hundred others. If our people are educated and manly, hardworking and patriotic, generous and idealistic, she credits these good qualities to "the little Argentine schoolmistress."

A. S. B.

Play Standards

THE standards for play as sent out by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor of the United States, set forth with emphasis the need of a play period for every child. At least two hours of organized play every day throughout the year is one of the suggested standards for children's play.

The Bureau statement says, "There should be a playground within a quarter of a mile of every child under six years of age, one within half a mile of every child over six, and a baseball field not more than a mile distant from every boy old enough to play on a team.

One acre to serve 500 children is advised as a minimum amount of space. This general playground should not be used for games requiring a great deal of space. Baseball, football, tennis and similar games should be provided for by an athletic field containing about six acres.

"Active play should be carefully directed, and vigorous games should be followed by quiet ones. Every child over ten years old should have a chance to play on a team of some sort, and special emphasis on team games for girls is recommended."

Getting Ready

"IT would be exceedingly unfortunate should the suffrage amendment become effective before the November elections without an opportunity having been given to the women of Boston to be listed as legal voters", says Mayor Peters, of Boston, in an official statement to the city election commissioners, urging that every preparation be made to register the women between the dates of August 2nd and 18th in anticipation of the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Accordingly, the city election commissioners are making preparations for registering a woman's voting list as large as the men's, which runs now close to 118,000 names.

A TOTAL of 86,000 girls throughout the United States are taking systematic training in housekeeping, child care, cooking, sewing and such branches, according to a report of the National Girl Scouts Association.

What Is Home Without a Kitchen?

THE editor of the *Woman Citizen* is correct in the surmise that the discussion of the servant and home question is not ended with Mrs. J. C. Hardy's article in the *Citizen* of July 17th. No question can be finally settled until it is settled right—that is, in accordance with the highest instincts of the race.

Mrs. Hardy has made a long step forward in disposing of "The Servant in the House." The great majority of people have never had servants, and the minority are fast falling into line. The word "servant" should, and will, eventually become obsolete. But I must take issue with Mrs. Hardy when she proposes to make every household self-sustaining through the performance by its members of all the labor directly pertaining to its existence. In advocating such a position it seems to me that Mrs. Hardy overlooks an important biological fact, viz.: that women, like men, inherit a variety of faculties, many of which are misused in domestic work. It is natural for men to be husbands and fathers, and for women to be wives and mothers, but it is exceedingly unnatural and would be disadvantageous for all men to be architects and bricklayers, and so it is equally unnatural and wasteful for all women to be cooks and housemaids.

IT is unfair to say a woman shirks her job when nature never cut her out for that job. Her talents in other directions may be small, but such as they are, she is entitled to select the vocation for which she has most aptitude and taste. The God-given special talent of man, which, if he shirks, none other can assume, and for which the world must be forever the richer or the poorer, according as he uses or fails to use it, is fatherhood. But who would confine fathers to one occupation only, as Mrs. Hardy would confine mothers? Life is *not* like that.

Our grandmothers asked, "What is home without the loom, the candle moulds, and the soap kettle?"

Our mothers asked, "What is home without the sewing-machine and bread-baking day?"

Now comes the Twentieth Century woman with the question, "What is home without the kitchen, or the broom?"

Answer: An odorless, dustless, servantless heaven on earth; an abiding place where the family can enjoy being together in privacy; where they may rest, or talk of matters of mutual interest without the ceaseless interruption concerning what they shall eat and what they shall drink; a place where souls may have a chance to form and grow, and not a sweat-shop where half a dozen different arts and sciences are jumbled together in chaotic confusion with untrained persons dabbling in each of them.

THE private kitchen is as antiquated an institution as the workshop of the small mechanic. Both represent a useless and needless waste of time, labor and material. As it is today, the kitchen is our most archaic domestic appendage. That is why its problems are so baffling. Our department of cooking is out of kilter with the present social order. There can be no satisfactory solution of the servant question until our cooks become specialists, and are put upon the same footing as our druggists. Who can explain why we demand a graduate pharmacist to mix our medicines, and trust any ignorant person whom we can pick up to mix our foods? Kitchens are laboratories, whether we know it or not, and laws ignored there, if not as immediately deadly as when ignored in a drug store, are just as surely fatal. Most of us die from our food mixtures.

The old race idea, deep-rooted in our minds, due to centuries

of servanthood of women, that every woman is, or should be, by nature or training a cook, is even now beginning to pass away. It is equally rational to expect every man to be by nature and training an architect. If house-building had been conducted on the plan of "let each man build his own house" we should undoubtedly have even uglier and more inconvenient houses than we now have. Architecture, removed from the confines of a family function and thrown open to world-competition, has become a highly specialized science, with many branches, but cooking has stayed at home because the cook has stayed there. Since the race emerged from savagery—maybe before—cooking has been a feminine occupation,—a womanly virtue indeed,—except where it has been taken out of the home and specialized and systematized by men. Every now and then, of course, some woman would break away and sing a great song or write a great book, but women have had it instilled into them that it was their duty to stay at home, and their cooking has been necessarily home-cooking. We are taught from childhood to believe that there is no cooking so wholesome and delicious as this much-vaunted home-cooking, but let us look the facts in the face and see if this is true. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in that book of "X-ray" quality, "The Home," has the following to say on this subject:

"HOME-COOKING is an alluring phrase, but lay aside the allurements; the term applies to Eskimo hut, to Choctaw wigwam, to Turk and Chinaman and Russian Jew—whose home-cooking are we praising? Our own, of course, which means nothing—absolutely nothing—but that the stomach adapts itself to poisons. Of course we like what we are used to, be it sauerkraut or saleratus biscuit. We like tobacco, too, and alcohol, and chloral and morphine. The long-suffering human system (perhaps toughened by ages of home-cooking) will adapt itself even to slow death. . . . To find home-cooking pure and undefiled, far from the deleterious products of mere business cooking, we must go to the isolated farm house."

This recalls to our mind a dinner we once tried to eat in a home in the mountains of Tennessee. There was rich abundance of raw material—chicken, ham, half a dozen kinds of vegetables, milk, butter, and home-made bread. No "baker's bread," or city milk, or questionable meats or painted confectionery gave offense to this table. Yet the only articles of food which were safe to eat were the uncooked ones—raw tomatoes, cucumbers and water-melons. The men of the family were sallow and gaunt, while the women were flabby and anemic. Dyspepsia and false teeth were much in evidence, and patent medicine was the family divinity. All these mountain folk were addicted to strictly home-cooking, and would have sturdily repelled any innovations.

THE preparation of food must be conducted as scientifically as any other human activity. This requires knowledge and proper equipment, two things impossible for each private home to possess. But each community, by co-operating, might have its model kitchen with experts in charge, at no greater cost than the present wasteful plan.

The equipment of a large kitchen has already attained a degree of perfection that the best equipped private kitchen cannot equal. The kitchen equipped with electricity for lighting and heating is the ideal one. No smoke, heat or disagreeable odors. These kitchens, meant for community service, resemble a large workshop, furnished as they are with all kinds of technical and mechanical appliances that quickly perform the hardest and most disagreeable tasks. Here we see potato and fruit paring machines, apparatus for removing kernels, meat-choppers, mills for

grinding coffee and spice, ice choppers, corkscrews, bread-cutters, and a hundred other machines and appliances all run by electricity, that enable a comparatively small number of persons, without excessive labor, to prepare a meal for hundreds of guests. The same is true of the equipment for house-cleaning and for washing dishes.

In charge of each community kitchen should be placed a person selected because of fitness, regardless of sex, and this chief should, in turn, select other employees on the same principle. Competition would follow, and the general standard of excellence in cooking, both from a palatable and dietetic standpoint, would be raised. The science of the preparation of food would be taken out of the hands of untrained persons, and would therefore become a worthy calling, with no stigma of servanthood attached to it. It may not be too much to hope for that we shall yet see the man or woman who prepares our food take rank with those who cut out our appendix.

COMMUNITY kitchens would mark a long step forward in the social progress of women. The freeing of one-half the world—the woman half (for even where cooks are hired they are usually ribs) from domestic bondage, would unloose and turn into their natural channels powers which have been for ages harnessed to one treadmill. We may then look for more great women poets. Does anyone suppose that there would have been so many great poets among men if, as a sex, their minds had been obsessed with cook stoves?

The domestic misery in which the majority of women in present day life are obliged to live, has been truly pictured by Gerhard V. Amyntor in his book entitled "A Commentary to the Book of Life." In the chapter on "Fatal Stings" he says: "It is not the terrible occurrences that no one is spared,—a husband's death, the moral ruin of a beloved child, long, torturing illness, or the shattering of a fondly nourished hope,—it is none of these that undermines the woman's health and strength, but the little daily recurring, body and soul devouring cares. How many millions of good housewives have cooked and scrubbed their love of life away! And how many have sacrificed their rosy cheeks and their dimples in domestic service until they became wrinkled, withered, broken mummies. The everlasting question: 'What shall I cook today?' the ever-recurring necessity of sweeping and dusting and scrubbing and dish-washing, is the steadily falling drop that slowly but surely wears out her body and mind. The cooking stove is the place where accounts are sadly balanced between income and expense, and where the most oppressive observations are made concerning the increased cost of living, and the growing difficulty of making both ends meet. Upon the flaming altar where the pots are boiling, youth and freedom from care, beauty and light-heartedness are being sacrificed. In the old cook whose eyes are dim and whose back is bent with toil, no one would recognize the blushing bride of yore, beautiful, merry, and modestly coquettish in the finery of her bridal garb."

JULIA M. HUSBANDS.

Paducah, Ky.

If She Had Spent Her Time Cooking

A YOUNG college graduate of 22, Dr. Irene Diner of New York city has made a valuable contribution to industrial chemistry by her discovery of the availability of the microscope in determining the quality of rubber and rubber products. The strength and durability of rubber are determined by the size of the cells that make up its tissue. With the development of the method discovered by Dr. Diner it is expected that the approximate strength of the rubber may be determined.

Why the Same Thing?

THE answer to Mrs. Gilman's very important article on professionalizing housework, in a recent number of the *Woman Citizen*, is a striking proof of what you assured her, that there are still intelligent women who are not enlightened on this subject. I hope that Mrs. Gilman can be persuaded to write, and write, and write, until women everywhere understand what it will mean to them and to civilization when meals are cooked outside instead of inside the home, where tired mothers, because of this interminable cooking, have as a rule no time for real, joyous, helpful companionship with children and husband.

It would seem that women, and men as well, could soon be persuaded to see the advantage to the home, and the community, and the nation, if busy mothers could be released from their chief drudgery in the perfectly feasible way Mrs. Gilman suggests. I know of no reform more needed than this one of expert cooking outside the home, available to any family, whether of large or small means.

Many mothers in every community are victims of overwork. They are always tired. They have no time for restful living, and happy home companionship. By the thousands they are dying and leaving little children. Is it not time in this twentieth century that some new method be devised to save them, to take away some of the drudgery that so often makes home a tragedy instead of a blessing?

The plan of community kitchens where food already prepared is sent into homes, or bought by families who prefer to carry it home, is being tried with success in England, and in a number of cities and towns in this country. So clearly does Mrs. Gilman show the practicability of this system that her article should be printed in pamphlet form and widely distributed. Moreover, she should be urged to write again and again till men and women are fully aroused to further this movement for the ideal home. We must remember the story of the mother of John Wesley. The father said, "Why do you tell the child the same thing twenty times over?" and she answered, "Because nineteen are not enough, my dear."

Brookline, Mass.

MARION MURDOCK.

The Servant Question in Australia

A REPORT of the openings in Australia for women of the United Kingdom shows that the greatest demand is for women for household service and for every kind of domestic work. There are many openings available for women in manufacturing industries but no demand for clerks, typists or shop assistants.

Some light on the emigration of English working women to Australia to engage in domestic service is contained in another letter sent by Miss Constance Stephens of Sydney, Australia, to the International Congress of Working Women. "The domestic situation is still very much strained," says Miss Stephens, "and the arrival of 50 Tommy Waacs last week did not make much difference in the problem. Positions were found for all of the girls as domestic helpers or waitresses, and although the girls were brought out on an understanding that they must remain twelve months in domestic service, it goes against the grain with girls who have been clerking and motor-driving in France. An exception was made in the case of one girl who was allowed to go to her trade as upholsteress. Another batch of 150 is due in about a week. I very much doubt the wisdom of swamping the local labor market, and it remains to be seen whether the girls will remain in domestic service for the prescribed time, when factory life offers very much more attractive opportunities."

Social Hygiene Work in New York State

Reported from the Social Hygiene Committee of the National League of Women Voters

THE reports of work done by the Social Hygiene Committee of the New York State League of Women Voters, as reported to Dr. Valeria H. Parker, the National Chairman, show great activity, excellent progress and fine co-operation with the Venereal Disease Section of the State Health Department and the American Social Hygiene Association.

Dr. Helen Williston Brown is the Chairman of the New York State Committee which now consists of about 25 persons. It is Dr. Brown's plan to enlarge this committee until every assembly district is represented. The members of the committee have been appointed through the advice and aid of the District and Congressional leaders. Each member is expected to act as a local chairman, and to consider and plan for the special needs of her own district. Part of her work is to plan for the distribution of literature, and to secure place for social hygiene lectures on the programme of clubs and parent-teachers' associations.

The State Social Hygiene Committee has adopted the following program for educational work:

- (1) An understanding of the needs, education and care of abnormal children;
- (2) The need of rational sex education for children and the education of parents along these lines;
- (3) The enormous effect of environment on both good and bad heredity;
- (4) The various bills for social betterment indorsed by the League of Women Voters.

"THE first heading," writes Dr. Brown, "—an understanding of the needs, education and care of abnormal children," is something especially desirable in this state where it is estimated that there are forty thousand feeble-minded persons. We know that more than two per cent of school children are feeble-minded, and that in a great many places the school system should be more elastic in order to care for them properly.

"What really should be done in the schools is to give careful mental examinations by competent specialists to all children who show any unusual characteristics, and to determine what are their mental or emotional peculiarities, their special aptitude or limitations. Searching physical examinations should be given also to see if any physical conditions are retarding or upsetting these cases.

"The children found abnormal should be registered with the Board of Education or the Commission for Mental Defectives, and each child followed up, given the kind of work he can best do. Many children are made miserable by being driven to school-work that is not suitable for them.

"After leaving school these children should be watched over by protective workers, who will see to it that they have suitable homes and that they undertake work they are capable of doing.

"This may seem a tremendous scheme to put into execution, but it is just as reasonable and necessary to look out for the minds as for the bodies of our children, and they have in many cases been too long neglected. This brings us to our second plank—the need of rational sex education for children and the education of parents along these lines.

"Just what we are going to do about sex education is a question. At the present time few lectures on the subject are given in the schools of New York State because there are almost no teachers trained to give them. The need of training teachers then should be seriously considered. Of course, ideally the subject should be dealt with in the home, and many intelligent mothers

are giving their children good sex instruction. But probably sixty per cent of the mothers of New York state are not equipped to give information, the result being that great numbers of children are left to learn from the stories of the streets, from the gossip of other boys and girls who have learned the evil traditions concerning sex. If children have no chance to learn the simple truth from clean-minded persons, we cannot wonder if their minds become warped. We cannot expect right conduct without good training.

"No one factor in life affects a child's life as much as his attitude towards the problems of sex, and the way he will go depends much upon what he is told, which brings us to our third plank—the enormous effect of environment upon heredity.

"We all believe in heredity. We have been told a thousand times that feeble-minded parents have feeble-minded children, and so on, but though all children must tend to resemble their ancestors, let us think of the other side of the question—of social heredity—of how from his earliest years every child is driven and pushed and taught and scolded into being some one he would not be of his own accord.

"IT is important, therefore, that all this driving and pushing shall be in the right direction. Given any kind of a normal basis to work from a child is made or spoiled by his up-bringing and environment. His home should be the place where he gets his training to be a good citizen, where he learns to be honest and industrious, self-respecting and thoughtful of the rights of others, and yet, as we know, too often he is neglected, ill-fed and undisciplined, and is driven by hunger and the nervous instability that goes with semi-starvation, to become a thief, a sneak and a liar. His own home, his environment, his social heredity, in short, makes a criminal out of a normal child. This is true, and if you don't believe it, study any reports on delinquent children. Probably not more than fifteen or twenty per cent. are abnormal at the start.

"On the other hand a child's social heredity should not be too narrow. He should not be so protected in his home that he will have no ability to get on in the world outside. The home should be a bridge to life and not an end in itself.

"Among the evils of the world that all should be aware of by the time they are grown is the evil of venereal disease—it and its allied evils. In New York State, however, this particular problem is being so well handled by the State Health Department that we need not take it upon our shoulders. Those who desire to know more about venereal disease should write to the Health Department at Albany, or to the American Social Hygiene Association at 105 West 40th Street, New York.

"The last plank is concerning the welfare bills. It is not a source of special rejoicing, but the Legislature will meet again some day, and let us hope that when it does we will be so organized and powerful that we can compel the attention we desire".

The Educational Section of the New York State League of Women Voters has published three papers on Social Hygiene. These papers were written by Dr. Brown, and were then carefully gone over by experts to ensure their being accurate and up to date. They are: "The Educational and Medical Aspects of Social Hygiene"; "The Problem of the Abnormal Child", and "Psychiatry". All three are written in a style adapted for the use of those who have not had any special training in these matters.

(Continued on page 261)

Election Scene

Dramatized Demonstration of Voting

Staged by the Minnesota League of Women Voters

CAST OF CHARACTERS

Policeman.	Lady Who Spoils Her Ballot.
First Judge.	Two Anti-Suffragists.
Second Judge.	Another Challenger.
Extras. Third Judge — Two	Jane Jansen.
Clerks—not speaking parts.	Little Girl.
Woman and Baby.	Woman Friend.
Maggie O'Flannigan.	Marie Saplos.
Mrs. Chas. Hanson (French).	Excited Man.
First Challenger.	

SCENE: Voting Place, 5:45 A. M. A few voters waiting. Policeman near door. Enter a judge bearing ballot box—nods to people.

Policeman: Hello! So this is the place, is it? Looks more like a wedding reception than a voting precinct! Well! I'm thinkin' it will be a dull day here—no drunks and disorderlies to look after! I may as well go to sleep on me beat! Wish I'd been put on the job in me own 13th ward. But like as not there'll be no fun there now either. Well! this is what we get for letting the women in politics. (Walks up and down beat in dejected manner.)

Judges enter.

First Judge: Fifteen minutes to six—I'm early on the job. I hope my Democratic (or Republican) colleague will be on time. I met her yesterday afternoon at the office of the city clerk where we were instructed to get the loaded ballot boxes and keys before three o'clock P. M.—Good morning!

Second Judge: Good morning! It's a nice day, too, so the voters will turn out well. I notice the flag has not yet been displayed. Officer, please raise it. The clerks are not here. You shall have to administer the oath to the clerks. Have you memorized the oath?

First Judge: No, but I have written it down, in fact, I have made notes of all our duties. I would not dare trust to my memory until I had done this work several times.

Second Judge: I have done the same. (Enter two clerks.) Good morning, ladies (or gentlemen). We have just a few minutes to organize. Will you raise your right hands and take the oath?

First Judge: Do you clerks of election solemnly swear that you will perform the duties of clerk of election according to law and to the best of your ability and you will studiously endeavor to prevent fraud, deceit and abuse in conducting this election?

Clerks: We do.

(Clerks arrange tables. Judges put initials on backs of ballots. One of them deposits ballots in ballot box.)

Second Judge: Officer, how many voters are here?

Policeman: About ten, Ma'am, not counting the babies.

Second Judge: Babies at this hour!

Policeman: Yes, Ma'am, girl babies, too; their mothers want to get them used to it, they do be saying, and these same mothers want to vote quickly so that they can get their old men off to work by seven.

First Judge: Open the doors, officers.

First Judge: Hear ye, hear ye, the polls are open!

(Ballot boxes are opened, inspected and locked. One judge stands to give and receive ballots. Voters in line. Gives name to judge. First in line a woman with baby.)

Voter: (Handing baby to policeman.) Here, officer, hold my baby while I vote. (To the judge) Mary Brown, etc. (To the officer) Hold the baby right, officer, and she'll not cry. (Mary Brown goes to booth—marks ballot—gives to judge—takes baby—thanks officer and goes out. Meanwhile two men vote. Then Maggie O'Flannigan's turn comes.)

First Judge: Your name?

(A lady goes into booth here.)

Maggie: Maggie O'Flannigan. (As Maggie takes ballots from judge she whispers in his (her) ear.)

Maggie: Judge, can I vote for anyone I want to without anyone a-knowing of it?

Judge: Yes, of course, no one will know how you vote but yourself.

Maggie: That little spalpeen of a husband of mine told me that if I voted for Thomas Gray, he'd break my neck. Gray is dry and so am I and so is Pat. I'm thinking that is why he is mad.

(Maggie votes and leaves. After Maggie comes a young woman plainly a foreigner, who walks up to the judge with a smile of victory on her lips.)

Judge: Miss Coppet, I told you that you could not register last week as you were not a citizen. As you have been in this country only two months you cannot vote for five years, even though you made application for citizenship last week as you said you would.

Mrs. Chas. Hanson: Aw, mais je suie citizen. J'ai un mari—husband you call him—Charles—trois jours—je suis votair—maintenant, je suis Americaine. I make fool of vous, Judge.

Judge: You have Yankee pep anyway. (Registers her.)

Q. Name? 2. Voted — 3. Residence — (No. St. or Ave.) 4. Place of Nativity — 5. Color — 6. Length of Residence in U. S., in Minn., in Election District. 7. Date of Naturalization. 8. Court or place. 9. Able to read and write. 10. Where last registered, Ward—Election District. 11. Voted at Primary. 12. Remarks. Woman—husband, citizen—naturalized, etc.

(She passes to ballot judge.)

Ballot Judge: Do you know how to vote?

(She mistakes meaning, rolls her eyes knowingly.)

Mrs. C. H.: Zat is mon secret, Judge. Charles say no tell.

Judge: I meant do you know how to mark your ballot? (He tries to make his meaning clear by signs.)

Mrs. C. H.: Je comprendre—mais, oui. Non—I go to League—what you call it?

Judge: League of Women Voters.

Mrs. C. H. (vivaciously): Oui, oui—ze lady show me. (She goes off happily to booth—returns and watches judge closely to see that he deposits the ballot—leaves polling place smiling and happy, saying) Je suis Americaine—une citoyenne.

(Maggie O'Flannigan enters in different hat—wants to vote.)

Challenger: Judge, that woman has been in here and voted once before today. She thinks she can fool us by changing her hat—but I remember her face.

Judge: I remember her too. See here! What do you mean by trying to vote twice? I'll have you taken up right now. Officer! Arrest this woman for repeating.

Officer: Repeating, is she? Just come on with me, young woman. I'm glad to run one of you in.

(They go out.) (Lady comes running out of booth.)

Lady: Oh! Judge, what shall I do? I've torn my ballot in two.

Judge: Never mind—I'll fix another for you.

Lady: Oh! Thank you so much—I'll be more careful this time. (Goes back to booth.) (The two Anti-Suffragists approach the Judge.)

Judge: Do you want to vote?

First Anti: We don't want to vote, but we're going to.

Judge: Well, why do you do it then, nobody can compel you?

First Anti: No—but as much as we dislike it, we think it's our duty to nullify some of the votes of those very objectionable suffragists we know. Besides, I wouldn't vote for anyone less than a President.

Judge (smiling): That's a patriotic motive. Here are your ballots. (*They start off and both try to go in the same booth.*)

Judge: Stop there! You can't go in the same booth.

Antis: We cannot be separated.

Judge: You'll have to be this time—(to a Challenger): Put them in the right booths.

(*Christine Helmers comes in to vote.*)

Other Challenger: I challenge that vote.

Judge: On what ground?

Challenger: Age.

Judge: How old are you?

Christine: Thirty-five.

Judge: Are you satisfied?

Challenger: No, she is under twenty-one. Ought to know—she is my daughter.

Judge: Officer, arrest this girl.

(*Christine escapes but has pinned an advertisement on a booth—"Vote for Jones."*)

Policeman (discovers this): Indeed, I'm not so sure of its being a tea party. Some of the young ones are learning early.

Judge (to next voter): Name and address?

Voter: Jane Jansen, 1215 Sarah Street. (*Passes to ballot judge, receives ballot, goes to booth, comes out, speaks to judge.*)

Jane Jansen: Judge, I put a mark in the wrong place. Can I scratch it out?

Judge: No, bring the spoiled one to me. (*Gives another ballot.*) Now be careful to mark that just as you want it.

(*She returns, marks ballot, gives it to judge and goes. Judge and clerk return from lunch.*)

Jane Jansen: Please, Judge, come in and help me. I cannot read the names.

(*Judge goes in with her.*)

Little Girl comes running into polling place, cries out to judge: Please, sir, may I have a ballot? My mamma can't come because the baby is sick and she wants to vote. I'll bring the ballot back.

Judge: We can't do that, little girl. (*Woman in line steps to the child, speaks to her, and then says aloud*)

Woman: I'll go and stay with the baby while your mother votes. I can vote afterwards. (*Both go out.*)

(*At table young woman is giving name and address to judge.*)

Judge: Name?

Young Woman: Mrs. Marie B. Saplos.

Judge: You are not registered.

Marie: No, I was sick on the registration days. I can register now and vote, can I not?

Judge: Yes. (*Proceeds to ask questions.*) 1. Name? 2. Voted? 3. Residence? 4. Place of nativity? 5. Color? 6. Length of residence in U. S. In state? In Election District? 7. Date of naturalization? 8. Court or place? 9. Able to read and write? 10. Where first registered, ward, election district? 11. Voted at Primary? 12. Remarks.

Young Woman: Yes, born here.

Judge: Is your husband a citizen?

Young Woman: He has been here ten years.

Challenger: Mr. Saplos is not a citizen.

Judge: Do you know that your husband is a citizen? Have you seen his papers?

Marie: No, I thought surely he was, but I am nothing but an American. My parents were born here and my grandparents.

Judge: You are an alien in the eyes of the law. You cannot vote.

Marie (weeping): But, Judge, how can I be anything but an American? If America is not my country, I have no country. Why, my neighbors whose hearts are in the old country and who have been here only a year or less, are voting.

Judge: I am sorry, but it is law and we must obey until we can change it. (*She goes out weeping.*)

(*Announcement of closing of polls.*)

(*An excited man comes up breathless after announcement. Is refused permission to vote—though judges are allowing those in line before polls closed to vote.*)

(*Excited man looking at watch*): I must vote. I didn't intend to vote but my wife voted against my party and I want to kill her vote.

Policeman: Too late!

Suffrage in South Africa

SUFFRAGE has been active, as they say in stock market lingo, active in South Africa lately.

The Women's Enfranchisement Bill of the Union of South Africa passed its first reading in the House of Assembly on May 11th by a comfortable margin, the vote being 66 to 47. Previous to this, on May 3rd, the House of Assembly by a vote of 66 to 39 registered its opinion on the question of suffrage for women by declaring "the time has arrived when the right of voting for members of the Union Parliament and the Provincial Council should be extended to women". The second reading was set for May 27th but later postponed to June 10th. The reports from South Africa antedate June 10, but in view of the favorable expression of opinion on the question as registered on May 3rd, proponents of the Bill predicted its passage, believing the House would refuse "to stultify itself" or go contrary to its own expressed opinion. In the meantime the anti-suffragists of the Union Parliament were doing all possible to delay the ultimate triumph of the bill by using the same old arguments and displaying the same old prejudices that have done service in every country and hamlet where women have struggled for their rights.

The bill was introduced by Mr. Daniel MacLaren Brown who made an eloquent plea for its adoption from the standpoint of justice and progress. He pointed out that the bill was in every detail in accord with the South African Constitution.

A constitutional question involved is the increase of seats in the Assembly and its effect on parties, a fact responsible for some of the opposition to the Bill.

The chief opponent of the Bill was Mr. Merriman, and his speech was all inclusive in its vituperations. Mr. Brown, the bill, its supporters, women in general, suffragists in particular, were all remembered in the onslaught. Women are hysterical, unable to decide as to what is good for them, creatures to be protected from themselves, unsexed, lacking in modesty and purity and striving to usurp the powers of man.

In answer to the attack made by Mr. Merriman that the bill should not have been introduced by a private member but should have been a Government measure, General Smuts, Prime Minister, gave his opinion that the measure which is one of social reform, should come from the House. As a Government measure it was likely to be opposed on Party grounds. He quoted the precedent established by the British Parliament where the measure had not been introduced as a party measure, and the House of Commons had been left free to vote upon it without party considerations.

There were many able speeches in defense of the measure, presenting in a logical, sane manner the justice and need of such a reform measure. The women's war record especially in the

munition plants was cited as an invaluable contribution that could not be overlooked at a time like this.

To the member who feared that women unwilling to vote will be "dragged to the polls," the suffragists called attention to the fact that 33 per cent of the male vote fails to vote and it has never yet been recorded that any one of the 33 per cent has been "dragged to the polls". It is also suggested by the suffragists that the long distances the women might have to travel to the polls could be overcome by the Australian method of taking the ballot box to the voter in the outlying districts. The men would benefit by this plan also.

Whatever may be the issue of the debates on the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, the thing that stood out with startling clearness was the antis' opinions of the women of South Africa. They blared forth in no uncertain terms the estimation in which they hold their mothers, sisters, wives and daughters.

The cause of the working women of South Africa is being actively forwarded, according to a communication from Mrs. Laura Ruxton, Secretary of the combined suffrage bodies of the Union of South Africa. "We are putting up a strenuous fight to win suffrage for South Africa women", says Mrs. Ruxton, "and when that is obtained, I trust that our wide-spread organization will turn its energies to the cause of the organizing of women's labor. We believe in International Organization and work in close sympathy with the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, etc. The working women are beginning to organize here, since the passage last year of the minimum wage and two factory acts of which, for your information, I am sending copies."

The Working Women of Central America

HOPES for the early organization of the employed women of Costa Rica as a unit of the International Congress of Working Women are expressed by Senor G. Matamoros, Secretary of the Constitutional Congress of the Republic of Costa Rica, and president of the Federal Association of Laborers. Senor Matamoros states that at the present there is no women's trade organization in Costa Rica but that he is greatly interested and will do all possible to further the movement.

Another Central American Republic which is evincing a live interest in the welfare of woman workers is Salvador. Jose Mejia of the Consejo Supremo de la Union Obrera Salvadorena reviews the situation in Salvador as follows:

"In what industries or capacity are women employed in Salvador? The women of Salvador perform an important part in agriculture, the harvesting and cultivation of coffee. In the country centres there are the following occupations: Cigarette factories—Cloth factories—Stocking factories—Finishing of clothes for current use—Retailing in the market—also cashiers, machine operators, clerks and assistants in offices of various kinds. The majority of women work in small domestic industries, live a domesticated life and work.

"There can be brought together in this country some two thousand women who work in tobacco, clothing, dresses, domestic servants and other less important occupations. Organizations according to trade would not be of much importance, as at present there are so few factories, but the organizing of salaried employees would give a better result.

"The regular daily pay for men who work in shops and factories is \$1.25, that of women \$1.00. In the textile factories, nearly all the employees are women and they pay, as compared with men, differs 75 per cent. In the tobacco factories, it differs 50 per cent. At one time there was no work for women except domestic or small business. The millinery business is very old-

fashioned as well as the sewing machine and there always have been small stores. Today women are employed in offices, stores and factories, as already mentioned. The tendency to employ women increases."

Opening Doors of Opportunity

THE 1918 infant mortality rate for the United States birth registration area, as just published, is 101.7 points higher than the rate for the preceding year.

ANTICIPATING the ratification of the 19th Amendment, Ohio election officials are making ready to register the women at the general registration this fall.

"IN spite of the dilatoriness of the thirty-sixth state, the influence of women in national politics is being written in results. Ask Reed; he knows."—*Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN, wife of a former member of the British Parliament, has accepted an invitation to contest Leicester at the next General Elections. Mrs. Snowden is very popular in the labor ranks.

SISTER MARGIT SLACHTA, the first woman to be elected to the Hungarian Parliament, was formerly a school teacher and for ten years a member of the Catholic Social Mission Society. By organizing the Catholic women in her country, who were voting for the first time, her party became the leading one, having the majority in the House.

JAPANESE women are working more and more outside their homes as typists, accountants, teachers, in shops and factories, according to Miss Edward Gauntlett of Tokyo, a leader in the woman movement in Japan. As yet Japanese women have held few executive positions of importance. It is expected some of the universities by fall will open their doors to women.

THERE are at present 25 women Justices of the Peace in South Australia. It is maintained that the appointment of women to these positions has had a very similar effect to the granting of the vote. It has advanced the status of women and caused men to give greater attention to those questions directly relating to women and children and the interests of the home.

THE success of England's new venture in citizenship—women on juries—is being predicted by the leading papers of that country. The rules governing the service of women on juries provide that the proportion of sexes in each panel is to be the same as that on the jury list, subject to the provision that there shall never be less than 14 women summoned. For each trial the jury to be selected by ballot as under the present system. Therefore it will be a matter of chance whether the jury is composed of one sex or which sex is in the majority. A special jury composed of men only or women only may be called.

In a civil case, at the assizes or High Court either side may petition the judge for a jury of men or women. The Bench will make the decision, though the judge cannot of his own initiative take action.

It is provided that the wife and husband shall not be summoned for jury service at the same time. Exemptions are also granted women for disabilities incident to their sex.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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President

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Man and Superman

WITHIN hearing of the howls that go baying up to the moon from misanthropes who never see any women except the parasitic fluffy-ruffles type, it is enlivening to read of the discoveries of John M. Glenn, secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. In a recent interview, Mr. Glenn said:

"Already man has become as the drone of the hive. He is seen at the matinee, on the golf course, the bleachers, the beaches. You find him walking the streets in leisurely fashion, gazing into shop windows, watching the traffic cops bawling out luckless chauffeurs. You see him dawdling in the parks or idling about his own back yard.

"And the woman is at work; busy with typewriter and ledger and correspondence and the affairs of industry, selling all sorts of commodities, turning machinery, doing things, ordering things. She is at work on civic projects and municipal improvements; waging campaigns, fighting great battles for progress and commerce and art and religion.

"She is elbowing man out of his own sphere in nearly every line of endeavor, from petticoats to politics. And if you say petticoats and politics are so very far apart, you do not know what you are talking about.

"I was in San Francisco and saw what happened at the convention. The women ran it. They controlled no groups or disciplined delegates. They threw no votes to any candidate. They were only the power that moved the machinery. The frailer sex, the weaker vessel, directed the movements of 'the Lord and Master' and made him like it. Man and superman were there in the convention—and the superman was not a man at all, but a woman".

Woman Suffrage

"THE womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration, and the potent, uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. In so far as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire that the one needed state vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election.

"Let us not share the apprehensions of many men and women as to the danger of this momentous extension of the franchise. Women have never been without influence in our political life. Enfranchisement will bring to the polls the votes of citizens who have been born upon our soil, or who have sought in faith and assurance the freedom and opportunities of our land. It will bring the women educated in our schools, trained in our customs and habits of thought, and sharers of our problems. It will bring the alert mind, the awakened conscience, the sure intuition, the abhorrence of tyranny or oppression, the wide and tender sympathy that distinguish the women of America. Surely there can be no danger there."—Senator Harding at Marion, Ohio, on July 22, 1920.

NINE women who took the state bar examination at Jefferson City, Missouri, in July were successful.

One woman who took the examination did so to encourage her son who was also a candidate for the bar. The mother was successful.

Suffrage in California

THE digging up of Miss Annie Bock's eight-year-old letter against the workings of suffrage in California has called out some vigorous comments in the press of that state. One of the most pungent is an editorial which appeared in the *Fresno Morning Republican*. Under the heading, "Suffrage Misrepresented," it says:

"A Los Angeles woman who describes herself as prominent has written urging the Tennessee Legislature not to ratify the woman suffrage amendment on the grounds that suffrage in California has 'coarsened and cheapened' women, and 'made cowards and puppets of men.' Women, it develops, 'are intolerant, radical, revolutionary, and more corrupt in politics than men,' and their suffrage 'leads to the socialist co-operative commonwealth.' Also 'since suffrage, there has been an alarming increase in immorality, divorces and murder in California.' The women 'clamor for a fifty-fifty show for all offices.' The men voters of California would now reject woman suffrage, if it were resubmitted to them.

"Such a letter may sound plausible in uninformed quarters, but when it comes back to California, where the facts are known, it is too grotesquely untrue to be taken as even honest. If there are coarse and cheap women in California under suffrage, they are those who were coarse and cheap before, and many fine women have become much finer from enlarged opportunity and responsibility. The only difference suffrage has made in the cowardice of cowardly men is that now they are afraid to be indecent, whereas formerly they were afraid to be thought decent. Women may be more 'intolerant' of some things than men, but to call them 'more corrupt' is pure raving. If there have been any divorces in California caused by woman suffrage, nobody has heard of them, and certainly some have been prevented by enlarged opportunities for women to make their own livings. Statistically, murder has not increased in California, and no murder has been caused by suffrage. As to 'immorality,' the era of women's participation in the politics of California has been coincident with the most spectacular moral improvement in its history. The women, far from claiming half the offices, ask very few, and for these they present better selected candidates than the men. And, far from there being a reversal of sentiment among the men of California, the subject is not even discussed. Woman suffrage has become as much a matter of course as manhood suffrage, and the idea of disfranchising women would now be as unthinkable as disfranchising farmers or Methodists. The sentiment either for or against woman suffrage is as negligible as the sentiment for or against the rising of the sun.

"We suspect that these portions of the argument in question were all camouflage to cover the real objection, which is that the women are said to be 'radical,' 'revolutionary' and 'Socialist.' Of course they are not these things, any more than men. The proportion of radicals of either sex in California is insignificant, and has been made less by California's progressive legislation—which the radical Socialists opposed on the ground that it would palliate existing injustices and thereby postpone their 'revolution.' But there are circles in Los Angeles which see the bloody spectre of revolution in every progressive measure. The women of California are predominantly progressive. They have helped give California the finest and the soundest code of social and protective legislation in the Union. They have helped administer that legislation so sanely that it now has the support of all the conservative forces in the state except the stupidest part of Los Angeles reactionism, miseducated by the *Los Angeles Times*, which sees red whenever a labor union is mentioned. Los Angeles having notoriously more intelligent women than intelligent men, this particular feminine reactionary gives her sex credit for having contrib-



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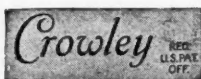
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uted more than their share to the human progress which she and her kind bi-sexually oppose.

"So far as an intimate observer can judge, woman suffrage in California has done nothing but good. It has not done enough of that to make anybody dizzy, or to scare anybody but the dullest reactionaries. For the most part, women are very much like men. But suffrage, so far as it has had any effect, has done some good to the state and a lot of good to the women, and no harm to anybody.

"The last sentence sums up very well the general verdict upon equal suffrage, in every state where it has been tried."

Dr. Jane Teagarden's Reminiscences

DR. JANE TEAGARDEN, of Waynesburg, Pa., a prominent leader in medical circles, has recently searched her memory for some recollections of Miss Anthony as she appeared before Philadelphia audiences of forty years ago. The charming result is herewith reproduced for the delight of the readers of the *Woman Citizen*:

In the winter of 1879 and 1880, when a student in the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, I first met and heard Miss Susan B. Anthony lecture. It was on a Sunday afternoon in one of the Liberal Halls of the city. Miss Anthony, Lucretia Mott and other eminent women were to speak. In company with Dr. Way and his wife of Waynesburg, I was seated near the entrance. When a group of women came in together, we were anxious to recognize Miss Anthony. They were dressed in the prevailing style, in black frocks and wraps, except one tall, angular woman with short hair, an unusual hat, and wonderfully striped shawl. Mrs. Way laughed and declared that was Miss Anthony. Dr. Way and I hoped not. The group was seated in front of the platform by an usher. The presiding officer stepped forward to introduce Miss Anthony. A woman slightly less than the average height, wearing handsome silks and "a love of a black velvet bonnet," stepped gracefully to her place on the platform and began her address by a compliment to Lucretia Mott, who was unable to be present. Mrs. Way "took it all back," and was an enthusiastic admirer of the real Miss Anthony when we were presented after the lecture.

At that time Waynesburg College was being "financed" by nearly every teacher, student, and woman in Greene county. I at once asked Miss Anthony to come to give a benefit lecture for the College at her convenience, during the spring or early summer of that year. We had some correspondence, and a date during the second week of May was decided upon.

On the evening of May 7th, I met Miss Anthony at the W. & W. station (up the pike), on arrival of the evening train, and was glad that the evening sunset revealed the beautiful Ten Mile Valley at its best. We came in to my home where she was to be a guest while in town. None of us thought that we were chasing a celebrity, but that we were honored by the strong, determined woman who shared and enjoyed our humble home.

Miss Anthony gave two lectures, and on Sunday afternoon a talk in the Town Hall. A goodly sum was handed over to the College authorities, Miss Anthony taking only her railroad fare. I recall how she talked with my father who had all his life been a universal suffragist, and lived to see the 15th amendment in force, that, she "took to" my sister at once and didn't spare her criticism of my lukewarm interest in equal suffrage, saying, "Oh! you probably get the same pay for same medicine and service as men doctors do, but your sister gets forty dollars and a man gets seventy for less work, in your Union School." On Monday we had our near neighbors, Dr. and Mrs. Squire, Mr. and Mrs. Ragan to meet Miss Anthony at dinner, after which I received from her a gentle lecture for making a lot of unnecessary work for my family. When my sister went to the lot on the hill to milk the cow Miss Anthony went with her. Then we had a new rag carpet in the dining room which pleased her so much that with a strip of paper and a pencil the author of the Anthony Amendment, seated on a foot stool, marked the color and number of threads in each stripe, and said her sister would have one made just like it, for their home in Rochester, N. Y., a statement im-

mensely enjoyed by Kizzie Allison, who had woven our carpet. On Monday afternoon, in company with President A. B. Miller, of the College, and Miss Libbie Day, we drove to Carmichaels where Miss Anthony lectured that night. We were all guests of our friend Miss Em Richey. The evening dinner was a splendid banquet, but when the honor guest asked for just a cup of tea before, and a bowl of bread and milk after the lecture, the young lady helpers, I believe, shed tears in grief and disappointment. The scenery from Waynesburg to Carmichaels called forth hearty enthusiasm and the dogwood blossoms from out on Love's Hill, she had boxed and sent to her home.

Miss Anthony was driven to Uniontown next morning by one or more of the Hathaway boys. An autograph given my sister written in a clear legible hand reads—Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y., May 10th, 1880, at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

My next meeting with Miss Anthony was in Music Hall, Washington, D. C., at the 22nd annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, February 18th to 21st, 1890, with Mrs. J. W. Ray, when Judge Ray was in Congress. We went to meet Miss Anthony and Lucy Stone and others on the platform. As she grasped my hand, I said, "I presume you do not remember me." Miss Anthony answered, "Yes I do. How is your sister?" Then she asked about my father, mother and brother, and said, "your father understood the justice due to all people more than any man I ever talked to." Dan Anthony, as they called him, was in one of the boxes. When Julia Ward Howe asked him if he had always been in favor of equal suffrage, he said, "Yes, I was afraid not to be," and shook his finger at his sister on the stage opposite. I well remember the proud and loving look she bestowed on that big, brawny brother.

Of all the wonderful galaxy of stars of that convention not one remains: Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Zerelda Wallace, Olympia Brown,* Lucy Stone Blackwell, Laura Johns, Mrs. Colby, and Dr. Anna Shaw; each one carried her convictions (without a vote), throughout an efficient, unselfish life. And now we lay the laurels of victory, for victory it must be, the best men and women of the world so decree, upon the tablets of memory. And when the centuries shall have rolled away, the names that will survive, when the "Court of last resort," shall sit in Judgment, and it shall be proclaimed that all work must be adjudged worthy, or worthless, only as it bears on the welfare of the race, the three great philanthropists, having the greatest good of the greatest number to their credit, must be Washington—Lincoln—Susan B. Anthony.

* Rev. Olympia Brown very much remains, as all who heard and saw her at the Chicago convention can testify.—Ed.

Social Hygiene Report

(Continued from page 254)

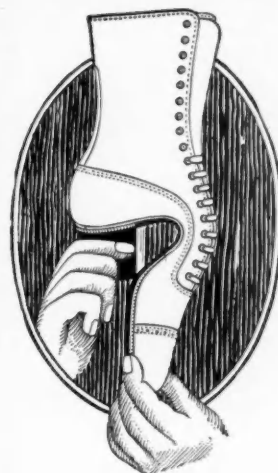
The first paper deals with the need of women to understand the related problems of the double standard of morality, prostitution and venereal diseases.

The second deals with the understanding, care and education of abnormal children, especially in their relation to the school.

The third—Psychiatry—gives an outline of various types of mental disturbance with a consideration of such causes as are known.

The papers may be obtained from the League Headquarters, 303 Fifth Avenue, at 10 cents a copy, or at lower rates in quantities. Dr. Brown has especially designed them for the use of women's clubs, and she hopes that after a club has taken them up and studied them, it may be possible to arrange that a social hygiene speaker may give an address on the subject.

THE women's institutes of Great Britain, which were originally established as war institutions, are filling such a needed place, that it is generally conceded they have come to stay. The institutes, or clubs, have for their object the bringing of all the advantages of the city in the way of instruction in various kinds of employment within the reach of women living in the country. These institutes are doing valuable agricultural work, spreading horticultural knowledge among farmers and reviving all forms of handicraft long in disuse. There is also a social and educational side to the institutes.



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Dr. Kelly on "Prophylaxis"

By HOWARD A. KELLY, M. D.

IN Pennsylvania the authorities are said to be giving out to young men and boys "protective packets," containing materials with which to disinfect themselves after indulgence in vice. Strong objection has been made to this, on the ground that it assumes that these young men will go wrong, and practically encourages them to do so.

As "prophylaxis" is a burning subject of discussion, we are glad to lay before our readers the main part of a remarkable article by Dr. Howard A. Kelly in the *Maryland Suffrage News*. He writes:

"You honor me by asking my reasons for opposing the project of my colleague, Dr. George Walker, to place us all, city, state and nation, under a system of universal 'prophylaxis,' and this I gladly undertake, understanding that you wish to lay the matter clearly before the women of Maryland.

"Let me first of all enter a protest against the prostitution of a good word to a bad use. 'Prophylaxis' properly means measures taken to ward off all kinds of diseases, and constitutes one of the largest, best and most notable developments of modern medicine, where it holds such a deservedly high reputation that the natural inference is that whatever can be dubbed 'prophylactic' must therefore be good. I object that so useful a word should now be applied pre-eminently, and almost exclusively in common parlance, to certain applications to men who have voluntarily exposed themselves to a venereal taint, for in these unthinking days a mere word easily passes current as an argument. The same curious illogical effect is produced upon our modern college boys and girls when they are daily bowled over by the exclamation 'That is not scientific!' or 'That is narrow!'

"In dealing with this new 'prophylaxis,' and its concomitants syphilis and gonorrhea, we are forced to speak frankly and publicly of certain matters never before thus openly discussed. What in this medical slang is called 'prophylaxis' accepts (shall I not say encourages?) (1) a proclivity on the part of men (on the continent of Europe practically universal), to indulge in immoral, extra-marital sexual relations; (2) it recognizes the enormous coincident increase in syphilis and gonorrhea, and (3) it proposes to control these diseases by certain local treatments given to the male offender within two hours of intercourse.

"The efficacy of such methods of control depends upon the above narrow, specified limit of time, and further upon the universal distribution of convenient stations, like latrines, to which the debauchees can repair under efficient medical supervision.

"This plan proved effective in lessening these diseases in the army in France, as well as in the military camps in these United States, where the men were under strict military discipline, watched and penalized if they did not report, and punished if they became infected without reporting. I say it was 'successful,' with an apology for using the word success here, for it may be questioned whether or not such a 'success' has not entailed greater disadvantages in the widespread inculcation of immorality, in fixing immoral habits upon our men, the harvest of which we shall reap here at home in the generations to come, in the disappearance of all high ideals from our national life; take Latin America as an example and a warning.

"At first blush, if we assume that men and women are mere animals, 'prophylaxis' might seem advisable as a way of purifying the body politic of its most nauseous ills. A modicum of reflection, however, at once raises this fundamental question: 'You are taking care of the men who violate the salutary laws of purity, but how about the women victims?' 'Oh, we had not

thought of the women at all.' Somewhere near a half a million girls and women must forego all expectations of any home life, of domestic affections, of ever carrying their own little babes in their arms, of a life of honorable toil, followed by an honored old age in order that they may daily yield their abused bodies in a degradation worse than death.

"When we read our classic literature we are harrowed by the sacrifice of a single innocent victim, but here the fate of thousands seems to rouse no real sentiment of pity. Is it just plain hypocrisy, or are our sentiments all theatrical and degenerated into maudlin? These women, who in revenge become vampires, often die in terror and have no honorable burial; the 'madam' (God save the term!) and a few fellow-sufferers chip in for the scant gaudy necessities; no stone marks the resting place; they are either hastily rushed to the potter's field, or they journey to the pickling tub and then serve as 'material' to the dissecting table.

"And these are they whom God has granted to us as His highest and best gift to man, to love, honor and cherish until death does us part. I cannot agree to accept with equanimity and fix upon the body politic such a moral leprosy as this, far worse than all the diseases of the body.

"A NATION lives by its God-given ideals, its morals; all else is incidental. I mean by morals a prevalence of righteousness, a community sentiment making for righteousness. This is no dream of a Utopia, for it has been affirmed and reaffirmed by the greatest legal minds, from Justinian down through Blackstone, Lieber, Kent, Bishop and all other practical prophets with a vision, as well as by the constitutions of our several states by direct statement or by implication. The laws of our land, the applications of these great Christian moral principles to particular cases, constituting the bony framework which supports the body politic, are all saturated with this vast pervasive imperative moral law. Briefly summed, they are that we are under obligation to honor all men, to hurt no one, and to render every man his due—or yet better and more briefly, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

"Those who uphold prostitution dishonor women, hurt women, and fail to render them their due, and fix this intolerable situation upon our women beyond recall, in passing laws which necessitate the creation year by year of a vast army of prostitutes. The law resting on a moral basis simply cannot assume such a function, and any brave judge would nullify it in a minute.

"Let me recapitulate a few of the many objections to 'prophylaxis' categorically, in addition to this one overwhelming sufficient answer of our dishonored womanhood.

"1. 'Prophylaxis' sanctions fornication, the great evil which has destroyed so many nations before us. It makes the law a co-partner with evil, whereas the sole purpose of the law is to erect a standard of righteousness by which to detect, to restrain, to punish sin, and *never to foster and promote it*. How far habit or familiarity can blind the eyes of men, even of fine feelings, will be seen when I quote one of my distinguished colleagues who declared at the 'prophylaxis' meeting: 'I have no sympathy with those who would emphasize the immorality of irregular sexual relations.' If that is not immorality, what is? The following day two eminent Baltimore ministers appeared in the press as favoring prophylactic stations, 'because it was advocated by our scientific authorities.' My beloved clerici, we may follow leadership in everything under heaven except morals; there we must see for ourselves or perish, and you are bound by your calling to have a quicker, keener insight into these things, to know at once

the monstrous iniquity of this proposition, and to guide your fellows.

"2. 'Prophylaxis' fosters fornication by the advertisement given it by its widespread stations, with its assurance of immunity from disease, tantamount to a standing invitation to youth to violate the law of chastity. France and Germany have sunk so low under the general acceptance of unchastity in their young men that those who remain continent are even looked upon with suspicion and contempt.

"3. 'Prophylaxis' is, therefore, in reality, the evil of the old bawdy-houses, the segregated districts, intensified many fold. We did not fight these tainted areas of Baltimore, which corrupted the very judges of our courts, because of their diseases, but because they were a corroding immorality.

"The diseases, fellow physicians, are but the hall-marks of a far greater offense against the laws of God and man. The quickest way to realize this is to apply the question to several of your own nearest relations—sister, wife or daughter. If one of them so sinned would your first inquiry be, 'Did she catch a disease?'

"4. Men trained in their youth to bawdy-house society and its standards always relapse on slight temptation, and where this is general the purity of the home life, its beauty and its strength are gone forever.

"5. Nay, the prostitute will rule the land with brazen effrontery under a 'prophylaxis' system. Think not for a moment that she will remain hiding in shame as in the past.

"6. 'Prophylaxis' is a despicable, cowardly effort to protect men who indulge in a course which contemplates with indifference the yearly sacrifice of thousands of girls and young women to gratify a male appetite. It should arouse the chivalry and the contempt of every right-feeling man when we realize that the poor man's daughter is the common victim.

"7. The man who thus abuses a prostitute is a coward also, and an enemy to society, because he commonly passes through life preying upon a despised and downtrodden class of women, refusing the honorable estate of matrimony that he may have an easy time, unencumbered by wife and children.

"8. The young man trained in the bawdy-house relations, at a time when psychic impressions are strongest, will bring no high affection to marriage. His marital expectations and conduct will be regulated by bawdy-house standards, which are removed infinitely from those of a decent married life.

"9. Yielding to passion is weakness, while restraint alone endues with strength and power. A nation whose young men refuse to learn the lesson of self-control is dead, even though it has a name to live, and has endless material stores.

"10. Even if we thus consent to throw our moral standards to the winds, it is certain that, in the absence of military discipline and its strict accountability and power to punish, 'prophylaxis' cannot be applied effectively in civil life. This is the opinion of Surgeon-General Rupert Blue of the United States Public Health Service, and Lieut.-Colonel William F. Snow, General Director of the American Social Hygiene Association, and other men eminent and experienced in this line.

"Let me recall here with thankfulness the stand taken by our United States Army and Navy in their efforts to reach the men by repeated instructions, clear diagrams and thrilling movies. No such effort had ever been made in the world before.

"My colleague sounded the death knell to 'prophylaxis' when at the very first statement he disclosed his purpose of distributing prophylaxis stations, like the sewers, in all parts of our city and state, in our universities, advanced schools, and in every hotel and hospital. He at once brought to their feet a following of enthusiastic medical men to fall in line with him. We have here, then, the historic setting for a splendid battle, on the one side great num-

bers advocating the degrading, woman-dishonoring, intolerable situation depicted above; on the other a small army, not apparently as big as Gideon's of old, standing for decency and right. Can you hesitate to take your stand with the winning minority?

"As never before we need the purifying vision, help and prayers of our women."

What They Think of Him

"**O**PPPOSITION to the unprogressive stand of Senator Brandegee is shown in the Bridgeport *Telegram*, which says editorially: The senior Senator from Connecticut holds the world's record for vituperation, billingsgate, buffoonery and coarse insinuations in his opposition to woman suffrage. In the United States Senate he made a speech on this subject which is still remembered by women from one corner of the United States to the other for the disgrace it brought upon the State of Connecticut. Men of all political faiths protested that such an insult should go on the pages of the Congressional Record."

Not to be outdone by its contemporary, the *Times* of Bridgeport states emphatically that as a statesman Brandegee has "never been famed either as an observer or as a thinker. When the woman movement began to pile up, he was blind. He couldn't see it. He was a jeering, skeptical, unconscious chap. He didn't have any notion that the women actually would vote. He knows now that they will vote. He knows they will vote against him when they get the chance."

As a climax to this intense feeling of opposition felt alike by press and progressive men and women of Connecticut, the *Times* of Hartford says: "We believe that Mr. Brandegee has outlived his usefulness to the people of Connecticut. We sincerely hope that he will be defeated this fall, because he is misrepresentative of the thought and idealism of the great majority of the people of this state."

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FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

IN what I am going to say I probably shall make some criticisms of the Congress that may imply that I think things could be done better than they are done in Washington, so I want to say in the beginning that I think that the real responsibility for the things Congress does that it ought not to do and leaves undone that it ought to do rests with the voters who send the members to Congress. A man very often goes to Washington with high ideals. He comes into contact with the system that has been established these many years. He finds how helpless the individual is against the system, and without any backing from home he concludes that it is useless to make a fight. Sometimes he does not run again the next time. Sometimes he simply adjusts himself to the situation as he finds it, and ultimately, if he stays there a long while, he becomes so used to the system that he thinks it is the only possible system.

Now, I really feel all that lies with the voters, because our voters send men to the Congress and never let them know what the opinion of their constituents is on the important national issues. It is a tragic fact but it is a true one that practically all the information that a member of Congress gets from his constituents is the information from those who want some personal or local benefit or some sectional favor, and sooner or later a man comes to feel that the way he can best serve the interests of his constituents is by doing personal or sectional favors for them.

Now, that is the fault of the great mass of the voters who do not specially want favors but who never take the trouble to make this known, and the small and active group who do want the favors and get them more or less. So please remember that it is upon the voters that the responsibility rests for the members.

THE life of each Congress is two years. The present Congress is the 66th Congress. All members of the House of Representatives are elected for every Congress. Only one-third of the Senate is regularly elected. A Senator's term is six years, a Representative's term is two years, consequently two-thirds of the Senate remain in office in each new Congress and one-third comes in new.

Now, that fact serves to explain some of the differences between the House and the Senate, because the differences between the two

Congress and Its Work

By MAUD WOOD PARK.

A LECTURE delivered before the School for Political Education, conducted by Mrs. Catt at the Chicago Suffrage Convention, presented here in amplification of certain preceding lessons.

bodies, both in procedure and in point of view, is very great. If I give you a little idea of the membership of the two bodies you will perhaps see another reason for the differences.

The Senate is composed of ninety-six members, two from each state. It makes no difference how large or how small the state is, it has two members. Texas has two and Delaware has two and New York has two.

In the House membership is based upon population, and the states with the greatest population have the largest membership. New York has forty-three members in its delegation. Several states, including Delaware in the East, and a number of Western states, have only one member in their delegations, so the state delegations in the House range from one to forty-three, but in the Senate each state has the same representation.

The present Senate, with its membership of ninety-six, includes sixty-eight lawyers, thirteen business men, six newspaper publishers, three doctors, and two farmers, four being unclassified in the congressional directory.

The House of Representatives, which numbers 435, contains about 268 lawyers, 69 business men, 21 newspaper men, 9 farmers, 7 teachers, 5 doctors, 4 labor representatives, with the rest inclusive. Thus you see that over two-thirds of the Senate and between one-half and two-thirds of the House belong to a profession which is trained to talking, and to controversial talking. That goes a long way to explain why we sometimes get so many miles of conversation to the square inch of action in Washington.

The present Congress is by majority Republican. There is a majority of two Republican votes in the Senate, and a majority of roughly fifty for the Republicans in the House of Representatives.

Now, that fact is of enormous importance, because the party that has the majority of members is the party that organizes either house. We have had cases where there would

be a majority of one party in one house and a majority of the other party in the other house, but it is customary for the majority party to have the right to organize each house, and the really most important work with regard to legislation in any Congress is done in the months before the Congress meets, in the months between election and the first meeting of the new Congress. You know we elect our members in November, and a day or two days after it is known what the political complexion of the new Congress will be, because we know whether more Democrats or more Republicans have been elected.

Normally, the new Congress does not meet until thirteen months after election. Most foreign critics of our government have regarded that as a great drawback. The last two Congresses have met six or seven months after election, because the President has called extraordinary sessions.

THE present Congress was elected in November and met the 19th of May, so that there were only six months intervening between election and the first of May.

Those months, whether they are few or many between election and the convening of Congress, are filled with all kinds of wire-pulling, with regard to the positions that are to be filled, the leading party positions in both houses and the chairmanship of the most important committees and membership on those committees. Two days after the last election it was known that Champ Clark, who was the last Speaker of the House, would not be re-elected Speaker in this Congress, because the majority of the lower house was going to be Republican. There began instantly the lobbying, the wire-pulling, that always happens when a new Speaker is to be elected, to discover who should get the nomination of the majority party for Speaker.

Now, the Speaker is the third ranking official in Washington, and he is elected by the whole lower House. If his party has a good working majority, he is practically elected when he gets the nomination of his party caucus, although he is not actually elected until the day the Congress meets. He is then elected by the votes of the members.

QUESTION: Mrs. Park, what do you mean by the third ranking official?

MRS. PARK: I mean he ranks next to the vice-president in official Washington. It is the president, the vice-president, the speaker of the House. He outranks members and Senators and the Cabinet and so on. He is the third ranking official in Washington. The contest in the present Congress was between Mr. Mann of Illinois and Mr. Gillette of Massachusetts, and each man had his manager, just as our presidential candidate would have his manager, and the different delegates were pledged to one or the other of these men, and in the end, as you know, Mr. Gillette received the nomination of his party caucus for the speakership.

Now next to the Speaker in importance in the organization of the lower House—and I am going to speak of the lower House first—are the two floor leaders and the chairmen of the two steering committees. Those are all party officials, they are not elected on the floor, they are elected by their party caucus, because the Republican party has a floor leader and the Democratic party has a floor leader and those men are absolutely elected by their party caucus and are not voted for at all on the floor. The contest for Republican floor leader was between Mr. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Mondell of Wyoming, and Mr. Mondell won out, and he is now majority floor leader. When you see in the paper an announcement that the session will meet thus and so, or that a recess will be due at a certain time, it is always Mr. Mondell who makes that announcement, because he is the majority leader, on the floor at Washington. He is always on hand at the beginning of the week. It is he or somebody who represents him who makes the motion to adjourn. It is his business to see that the policy of the steering committee of his party is carried out on the floor.

Now, on the Democratic side, the former floor leader in the last Congress, Mr. Kitchen, gave up his position when it was known that Champ Clark would not be Speaker, and Champ Clark, with very little opposition from the Democrats, was elected floor leader for the Democrats, so you will always see Mr. Champ Clark, or Mr. Kitchen representing him if he is not on the floor personally, rising on the Democratic side to represent the party interests.

Next in importance comes the elections of the two steering committees, and those again are party caucus elections; they are not voted for on the floor of the House, although they are very important persons in the conduct of the business of the House. The Republican steering committee consists of Mr. Mondell, chairman, Mr. Winslow of Massachusetts, Mr. Mather of Illinois, Mr. Dunn of New York, and Mr. Nicholas Longworth of Ohio.

The Democratic side does not have that sort of steering committee, they have the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee to act as a steering committee but their real

steering committee is composed of Mr. Champ Clark, Mr. Claud Kitchen, and Mr. Pugh, the former chairman of the Rules Committee, the present ranking member of the Rules Committee, and those two bodies of men very largely decide what is good party policy in all party questions, and they push the party policy, or object to the policy of the other party upon the floor, and the traits and characters of those men on the two sides have very much to do with the actual legislation that we get through the Congress.

AFTER the Speaker's nomination was settled, long before the Congress ever met, and the party leaders were chosen; long before the Congress ever met, and the steering committees were chosen, the whips were chosen.

The present Republican whip in the lower House is Mr. Knudson of Minnesota, and the Democratic whip in the lower House is Mr. Bell of Georgia. It is the business of the whip to deliver the party votes. He is the man who is supposed to keep account of where all the party members are. If they leave Washington or are not going to be in the House on the day when an important question is to be decided, they must notify him, and if they haven't been able to get pairs, he assists them in getting pairs, and so on.

The business of the whip is really a very responsible business, because he is held to be at fault if suddenly there is a party issue thrust upon the floor and a party division between the two parties and he does not deliver all the votes that his party is entitled to; it is his fault for not whipping them in and getting them there. I have been once or twice in the office of the party whip when an accident of that kind would happen, and if you could know his wrath at the men who had been away without letting him know, and his discomfort because his own party was holding him responsible, you would realize that the party whip has no easy job.

QUESTION: Is a whip a member of the House?

MRS. PARK: He is a member of the House, but he is not elected by the House, he is elected by the party caucus. The only individual I have spoken of yet who is elected by the House is the Speaker, and he is nominated by his party caucus, and the nomination means a virtual election, though he is not elected until the votes of the House are cast.

QUESTION: Will you explain as to the pairing, please?

MRS. PARK: Pairing is a custom, it is not a rule, and when you read the list of the number of votes for and against in the paper after a question has been voted upon, the pairs are not ordinarily counted, they have no official count in the record, but they are equivalent to a count because the votes offset one another. If a man is going to be absent, if

he is ill or wants to go away, and questions are likely to be voted on of importance during his absence, he tries to get a man who would vote on the opposite side to pair with him so that neither vote is cast and the two votes offset each other.

There are such things as dead pairs and live pairs. It is a dead pair if the man you pair with is going to be away himself, because if that is the case he could not have voted anyway, and so it is only a negative gain that you make. It is a live pair when the man that you pair with is going to be on hand and would have voted if he had not paired with you. Do you see? No, you don't see.

Now we will take that Mr. Washburne, of Georgia, there being no such man, and Mr. Williams, of Iowa, one a Republican and the other a Democrat: Mr. Washburne's wife is ill and he wants to go home to Georgia, but he is afraid some questions would come up in his absence that need his vote, so he goes to Mr. Williams of Iowa, who, he hears, also wants to go home, and he says: "If you will go home when you want to go and let me go home when I want to go, then we will make a pair and neither of us will be here to vote." Now, that is a dead pair, because Mr. Williams would not have been there anyway and Mr. Washburne could not have been there anyway, do you see?

If on the other hand Mr. Williams is going to stay in Washington, but as a friend of Mr. Washburne's wants to oblige him, when Mr. Washburne says "Will you pair with me, because my wife is ill and I want to go home," then Mr. Williams to do him a favor says he will pair with him. Now, Mr. Williams might have voted when that question comes up, but what he says is that he is paired, and the clerk will then read the pairs after the vote has been recorded and he will read that Mr. Washburne was paired with Mr. Williams, and even though Mr. Williams may be present on the floor he will not vote when his name is called.

THAT is a live pair, because he could have voted when his name was called, but if he had been away anyway he could not have voted when his name was called. The party likes it, because each party loses one vote then. Pairs are all a matter of courtesy and custom and not of rule, so that whatever proceeding is conducted with regard to pairs is only a sort of courtesy and has no official standing. Have I made myself clear?

QUESTION: Then a Democrat does not necessarily have to pair with a Republican?

MRS. PARK: Not if they are on opposite sides of the same question, unless it is a party question. A great many men have what is called a general pair with a man, particularly in the Senate they have general pairs with men of the opposite party, so that whenever in the

course of a session one man is absent, the man who has a general pair with him will rise upon the floor of the Senate and say "I have a general pair with the senior Senator from so-and-so. Not knowing how he would vote on this question I withhold my vote," or "knowing that he would vote no I withhold my vote, though if I could vote I would vote yes." That is a party pair. Now, general pairs always, I think—I can't remember any exception—general pairs are between men of opposite parties, and they cover, not a single question, but they cover the whole range of a session.

QUESTION: Why is that system objected to so much in the *Searchlight on Congress*?

MRS. PARK: It is objected to because it encourages the men in being absent, and it does not hold them responsible in the same way for their votes as they would be held responsible if they were there.

QUESTION: Do two men ever pair when they are both present?

MRS. PARK: No, they are not supposed to do it, and I can't remember that they have ever paired when they were both present, because the reason for the pairing is the absence of one or both. Now if that is clear on the pairing, I will go back to the organization of the House.

AFTER the Speaker has been nominated and after the floor leaders and the steering committees and the whips have been elected by their party caucus, then there comes the business of nominating the members of committees. Now the members of committees are like the Speaker, they are actually officials of the House and they have to be elected by the vote of the House, but like the Speaker they are practically elected when they get the nomination of their party. The majority party always decides how many places on each committee it will let the minority party have. That is true in both houses, and one of the amusing things at the opening of the present Congress in the Senate was the filibustering which the Democrats conducted for several hours, partly for the purpose of making the Republicans vote individually for Senator Penrose, and partly for the purpose of pointing out that they had been treated with what they considered injustice in the number of places on the committees that they had given them.

The Republicans in the Senate this year gave the Democrats exactly as many places on the committees as the Democrats had given the Republicans in the previous Congress. Now then, the Democrats said: "We had a majority of eight in the previous Congress, you have a majority of only two in this Congress, therefore you ought to give us more places than we gave you." And I remember perfectly when the acting floor leader, Senator Hitch-

cock, arose on the floor and stated the position of the Democrats, that they felt they had been treated very unfairly. Senator Lodge, the floor leader of the Republicans, fairly bubbled over with indignation, and he said it was only by courtesy of the Republicans that the Democrats had any place on the committees at all, the Republicans' two votes entitled them to fill every place on the committee with Republicans if they chose to do so, and he considered it extremely bad taste of the Democrats to protest against getting what they did get, since they might have been deprived of everything that they had. Of course the Republicans had the votes, and after a filibuster to make that point clear, the Democrats yielded and voted.

Now then, I have jumped into the Senate for a minute because the best illustration came up there, but the same custom holds in the lower House. The Republicans decide how many places on each committee—and there are sixty in the lower House and seventy-two in the upper—, the Republicans decide how many places on each committee they will let the Democrats have, if the Republicans are the majority party. The Democrats do it if they are the majority party. In this Congress the Republicans are in the majority, so I shall speak of them. Then each party proceeds to fill those places according to its own party methods of filling them. The Republicans this year gave the filling of its nominations nominally to the committee on committees, which is composed of one man from each state that has Republican members, but the committee on committees practically turned it over to a smaller acting committee of about four persons, and those four persons were about as much to be pitied as any human beings I have ever known in the months between the going out of the last Congress and the coming in of this one, because they were besieged with requisitions, both from the states and from men within the House, to put this man on that committee and give that man a chairmanship and so on and so on, and their lives were made miserable. They knew that accordingly as they acted with tact or without tact the unity of the party in the Congress would be promoted or injured, and that it was up to them not to antagonize the most powerful element and to make the appointments as best they could, and so they worried for weeks and months over the slate.

Now, for the chairmanship of committees, it is customary but not absolutely obligatory, and was not obligatory in this present Congress in the nominations, to make the appointments under what is called the seniority system. That is customary, but it was not followed in several appointments in both houses this last organization time. The seniority custom means that the man of the party in power who has been the longest upon the committee will have the chairmanship of that committee; and of the

other party, the minority party, the man of that party who has been longest upon the committee will be the ranking minority member.

Now, you take the Ways and Means Committee. Mr. Claud Kitchen was the chairman of that committee in the last Congress, the Democratic Congress. Mr. Fortney was the ranking Republican member in the last Congress, the Democratic Congress. This year Mr. Fortney is the chairman and Mr. Claud Kitchen is the ranking Democratic member. You see they just change around their relative positions, but each heads his party division in that committee.

The seniority system has some advantages and some disadvantages, but most reformers want it changed. The advantage is that the man who has been on the committee for a good many years is familiar with the line of business of the committee. The disadvantage is that the only qualification that is required for a chairman under the seniority system is the ability to stay in Congress and stay put on the committee, so that the ability to stay put is what really elects him as chairman under the system.

Most of the chairmanships in this Congress were filled under this seniority system, but a few of them were not, and this Congress made one excellent change in the lower House in that no man who was on one of the ten principal committees could be on any other committee. That is a change for the better in this Congress under the Republican arrangement in the lower House.

AFTER filling the chairmanships, the important committees are filled, and there is a tremendous pulling and hauling to get places on them, and then they fill up the minor committees and so on. It is this small group of four men who do that. Then they make their nominations to the committee on nominations on the Republican side and the committee confirms those nominations. Then the nominations are taken to the caucus and confirmed by the caucus, and when they are confirmed by the caucus they are reported to the House by the majority leader and are elected by the majority side.

In the same way on the Democratic side the nominations were made by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, they were confirmed by the Democratic caucus, they were brought to the House by Mr. Champ Clark, minority floor leader, and they were accepted by the vote of the House, it being customary that the Republicans accept the nominations of the Democrats and the Democrats accept the nominations of the Republicans, and the whole membership of committees is elected as nominated by the party caucus.

Correspondence

The Unholy Alliance

To the Editor of THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN any presidential campaign year either Republican or Democratic state politicians are generally only too glad to do anything and everything for the success of their own party which their national leaders wish them to and which the laws of the land allow. State leaders of both parties forget minor differences and personal quarrels and work for the success of their party as a whole. Every woman who knows how things are managed in politics, knows that if certain of the national leaders of either of the big parties really wanted the women of the United States to vote in the coming presidential election, they could have, long before this, brought pressure enough to bear upon state leaders to compel the final ratification of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. The fact that these national leaders on either the Republican or Democratic side have not already done so, proves conclusively that in spite of all their camouflage, they do not want the women of the Union enfranchised in time to vote for president next November. No woman would believe for a moment that Republican state governors in a presidential campaign year would refuse to summon Legislatures well known to be in favor of ratification of the nineteenth amendment, if they were not sure they were backed up and secretly supported by the national leaders of their own party.

Another thing every American woman knows is that it is not the gallant American soldiers who fought in France who are now secretly trying to keep American women from the ballot box. She knows it is that "Unholy Alliance" of eastern Senators and southern Senators who are secretly working against the ratification of the 19th amendment, just as they formerly worked against its passage in the 65th and 66th Congresses. These Senators of the Unholy Alliance were sitting comfortably in their easy chairs, while American women physicians and nurses were sacrificing themselves in every way to care for American wounded in overseas hospitals often bombed by the Germans. These are the women this Unholy Alliance of U. S. Senators are working so hard to keep from the ballot box. And how earnestly these same Senators urged women to work and sacrifice to help this country in the World War in hard, laborious ways that not one Senator of the Unholy Alliance would have worked in. These Senators trusted American women with great responsibilities in the World War. Why are the same Senators of the Unholy Alliance afraid to trust women with the ballot in times of peace?

SYLVIA S. VIDETTO.

Highland Park, Mich.

Where Women Vote

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THERE is a suggestion which I wish you would allow me to make to your readers and that is that they follow the example of the women of California in the splendid work they have done for little children. The first year they had the franchise they passed a law providing that when the parents of twenty-five children of kindergarten age petition for a kindergarten, it shall be established. Since that time the National Kindergarten Association has maintained a field worker in California and the number of kindergartens in that state has increased from 149 to over 700.

All states should have similar laws and the women will have to attend to this matter.

There are nearly 4,000,000 children of kindergarten age for whom kindergartens have not yet been provided.

We shall be glad to furnish copies of laws and propaganda leaflets, upon request.

BESSIE LOCKE.

Corresponding Secretary, National Kindergarten Ass'n., 8 West 40th Street, New York.

Might Strike Against Intolerance

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN your issue of March 13th, 1920 I read "Will the Woman Missionary Strike?" with some surprise and since I know from personal observation and experience only about those in this country I can only ask what reason have they for striking? It is true they live in mud houses. We all do and many of them are very beautiful. Even His Majesty, the present King Ahmad Shah, lives in a mud house.

This is the capital city and there are many foreigners from all countries here. Their houses are all made of mud but those of the American missionaries are far better than any others.

I came here from New York city nearly ten years ago and what I have specially noticed among the missionaries is that adherence to dogmatic assertions, intolerance and prejudice give no room for progressive thought and enlightenment.

Teheran, Persia.

SARAH A. CLOCK.



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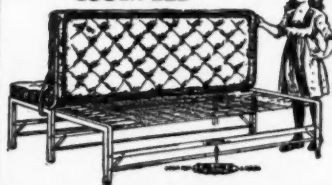
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To the Woman Voter

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Book Stall

Too Much Soul Stuff

MAY Sinclair has pointed out that in Dorothy Richardson's series of novels called *Pilgrimage* (Alfred A. Kopf) this rather new young English woman writer shows "an art" and method and form that carries to punctilious perfection." It is this punctiliousness which teases the reader. All of the book, from cover to cover, follows the form of mental images jerking through the mind of the central figure. This produces a style of short staccato sentences interspersed with dim unsolved paragraphs like the after images thrown on the brain. It is a style which Miss Sinclair herself developed to a high pitch in "Mary Olivier." In their recent works both of these women writers have made thoughtful subjective studies of adolescence. Good class-room work in psychology, all of it. But Miss Sinclair really tells a story; she has a command of her technique which enables her to keep her psychology subservient to the unfolding of her characters. She does not fail to hold her readers' attention even when she is deepest in her probings of the human heart.

Dorothy Richardson does nothing but probe. In *Backwater*, the second of her *Pilgrimage* serial, Miriam Henderson probes her own mind until it must be raw, and certainly until the reader's nerves are.

Her eternal and eventless moonings about what she likes and what she doesn't like are those that make neurotic young girls the despair of their elders. Miriam is afraid she'll be an old maid, afraid she'll have to be a teacher all her life, afraid she won't have a lover, afraid he'll kiss her and then afraid he won't, until one wants to slap her.

What Miriam seems to need is a tonic and plenty of out-of-door exercise.

It is maddening to think that *Backwater* is only the second book of her and that she is going on like this for two and, maybe, three more.

Can't anybody stop her?

A Perfect Book

MARY Heaton Vorse might have invented a prettier title than *Growing Up* (Boni and Liveright) but she couldn't have written a better book about children. No one could. It is a gem of a story, and the best of it is that it isn't a story at all. It is a picture so lifelike that it just happens, with all the verisimilitude of the unexpectedness of childhood. One has known Robert and howling Sara and Jamie ever since they were born. It is almost uncanny that Mrs. Vorse could have evoked them so completely, as if with a witch's wand instead of a pen.

This is a good book to read aloud, to pass on to one's friends, to send for a gift. In short, there is not any one of the casual uses to which a book is put, that *Growing Up* does not fill.

Muck-Raking in Ohio

WHEN Sherwood Anderson tries to write like Anton Chekhov, as he does in Winesburg, Ohio (B. W. Huebsch), he succeeds in assembling all the literary offal of a small village. It reads like the scandal which drips from an old wife's tongue.

Ohio village gossip lacks picturesqueness, to begin with, and an entire book of sordid thoughts and secret lusts becomes depressing.

Besides why follow Chekhov? Some of the prestige of his stories was exploded by himself when he candidly announced somewhere along in the self-revealings of his recently published life and letters that his stories are more or less the planless outpourings of a too-ready pen, rather than the results of a deeply thought-out technique. The world is now beginning to understand that it does not need to try to keep up a breathless admiration of Chekhov's stories. It can quite frankly like what it wants to like, which is very much, and throw aside the rest.

In his results Mr. Anderson is quite truly Chekhovian. Sometimes his cynical gutter pictures touch a deep chord of human understanding. Sometimes their only reason for being seems to be a taste for carrion.

This book is one of the first American attempts to create the atmosphere of pessimistic cynicism in fiction which one finds in Barbusse and Latzko and Gorky and Frenssen.

It makes a cult of social sores as if they were the only realities.

When all is said and done, they are more real than the manufactured people which the modern overpaid magazine writer turns out with a jig-saw. One has this to say for Mr. Anderson, that he has had the courage to lift up his voice against the false note in today's American short story writing.

Wholesome people will, however, hate to accept Mr. Anderson's as the only alternative; they will also withdraw from the too evident following of a foreign lead. Why not once again an American realism as sincere as Mr. Howells's?

Who Cares Where She Goes?

WHY Adelaide Manola Hughes should want to write a poem, even a free verse imagist poem, rather dully done, on Diantha Goes the Primrose Way (Harper and Brothers), is a question no critic can solve.

Nobody cares a button which way Diantha goes; for she is like 'Enery, Jane Clegg's husband, "an absolute rotter," and the lover for whom she sold her soul is another.

Besides, the verse in which Diantha shows herself up to a bored and cynical world is scarcely worth while.

Diantha ought to have had a job, to keep her mind off the primrose way. She would have made a good florist's assistant, for instance, and can even talk poetry over flowers. But as to her miserable little gambol out on the primrose way, it is to yawn.

Keeping Up with Labor

TWO books on labor should be useful reference books for the students of the Citizenship Course who want to relate the present situation of the Department of Labor to the demands being made by the labor leaders and the promised reforms in the platforms of the four parties.

Both belong to the Handbook Series of the H. W. Wilson Co. Both are prepared by Daniel Bloomfield, one of the partners in Bloomfield and Bloomfield, of Boston, Consultants in Employment Management and Industrial Relations.

One, *Modern Industrial Movements*, is authoritative up to 1919. The other, *Problems of Labor*, is a book of the current year and includes Labor's "Bill of Rights" formulated and adopted on December 13, 1920, by the National Labor Conference called by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor.

Both volumes contain recent statements from the labor unions and big employers of labor on the current questions which demand immediate adjustment. They are books for consultation merely, not for continuous reading.

Thrifty Use of War Material

IN *Little Hours in Great Days* (E. P. Dutton and Co.) the Castles, Agnes and Edger-ton, are again making thrifty use of their advantages. Like its predecessor, "A Little House in War Time," this book is a demure gesture towards the war. The idle reading public which had counted on the Castles to give them an hour or so each year of effortless entertainment would have been shocked if the usual masquerading novel of high life had appeared. So with extreme good taste, knowing their public well, the Castles have written tenderly, but with restrained snobbishness, of the war-broken soldier. The Castles are not among those who found the war a great democratizing influence.

In the present volume in which the authors have had to resort to considerable ingenuity to fill its pages, there is a characteristic chapter, "Tommy at Tea," in which crippled soldiers are sentimentally entertained in the servants' hall. The Castles are sure the soldiers like it better so. They would be sure. They are that kind. They belong to the group to whom the war was one more society function, to be used as so much grit to your mill whether your mill grinds out copy or social ambitions.

The average salary paid to High School teachers of Fresno, California, for the current year is \$2,336.

New Profession for Women

WHEN you were at camp this year, and in that relaxed mood which made the presidential election seem of less importance than bass fishing and the yacht races, that was the time when you should have read Enos A. Mills's *Adventures of a Nature Guide* (Doubleday, Page & Co.). At first this seemed like one of those lazy, read-aloud books, that one packs in a vacation trunk only to leave lying around in a ham-mock the rest of the summer. But Mr. Mills's book is more than this. It suggests a new method of education and a new profession for women—the profession of nature guide. In fact his book is dedicated to an exponent of this type of person, Elizabeth Frayer Burell.

A nature-guide is not necessarily a guide nor yet a teacher; he or she is a person who knows intimately and lovingly the secrets of nature and guides others to them. Mr. Mills himself conducted a Trail School in the Rocky Mountains. It happened accidentally when a party of children asked him to take them to a beaver colony.

What they learned on the way was observed without effort and with intense interest on their part. Afterwards the Trail School, called by some people the Robinson Crusoe School, became an institution.

"It has no organization in staff, no opening, no closing," says its founder. "It has no courses of study, no set tasks, no grade cards. Children follow any interest that appeals and when it appeals."

The school, like that of the Greek philosophers, is peripatetic. One of its few regulations is that the children shall not discuss either personalities or the movies.

One of its results is that of awakening new interests. Mr. Mills reports that he has yet to find a lazy child. Children reported as unwilling or unable to learn, have formed new habits of concentration in the Trail School. As a profession for women, that of nature guide has developed a new type of girl. A woman homesteader somewhere in the Rockies made a record moonlight walk across the mountains in the snow. A little matter of crossing the summit of a mountain 12,500 feet high on snow shoes and without a guide was to her a mere bagatelle.

After long experience she became a nature-guide in the Rocky Mountain National Park and was licensed by the government.

The occupation sounds inviting. The type of school offers openings to the tired teacher and the laggard scholar. Doubtless it will develop into something of educational importance.

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Personal Mention

IN the death of Mrs. May Wright Sewall which occurred on July 22, at Indianapolis, the suffrage cause lost one of its most brilliant advocates and faithful leaders. Throughout her long life, she was 76 at her death, Mrs. Sewall was prominent in education and social reform movements. With her husband, Theodore Lovett Sewall, she founded the Girls Classical School at Indianapolis and to this school gave unstintingly of her time and energy.

Mrs. Sewall was a staunch ally of every cause which promoted the advancement of women. She early identified herself with the suffrage movement in her own state and later was prominent in the national movement. For a number of years Mrs. Sewall served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association, which association merged with the American Woman Suffrage Association forming the present National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Sewall served also in the present body in an official capacity.

A worthy achievement of Mrs. Sewall's was the promotion of the National Council of Women and also of the International Council. In both associations she held high offices. As one of the organizers of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and as first vice-president of that organization, Mrs. Sewall played an important part in the club movement in the United States. She was president of the World's Congress of Representative Women at the World's Fair and she represented the women of the United States at the Congresses of the Paris Exposition in 1900. She was a director and moving spirit in various educational and university extension movements. She was a member of the American Historical Association, the Association for the Advancement of Women, of Sorosis, and an honorary member of the *Union Internationale des Sciences et des Arts*, at Paris.

Mrs. Sewall was the author of a number of pamphlets, monographs and books along the lines of education and women's advancement. She was a lecturer of international note. One of her latest works, published last spring, was entitled, "Neither Dead Nor Sleeping," and it created no small stir.

MICHIGAN is already in the field with two women candidates for congressional nomination on the Republican ticket. Mrs. Edith W. Dunk, of Detroit, is the candidate for the nomination from the 13th district. Mrs. Aletha Wheeler, of Grand Rapids, is the candidate from the 5th district.

Mrs. Dunk is well known in civic and suffrage circles. Some of the activities with which she has been identified cover the presidency of the Detroit Housewives' League, state chair-

manship of the Home Economics Department of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs, press chairmanship for the Wayne County Suffrage Organization. She was also president of the Political and Civic League which succeeded in getting passed a mothers' compensation bill, and she recently served on the Fair Price Committee.

Mrs. Wheeler, a widow, is an employee in the government printing office at Washington. Mrs. Wheeler is a linotype operator. She says, in connection with the announcement of her candidacy, "I am a laboring woman. I think the rights of the laboring people, especially the laboring women, should have greater representation in the halls of congress. Through my work in Washington, I am more or less familiar with the workings of congressional politics, and I feel I could fill the bill if I were chosen."

IN preparation for renewed activity in the campaign for thrift in cooperation with the government, Mrs. Samuel Lumpkin, of Atlanta, Ga., has been appointed national thrift chairman of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The thrift work of the Federation has been thoroughly organized by states and districts. State chairmen are in charge in 35 states at the present time and have in turn spread the organization by means of county and district organizations. Mrs. Lumpkin will be the general directing head of the thrift work receiving the reports of the state chairmen and directing their efforts.

Mrs. Lumpkin has acted as director of women's work for the savings organization of the Sixth Federal Reserve District for the last year. She is thoroughly in touch with Savings Division officials and with the plan of the government organizations as well as with the work of the individual clubs and the State Federations. She will go to Washington shortly for a conference with officials of the Savings Division of the Treasury.

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Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-five Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3 Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2 Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0 Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0 Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York	House, yes, 137; no, 0 Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6 Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44 Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47 Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20 Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5 Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4 Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15 Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 2, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes, 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6 Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire	House, yes, 212; no, 143 Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2 Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68 Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota	House, yes, 102; no, 6 Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota	House, yes, 52; no, 0 Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0 Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island	House, yes, 89; no, 3 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25 Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0 Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 25; no, 1 Senate, yes, 8; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24 Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0 Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10 Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 28, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12 Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40 Senate, yes, 16; no, 13
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0 Senate, yes, 40; no, 0

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In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan South Dakota
 Kansas Colorado
 New York Oregon
 Nebraska Wyoming
 Utah Arizona
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 Iowa Senate
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and North Carolina

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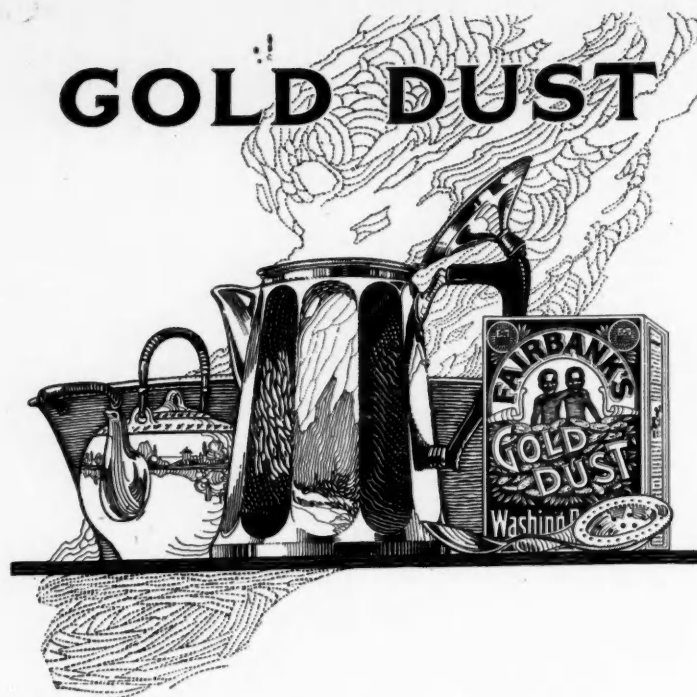
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POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

AUGUST 14, 1920

No. 11

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

AUGUST 14, 1920

NUMBER 11

To the Men of the South

THROUGH Mrs. Catt, now in Tennessee, Lady Nancy Astor, born Nancy Langhorne, of Virginia, and now Great Britain's first woman M. P., has sent the following message to the men of Tennessee:

"I WANT to send a message to the men of the South, because I come from the South, and feel that I know and understand it, as one only can understand the place of one's birth and childhood. I know the strong sense of justice and honor that lives in the hearts of the people. I know their chivalry, too, and it is just because I appreciate that chivalry that, as a woman, I am anxious that it should be representative of the present and not only of the past—that it should be a progressive chivalry, equal to the needs and aspirations of the women of today, not content to give merely what was demanded of it in the old days.

"I am writing to you from the country of my adoption—a country which has taken the great step and given political responsibility to its women. As it happens, I am one of the women to whom the new opportunity for service has come most directly, and it is partly on that account that I am appealing to you of the South.

"I am at present entrusted by the people of the Sutton Division of Plymouth to represent them, men and women alike, in Parliament. There are something like 17,000 women voters in my constituency, and over 23,000 men, who include a large number of men in the Royal Navy. It would indeed be hard to feel that one could not have the same trust from the men of my homeland which has been given to me so generously in the land of my adoption. But the responsibility they have laid on me is only the outcome of the responsibility which they have already placed on all women, by giving them the vote. Trusting a woman in Parliament cannot be done till you have trusted women at the ballot box. A democracy which only trusts its men cannot help being a lop-sided democracy. I know the South too well to believe that they will interpret their own constitution of popular government less democratically than this country, from which I write, has interpreted its constitution of limited monarchy.

"The cause of women's political freedom has been won in America—America, where one of the first shots in the campaign was fired. But the forces working against justice and progress are still strong enough to raise technical obstructions and to delay the full realization of the Victory.

"On August 9th the Governor of Tennessee has called that Legislature into special session, to consider the ratification of the Federal Amendment for Women's Suffrage. Thirty-five states have given their hand and seal, but one is lacking—Will not the South give that one? So strong is my faith in the South that I feel it almost an impertinence to ask them such a question. Remember we are making a new world and women—mothers—long to have a share in the sort of world in which their children must live. We have moral courage and spiritual vision. Give us the chance to help you. We don't want to be little men, but we do want to be Big Mothers."

(Signed) NANCY ASTOR.

The Crisis

WE stand today at a crisis where ratification may be decided by the South within the week—may be decided even before this is read. Under ordinary circumstances and if the ratification were any but the 36th, suffragists would be entirely confident of the outcome. For weeks Mrs. Catt has been in Tennessee directing the ratification campaign. For weeks Tennessee's local suffrage forces have been lined up for work. When, on July 26th, Mrs. Catt announced that the Tennessee Legislature had been polled and that there was a majority in favor of the ratification in both houses, she knew what she was talking about. The votes were actually pledged, the only question remaining was, would the men stand steady? That, in turn, depends to a great extent upon whether or not the wire pullers of the major political parties act in good faith.

It has come to pass that to an appreciable extent the two major political parties have lost the confidence of women on the suffrage issue.

Repeatedly, where women have been given every reason to believe that the suffrage fight was over, one or both of those parties has failed to make good on their programs. For this reason, remembering Delaware, for instance, women cannot feel secure in Tennessee until ratification is an accomplished fact.

All that we can say at this writing is that the signs are favorable but that the opposition is massed as it was never massed before.

For Secretary of State

IN designating Miss Harriet May Mills of Syracuse as Secretary of State, the New York Democratic state convention made a wise selection.

Miss Mills has the confidence of the women of New York from one end of it to the other. She is favorably known from New York to Buffalo, down-state where her party is in the ascendancy, and up-state where she is surrounded by Republicans.

"I never sought public office," says Miss Mills, and this is no empty phrase with her. She never did. For some years, hard years of close work, with no glory and plenty of contumely, she led the woman suffrage campaign of the state.

When New York was at its intensely dramatic, white-hottest moments, from 1914 to 1917, Miss Mills was doing wheel-horse work for suffrage in her own city.

She was all this time carrying on educational work, caring for an aging mother, being in short that kind of womanly woman praised through the ages.

Miss Mills is by nature, inheritance and habit an educator. Her father was an Oriental scholar. Her childhood's home was a center for reformers, lecturers, writers. Her friends when she was a little girl were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone. She is a graduate of Cornell

University, and has given her life to advancing the larger interests of mankind.

The position of Secretary of State is very largely an educative position, one from which much accurate information is demanded.

The Secretary of State is, according to authorities on civil government, the state's ranking official. He (or she) is custodian of the great seal and the state archives; has charge of the publication and preservation of the laws; countersigns the governor's proclamations and commissions; issues certificates of incorporation, etc.

Miss Mills says of her willingness to accept office: "For a woman to have a place on the party slate is a compliment to the entrance of women into politics that may well mark a new era in American history. We have fought for many years to bring about this event, and the consummation must prove a justification of the principles of equal suffrage. I was glad to assent to the use of my name, not for anything that I hope to get out of the office in profit or prestige but largely because I want a chance to demonstrate that a woman can do a full day's work in almost any important office to which she is chosen."

Wanted! Women Police

THE Metropolitan Police Department of Washington offers opportunities to women for fairly well paid posts. Appointments will be made on a basis of \$1,580 a year, with salaries for lieutenants and captains running up to \$2,120 and \$2,500 a year.

The duties of women appointed to posts in the Metropolitan Police are of three sorts: protective and preventive work; corrective measures in connection with probation, and general police work in detection and prevention of crime. This last includes patrol of streets and securing of evidence for prosecution, etc.

The United States Civil Service Commission has just announced an examination for policewomen in this department, to be held on August 25th in eleven cities: Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York, Buffalo, Boston, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis. The examinations are open to all women citizens of the United States who can measure up to one of the three groups of requirements: (1) Graduated from a four years' course of a standard high school, or completion of at least 14 college units of study, and not less than two years' experience, recent and responsible, in systematic social service or educational work; or (2) graduation from a recognized school for trained nurses, requiring a residence of at least two years in a hospital, giving thorough, practical and theoretical training; or (3) the completion of at least seven college entrance units of study, or of two years' work in a standard high school and not less than two years' responsible commercial experience, involving public contact and tending to qualify the applicant to perform the duties of the position.

Those competing will be obliged to write a thesis, to answer practical questions, and to show education, training and experience.

All applicants must be between 21 and 35 years of age; must submit to the examiner a photograph taken within two years. Before entering duty they will be required to pass a physical examination by the Board of Police Surgeons.

IT was expected that 90,000 women would register for voting in Milwaukee, according to the *Milwaukee Journal*. Already more than 45,000 had registered. The women of Wisconsin have presidential suffrage, so will exercise the right of the ballot regardless of ratification of the 19th amendment.

Connecticut Insists

A DELEGATION of suffragists from Connecticut, headed by Miss Katharine Ludington, president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, told Chairman Will H. Hays, of the Republican National Committee, at his offices in New York last Saturday that they would hold the Republican party strictly to account if women of the nation were unable to vote in the national election this fall. Miss Ludington, spokesman for the party, called the attention of Mr. Hays to the fact that while his party was taking credit for ratification of the Anthony amendment by twenty-nine states, it was not bringing any effective pressure to bear on the Republican governors of Connecticut and Vermont, each of whom holds a key to the full enfranchisement of the nation's women. After hearing Miss Ludington's argument, Mr. Hays assured her of the National Republican Committee's disposition to do all in its power to secure ratification. This was Miss Ludington's way of summing up the case:

"AS the election approaches, and ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is still delayed, Connecticut women are becoming deeply dissatisfied with the attitude of the political parties. We are asking ourselves whether either great national party seriously intends to put forth its maximum effort to secure ratification in time for us to vote in the November election.

"What the women want is to vote in November. What the parties, apparently, want is a good record as a talking point in the coming campaign. What to the women is the supremely important thing, is that thirty-sixth state, which will actually complete the act of enfranchisement. What to the parties seems to be most important is to exact their full due of gratitude from women *who have not as yet received the gift that was promised*. American women have worked seventy years for full enfranchisement; it is almost within their grasp—it has been within the power of the political parties to give it to them, and to give it in time for the November election. And it has not been given. We have seen opportunity after opportunity lost; and the time is slipping by.

"And yet, in the face of these facts, the newspapers are filled with party admonitions to the women to be grateful! And in our own state, where the Republican party is responsible, the women are actually being called upon to aid in the Republican campaign! The same party which is keeping them voteless, asks them to help (in an inferior and auxiliary capacity, of course) to strengthen its power and to seat more firmly in the saddle those Republican leaders who will then proceed to use that power to keep the women still longer unenfranchised. Irony could hardly go further!

"We have said that we hold both parties responsible; but we hold the Republican party responsible to a greater degree, both because it is in power in thirty-two out of the forty-eight states, and with power comes responsibility,—and because in Connecticut its state branch is repudiating the policy and promises of the National party in regard to ratification.

Let us remind you of these promises.

Resolution adopted by the Republican National Committee, on December 10th, 1919: "The Republican National Committee recommends to the Republican Legislatures the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, . . . and urges that special sessions in the other states be called before February to complete the ratification."

Statement, accompanying publicity given this resolution: "The party managers will co-operate with the women in a determined effort to have the suffrage amendment ratified by February 15th. The Republican leaders intend to exert their influence to bring about the calling of special sessions of the Legislatures for action on the amendment."

Resolution, adopted by the Republican National Committee, on June 1st, 1920.—"Resolved, by the Republican National Committee, that the Nineteenth Constitutional Amendment be, and the same is hereby again endorsed by this committee, and such Republican states as have not already done so are now urged to take such action by their Governors and their legislators as will assure the ratification of such amendment and establish the right of equal suffrage at the earliest possible time."

National platform plank.—"We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in states which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country."

"I have said that we have had no proof as yet, that the National party means to make good on these declared intentions. In fact, many things seem to point the other way,—first, the Republican failure in Delaware; second, the weak plank in the Republican National platform, which was emasculated, *at the request of the Connecticut delegates*, until it was an affront to the intelligence of women, and a mockery of the Connecticut and Vermont Legislatures; third, the situation in Connecticut.

"From the time when suffrage became an issue, it has had the opposition of the leaders of the Republican party in this state. Since the Amendment passed Congress, they have resisted every expression of public opinion, every plea for ratification on grounds of justice and fair play. For a year suffragists have tried sincerely and patiently to work *in and with* the Republican party to overcome this opposition, and have been co-operating with a Republican party Men's Ratification Committee, formed for this purpose. But the method of working with individuals in the party, and of using persuasion and the pressure of public opinion on those in power, has accomplished exactly nothing. We are apparently no nearer a special session than we were a year ago.

"The situation culminated at the Republican State Convention in March, when, after passing a resolution calling on the Governor to call the session, the convention proceeded to put back into power those very leaders who would, as the delegates well knew, use the power given them, to oppose in every possible way the purpose of the resolution. A party speaks most directly through its conventions, and this convention, by endorsing the enemies of suffrage, put the Republican party of Connecticut squarely on record as an opponent. The futile resolution can avail nothing to distract attention from the facts of the record.

"During all this time we have had no evidence that the National Republican Committee was really working in the state. We found it very difficult to reach you personally and our appeals for specific help were ignored.

"*Mr. Roraback and Major Buckley have stated that the Governor has never been asked by you to call a session.* They evidently feel, and wish the public to understand, that the National Republican Committee has given them a free hand to pursue their obstructionist course. And, to confirm this, comes Senator Harding's refusal to attempt to persuade Governor Holcomb.

"In the meantime, we women are being told that the Republican party cannot be held responsible, because the Governor stands alone in his opposition! We submit that so long as the official leaders of the party in the state are in entire harmony with him in opposing us, and the national party keeps hands off, they are accomplices in his opposition and must be held responsible accordingly.

"And we further submit that if a national party is to come before the voters on the basis of its policies and promises, then it must be held responsible for making those promises good *through its state branches*—and that if the voters of Connecticut are to be called on to support the Connecticut Republican party this Fall, *on the ground that it is Republican and on the merits of Republican policies* then proof should be given that it honorably supports these policies.

If the Connecticut Republican leaders can play a free hand without interference from the national party, then that party faces the alternative of either admitting powerlessness and disintegration, or of being an accomplice in the state's attitude of repudiation.

"Connecticut women will remain voteless unless a Southern state ratifies—or Connecticut or Vermont comes in. The Republican party can help us in two ways—either by giving a solid

Republican vote in Tennessee,—or by putting forth a really vigorous effort in a New England state.

"We have come to urge you, with all the depth of feeling of a great body of women back of us, to do both these things—and to demonstrate that the National Republican party actually means what its official utterances say.

"No Vote, No Money"

THE "No Vote, No Money" pledge which Republican party women are asked to sign is meeting with enthusiastic support, according to an announcement made by Mrs. Willis N. Austin, chairman of the committee which is distributing the pledges throughout the state. Women have written in from every county asking for copies of the pledge, which seeks to deny funds and support to the Republican party in Connecticut until the thirty-sixth state has ratified the Anthony suffrage amendment.

The pledge reads, in part: "We declare that we will not help the Republican party in Connecticut by contributing money, raising money or speaking in the campaign until the thirty-sixth state has ratified and our position as voters is made secure."

Among those who have recently sent assurance of support for the movement are the following from the several counties of the state:

Hartford County: Mrs. Antoinette Eno Wood, Miss Mary Phelps Morgan, Simsbury; Mrs. Harold A. Knowles, Dr. Valeria H. Parker, Hartford; Mrs. Frank Barry, Mrs. Edward E. Fish, Mrs. William C. Cheney, South Manchester.

Litchfield County (in addition to names previously published): Mrs. Herbert Scoville, Mrs. Wm. A. Prendergast, Mrs. Joseph Parsons, Lakeville.

Fairfield County: Mrs. A. Hyde Cole, East Norwalk.

New London County: Mrs. Tracy Farnham, New London.

Middlesex County: Mrs. Franklin Countryman, East Haddam; Mrs. Emma Hurd Chaffee, Moodus; Mrs. W. R. Pierson, Miss Helen A. Stevens, Cromwell; Mrs. Frank L. Sanborn, Portland.

Tolland County: Mrs. J. T. McKnight, Miss Mary J. Kimball, Ellington; Mrs. Charles S. Fuller, Miss Harriet R. Pease, Somers; Mrs. Helen C. Wright, Andover; Mrs. H. M. Lawson, Union.

Windham County: Mrs. F. U. Johnstone, Mrs. Edward R. Rollins, Putnam; Mrs. Ida Larrabee, Miss Elizabeth K. Abbe, Windham; Mrs. Robert Fenton, Willimantic.

Sex Discrimination

AN incident has come to the attention of the *Woman Citizen* which gives one more proof of the claim that in practice the Civil Service has discriminated against women. The story is briefly this: Here is a woman first on two tests in a municipal hospital where she has long been employed in the pathological department. She is in line to be either assistant director of pathological laboratories or pathologist. She has been certified several times from both of these lists, but the department has refused to accept a woman.

In the meantime she is now performing all the duties of the position of pathologist. She has been advised by officials of the Civil Service Commission to carry the matter to court and get a decision against the sex discrimination, which is retarding her promotion. Rather than do this she has sought out the League of Women Voters in her city and joined it. She believes that groups of women banded together against sex injustices are more effective than is any one person single-handed.

She reports that her grievance is wide-spread; that other hospitals also refuse to accept women pathologists although they are in line for promotion.

The Empress Eugénie as a Feminist

By Princess Radziwill

A LOT has been written, and will be written yet, about the Empress Eugénie who died recently in Madrid. Almost every phase of her character and every incident in her career have been discussed, with one exception, and this is such an important one that it is impossible to consider its having been passed by in silence otherwise than intentional.

The Empress was one of the pioneers of the movement for the emancipation of women, not only in France but in Europe. Ever since her girlish days she had rebelled at the condition of inferiority in which her sex found itself subjected in regard to its independence of movements. In the Spain of those years, women were scarcely educated, and kept in strict seclusion from the world. The Empress, however, had had the luck to have a mother who had been carefully trained in England and France, and who in her turn had brought up her daughters abroad, and taken immense care of their instruction.

The Countess de Montijo had been influenced in this respect by Prosper Mérimée, and it was upon his advice that she placed Eugénie and her sister, who later on became the Duchess of Alba, in the convent of the Sacred Heart in Paris, which was considered at the time as the best educational establishment for girls in Europe. Her two daughters were taught English, French and Italian, in addition to their own mother tongue, and when they had completed their studies, Mérimée himself undertook to give them supplementary lessons in history and literature.

IT was this exotic kind of education which gave rise to the undoubted reputation for eccentricity of the Empress, who was considered in Madrid in consequence of it, more than because of her disregard of conventions, as fast. In reality she was nothing of the kind, but she liked to discuss with the clever men she met all the important questions of the day, and this alone constituted an anomaly in retrograde Spain, a fact that only added fuel to the flames already smoldering in the mind of Eugénie in regard to the difficulties continually put in the way of women whenever they attempted to speak for themselves, or to stand up in defense of their rights.

She was especially shocked at the thought that in Spain, where the throne could be inherited by a woman, civil rights were denied to women, when they happened not to be the Queen. In regard to this last fact, she wrote once to a man who had always been her admirer, and who had occupied the position of a Foreign Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, when she was a girl of twenty or so, that she could not understand how "in an enlightened century like the one we are living in, no one has sufficient courage to rise and say that women must be given the right to dispose of their property, and not be kept in respect to it under the control of a husband who as often as not wants to annex it for his own use and benefit. Women have souls as well as men, and are more honest than men by nature. Their present defects come from a bad education rather than from a bad disposition, and if they were brought up like men, they would certainly show themselves, if not superior, then at least equal to men. We are not Turks, and we ought to apply ourselves in justice to the sex of our mothers, to fight for the rights of women."

Audacious words, and more than audacious, when one considers that they proceeded from the pen of a girl twenty years old, and that they were penned in the year of grace 1846, when the mere word "suffragette" would have been sufficient to send half of the world into fits.

When Eugénie became the Empress of the French, her first thought was for the amelioration of the condition of women in the country over which she found herself called to reign. France owes her much in the way of encouragement in that respect, and all the charitable institutions with which she found herself connected at the beginning of her reign bear the impress of her efforts in that direction. But what she labored especially for was the elimination from the Code Napoleon of its many restrictions in regard to the rights of a married woman to dispose of her property without her husband's permission or sanction. For years she tried to persuade the Emperor to make a step towards it, and tried in vain. Napoleon III only smiled when she mentioned the matter to him.

At last her opportunity came when she was appointed Regent during the war with Italy in 1859. The Emperor was away, and at one moment people were afraid some opposition to his policy might crop up, as the popular feeling in France was all against the war. The Empress then declared that it would be easy to turn the tide of opinion in favor of the Empire, if the women could be got on its side. And she forthwith proceeded to have a bill drafted doing away with the control of a married woman's property by her husband, and declared that she would send it herself directly to the two Legislative Chambers. But just as she was about to do so, a telegram from the Emperor arrived, forbidding her to move further in this direction.

Napoleon had been advised by General Fleury of his consort's intention and persuaded by him to interfere in the matter, under the pretext that it would never do to touch the work of his uncle, who in his Code of laws had traced such barriers between women and liberty. The Emperor allowed himself to be convinced, and perhaps at heart he was not sorry for it, as he had never approved of his wife's ideas about women and the necessity to allow them to enjoy the same freedom as men in public as well as in private life.

EUGENIE had to submit, but she turned her activities into another channel, and never forgot what she considered the principal aim in her life as a Sovereign. When the Czar Alexander II visited Paris during the exhibition of 1867, she spoke to him about the popularity which would necessarily accrue to him, if he took the initiative of a step tending to remove the various legal disabilities of women. Alexander was of a chivalrous nature, and he told the Empress that he would give an earnest consideration to her recommendation to him. And when he returned to Russia, he really did study the question, with the result that women were given the right to vote in municipal elections, as well as in those of the Zemstvos or local regional councils. In regard to the disposition of their property they already enjoyed in Russia almost unrestricted liberty.

After having received from the Czar a telegram advising her of what he had done, Eugénie wrote to the friend already referred to in the following terms: "You may imagine how grateful I feel to your Emperor for his generous action. As Voltaire wrote one day to Catherine II, 'Light shall come to us from the North,' and it is really from the North that it has come; for us women at least."

People forget soon in these days, and now that women have almost everywhere obtained a recognition of their rights, no one remembers the efforts made in their behalf by the last Empress

who ruled in the old Tuileries Palace. Before her name has become a memory, it is fitting that this memory should at last become associated with one of the causes she had the most at heart, and that women should know of her work and remember the woman who undoubtedly was in truth a pioneer in their emancipation from the unjust disabilities under which they have labored through so many centuries of ignorance, now happily at an end.

In elaboration of woman's position in Russia as established by Alexander II, Princess Radziwill adds:

"Women in Russia under the Old Regime had the following rights:

"1. In regard to their property, they held it quite independently from their husbands, could sell or buy real estate, have business houses, or be at the head of any trading establishment without referring to their husbands at all. In fact their legal position was exactly the same as that of men, with one exception: A married woman did not have the right to give out a bill of exchange without her husband's authorization. This was because civil imprisonment still existed in Russia for failure to pay any such bill, and the law supposed a husband would not care to see his wife imprisoned. But other liabilities, such as giving mortgages on her landed property, she could assume without any reference to her husband.

"2. In regard to inheritance laws: A woman inherited the fourteenth share of her father's and mother's real estate, and a fourth share of their personal estate. But she did *not* inherit from a brother or sister if she had another brother alive, and except in the case of a direct inheritance, such as from one's father and mother, the masculine line always took precedence of the feminine one.

"3. In regard to the right to vote: A woman belonging to the nobility voted in all the elections concerned with it, such as that of the government or district marshal, whose mission was to preside at all local councils of the government or district, and was chosen by his peers, that is other nobles. She could, however, vote only if she held some landed property in the government or district,—but this was also the case with men,—and she was not allowed to cast her vote in person, but had to do so by proxy, that is give her vote to a masculine elector with instructions as to how he was to vote.

"4. In municipal elections, every woman in any town had the right to vote also by proxy, if she happened to be a house owner, and I have done so repeatedly in Petrograd, where I had a house. This was one of the reforms introduced by the Czar Alexander II when he instituted Municipal Councils, and this was what was alluded to by the Empress Eugénie in her letter. Truth however compels me to say that I think he always intended to do it, and that in fact the law was already framed at the time referred to in my article, but he was gallant enough to let the Empress think that she was responsible for it."

Cautiously

WITH cautious steps the enfranchisement of Belgian women makes headway. The Chamber of Deputies on July 28 advanced the women's cause when, in order to avoid a crisis on the question, they voted by an overwhelming majority for a bill to revise Article 7 of the Constitution, dealing with suffrage.

This bill accepts as a principle that any future parliament may, by a two-thirds majority, vote suffrage to women without necessitating a new revision of the Constitution.

The Railroad Rate Increase

THE American public has not yet fully realized the staggering additional burdens imposed on it by the recent decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission under the Cummings-Esch Bill granting the common carriers rate increases estimated to yield over one and one half billions dollars.

Women voters should know that this increase adds a *direct* annual tax equal to \$15 per person of the population, and this means an *indirect* tax estimated at from two to five times this amount, or \$30 to \$75 for every man, woman and child in the United States.

For a family of four the direct tax amounts to \$60 and the ultimate cost to no less than \$120 to \$200.

This is equivalent to paying interest on an added war debt amounting to from 25 to 42 billions¹ estimated as a direct tax, or from 125 to 214 billions on the basis of indirect cost before it reaches the consumer.

This burden imposed by the Interstate Commerce Commission on the people of the United States if made perpetual exceeds the war indemnity imposed by the victorious allies and associated powers on their vanquished foes as a punishment for their war crimes and war destruction.

What have been our crimes?

Something must be wrong.

Housekeepers are already driven to desperation to make both ends meet. Increased costs, necessitating increased wages, was the occasion of the decision, and the decision itself simply promises still another cycle, of increased living costs and demands for increased wages.

Part of this could have been prevented. The "cost plus" theory of utility regulation according to which management or mismanagement are equally rewarded and on which the Cummings-Esch law is based has certainly failed.

Its failure is clearly traceable to the lack of reliable engineering and technical information relating to all details of railroad management and operation, which it should be the duty of the government to secure, to the end that costs be kept at a minimum consistent with changes in the cost of living. The cost of such work would be insignificant in comparison with the huge economies it would effect.

This side of the government's work is now sadly neglected. In the June 12th issue of the *Woman Citizen* (page 49) it was shown that only one cent out of every dollar appropriated for the fiscal year just ended was spent on research, educational and developmental work.

Women voters represent that body of voters whose experience is mainly an experience of money saving rather than money getting; whose great object is to reduce the cost of living. For this reason their main interest is at present centered around developing and expanding just this group of neglected government activities.

M. S. B.

¹ The present war debt is approximately 25 billion dollars.

Anti Child Labor

THE figures issued by the Labor Office of the District of Columbia, covering child labor permits for the year ending July 1, show an appreciable decrease in the number over the previous year. In the previous year 1,069 permits were issued and this year showed a decrease of 409. The cessation of war work and the restoration of pre-war conditions, together with the progress in the growth of anti-child labor sentiment is accountable for the decrease.

Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-five Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89	
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25	
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3	Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2	Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0	Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0	Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York	House, yes, 137; no, 0	Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6	Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44	Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47	Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20	Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5	Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4	Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15	Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 2, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6	Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire	House, yes, 212; no, 143	Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2	Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68	Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota	House, yes, 102; no, 6	Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota	House, yes, 52; no, 0	Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0	Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island	House, yes, 89; no, 3	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25	Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0	Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 25; no, 1	Senate, yes, 8; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24	Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0	Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10	Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 28, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12	Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40	Senate, yes, 16; no, 13
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0	Senate, yes, 40; no, 0

Where Ratification Carried by a Unanimous Vote

In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan	South Dakota
Kansas	Colorado
New York	Oregon
Nebraska	Wyoming
Utah	Arizona
	Washington

In One House

Illinois	Senate
Iowa	Senate
Montana	House
California	Senate
Indiana	House
Nevada	Senate
Idaho	House

Some Mooted Questions

Considered by a College Dean

IN reading the works of educational specialists we often see an expression something like this: "Girls are as keen intellectually as boys up to a certain age, if not keener." As a result of this it is recommended that the two sexes be separated for a period to protect the boys from the discouragement caused by being beaten by girls.

Now some of us who have grown gray in this "man's world" have had a chance to notice that this point was movable. In the time of our grandmothers it was the end of the grades, in our mothers' time, the high school, and in our own it has passed to the end of the post-graduate course. But there was one fixed characteristic about it. It was always the point up to which, and not beyond which, the boys and girls had equal opportunity. Women have not excelled men as legislators because, in part at least, they have not been allowed to be legislators.

In a footrace, if half of the runners were forced to stop at the end of the first round, it would hardly be fair to speak of them as outclassed by the winners, especially if some of them were in the lead when they were stopped, and yet that is exactly what has been done with men and women.

It has been assumed that the men have a sudden awakening of power that enables them later in life to outdo the women who have surpassed them in earlier years.

The only way to see who is best is fair play and equal chance.

Moreover, I think that the separation of the sexes, as proposed, if it does what it is intended to do, is just aggravating a great evil. The majority of boys still have the feeling that they are beings of a superior order and they will do their best just as well with girls in the class as without as soon as they learn that girls as a class are not inferior. As soon as they know they must compete with them all their lives they will brace up and work so as to be ready to hold their own in the competition of business and professional life. This will get better work out of all and better service for the country than to have them allowed to sit back and think: "Oh, well, the girls are very bright up to a certain age; but we'll beat them by-and-by."

WILL there ever be a woman President, or more women Senators or Representatives?

From the way things go in mixed organizations can we not conjecture that the office of Vice-President might fall to a woman when women's political power is enough to demand consideration? The greatest obstacle might be that that officer has to preside in the Senate.

As for the others, we can see how the thing works by examples from abroad. In Finland women were elected early to be representatives in the national council because each district has more than one to elect at a time. It was thought that in Denmark the single representative system would make the election of women improbable; but some came in soon as representatives-at-large in Copenhagen, I believe. Miss Rankin's election was due no doubt to the fact that Montana at that time chose two at large and every man had a chance to vote for one man and one woman. Men do reach the point some times when they are willing to put women on an equal footing; but never above—except in theory. Miss Rankin's re-election was rendered impossible, as I understand, by the division of the state into districts and by assigning her, as a Republican, to a Democratic section. To give the one Senatorship in question to a woman was not to be expected. Her failure to return was not, therefore, any proof that she did not please her constituency.

But what is the point of all this?

When the new census results in more congressmen, if they can be elected at large we women will stand some chance of having some of the representation to which we are entitled. This will also give a chance for a district rich in able men to have two in Congress. Our districts are sometimes very weakly represented, and representatives care more for the loot they can get for their little section than for the welfare of state or country.

WHO will pay the soldier's bonus? This is a side of the question not appearing much in print; but important nevertheless. One or two facts are worth thinking about.

A rich service man may have to pay many times his own bonus in taxes for the others. Yet he surely should not be punished for the same service for which others are rewarded. The parents of dead heroes, if rich, may have to pay heavily for the support of others who have not made the sacrifice. The men themselves may be paying for years, if they are industrious and saving, so as to have anything the government can tax. In other cases the parents of the young men, after giving them support and education, may be asked, or rather forced, to transfer some more to them through the expensive channel of the government service.

Of course the men who are wanting it are either not thinking at all where it is coming from or expecting to get it from the profiteers of either the boss or labor class. But the bosses who have really "got by" with successful profiteering will probably be the first to escape the tax and the laborers who made and are making such large wages have spent it all, or nearly all, and will have nothing much to tax.

To give irrigated land to those who are willing to work it would probably meet with little objection. But to permit soldiers to take land and sell at once is open to the same objections as the cash bonus.

HELEN LOWELL MILLION,
Dean of Hardin College.

Mexico, Mo.

Where Does Our Money Go?

EVERY intelligent woman wants to know how her taxes are spent. The chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards at Washington has compiled the record of government expenditures, and it is illuminating.

Out of every dollar paid into the national treasury, ninety-three cents goes to pay for past and future wars—for the war debt, pensions, war risk insurance, the war and navy departments.

A little over one cent out of each dollar goes for the departments dealing with human welfare—educational work, agriculture, public health work, women's and children's welfare, libraries, research work, etc.

The remaining five cents and a fraction in each dollar is spent on the machinery of government, public buildings, rivers and harbors, and the like.

After women's wishes in government really count, it is likely that more adequate appropriations will be made for some of the departments of which women more fully than men realize the importance.

A. S. B.

THE LABOR Congress of the Philippine Islands at their session in July adopted resolutions favoring woman suffrage and an eight hour day.

WHEN the National League of Women Voters holds its annual convention next spring at Cleveland, Ohio, it is hoped to have one delegate from each Congressional District in the United States attend the convention.



For Women

"Onyx" Hosiery

for
Sportswear

In wool and
camels' hair,
maintains
the distinc-
tion long
held by
"Onyx" Silk
hosiery.

At the Better Shops

Emery & Beers Company Inc.

Sole Owners and Wholesale Distributors
NEW YORK



For Children

Emancipating the Home from the Tyranny of Servants

One Woman's Way

WE may count on the adaptability of the American housewife to find a way to meet the labor shortage. It may mean cutting out some of the ceremonial of housekeeping, simplifying tasks which have been made unnecessarily complicated, installing new labor saving devices, curtailing entertaining. But the American family will continue to live under its own roof-tree.

Before the Civil War probably the Southern woman thought that she couldn't run a home properly without slaves, but the war proved to her that her home could survive slavery. Before the recent war probably many American housewives would have said that they couldn't run their homes without servants to do the manual labor, but the war has proved to them that they underestimated their own abilities.

There are more good cooks in the kitchen today than there were five years ago; women who have never before cooked, or swept, or dusted, or washed dishes are now making very satisfactory maids in their own homes, and with the new experience have come new values of domestic work.

The "mistress housekeeper" is in the kitchen, and she is eliminating unnecessary steps and getting down to the essentials. In that bright era when immigrants were landing at Ellis Island by the thousands New York took its housekeeping lightly. There was plenty of help to perform the disagreeable tasks and housekeepers concerned themselves more and more with the ceremonial of housekeeping. To the mistress housekeeper it isn't nearly so important that a dinner be served in a certain way as it is that the food be well cooked; simplifying the work in the home cuts down its labor demands 50 per cent, and simplicity is the keynote of the mistress housekeeper's program today.

IT is surprising how easily a substantial meal can be served without the frippery of service. Such things as tea wagons and Lazy Susans can get the meal on the table and served in practically one gesture.

There is a woman who lives in the suburbs of New York, for instance, where maids are as scarce as sugar, who has adjusted her housekeeping to meet the labor conditions and finds she likes the new order of things very much better. Before experienced maids were extinct, she ran her home rather formally, her meals were served in their proper courses, her maids were very attractive in their neat uniforms and carefully trained, she fussed a good deal over the ceremonial of her home, and her dinner could be spoiled by some unlucky mistake in its service. When the war took the efficient girls into other professions she found herself in the position of one hedged around by a lot of ceremonial and no one to perform the ceremonies. She tried to make out with the derelicts who were left in the profession, but after some nerve-racking experiences with half-wits and cripples, she decided that she would have to find another solution to her problem.

She discovered that some very competent women were going out for day work and she engaged one to come for half a day to clean the house and do the laundry for a family of two. She paid her as much as she had paid a general houseworker to do all the work and she had no cook, but she taught herself how to cook and the result is that her food is much better prepared than when she had had a girl in the kitchen. She quickly simplified her service and substituted a tea wagon for a serving table. One trip rolled the dinner to the table and a Lazy Susan passed it around. Every unnecessary step was cut out, her house is now

run from the utilitarian point of view, and she finds it rather more comfortable than when it was run formally.

She also made the discovery that the house was infinitely more peaceful without maids. Always to have an outsider under one's roof—even though in another part of the house—is a strain on both employer and employee. No other business attempts to house and feed its employees, and the home has suffered from this misdirected economy. The boarding of servants often costs more than their wages and is a source of constant leakage in the domestic budget. If figures were kept it would probably be found cheaper to have workers come in for specific jobs at higher wages than to board them at lower wages. There are two handicaps to domestic work from the worker's point of view; one, long hours and the other the stigma attaching to the work, which housekeepers have carelessly fostered. Domestic service is looked upon as the lowest grade of labor when, as a matter of fact, housekeeping requires considerable executive ability, far more than is needed by a clerk, for instance. In the new adjustments which the home is going to have to make, along with the rest of the world, we may evolve saner standards for domestic work. Work which permits domestic workers to have their own home offers attractions to the more competent woman. From the mistress's point of view it is rather comfortable, too, to be able to lock the door on the maid and feel that one's castle is one's own.

The independence of a woman who knows how to cook is a sweet freedom, too. Of course, it means running the home primarily for one's family. Elaborate entertaining can't be undertaken without help in the kitchen, but there are other places for entertaining besides home. There are hotels and clubs which make a business of housing and feeding people. We shall need to get away from the antiquated idea that entertainments are to be given on the assumption that people are starving and must be fed. We may have to find some other way to amuse guests than by gorging them. Certainly the home of the future with limited help will not be sufficiently elastic to continue the old generous hospitality, but what is possible is for it to continue to be a place where the family can foregather in privacy and comfort. It is safe to predict it will survive any labor shortage as long as women want homes badly enough to simplify their demands.

F. M.

Child Suicides

A POWERFUL indirect argument for equal suffrage is to be found in the statistics of suicide in the United States. The figures for the first six months of 1920 have just been published by the Save a Life Society. It is not merely or chiefly because the number of persons who took their own lives (2,771) shows an alarming increase over the number for the corresponding six months of last year (2,063). It is not because nearly twice as many men as women committed suicide, 1,810 males and only 961 females. The most appalling fact, and the one containing the most food for thought, is that 225 of the suicides were children.

Grown persons, who are not well balanced, are driven to suicide by misfortune, by passion, by vice, by want, by ill health, by a great variety of causes. But in children, unless circumstances are radically wrong with them, the love of life and the joy of life are strong. Everyone shudders to hear of a child's committing suicide. It is not only pitiful but unnatural. Something must be very much amiss with conditions in the United States when our children are committing suicide at the rate of 500 a year. It is high time that the sex whose natural mission it is to safeguard children should look into the reasons for this, and should have enlarged powers given them to grapple with the underlying causes.

A. S. B.

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From Catherine Breshkovsky

MANY of the readers of the *Woman Citizen* will be interested in the following letter from Catherine Breshkovsky, which was lately received by her friend Mr. A. W. Robinson of Boston. She writes:

"Your amiable message found me in a remote village, lost among the Carpathian mountains, inhabited by half-wild peasants of Russian stock, now awakening to a better and more civilized life. Of good character, of a strong constitution, richly endowed by nature with clean minds and hearts, they listen eagerly to every word of truth and love.

"Their country is beautiful, and rich in excellent vegetable products of every kind. But until lately it was dominated by foreigners who worked out all the resources for themselves: nothing was left for the natives but starvation and ignorance. Only a year ago the exhausted Russian Carpathians (half a million of them in this nook of the Carpathian mountains) were annexed to the Czechoslovak Republic, and as that country has not yet recovered from its losses in the war, our poor Russians remain in a very miserable state.

"Nevertheless, I feel well among these poor people, and hope to be of some use to them. But I suffer much to see what a quantity of orphans the war has left here too, and in what distress the children are, without anyone to look after them or teach them. They become beggars, with all the bad results of that abominable profession. As you ask me what comfort would make me happier, I will tell you frankly, nothing so much as to be able to secure a better future for even a few of these abandoned little beings, doomed to a life of misery and perhaps of crime.

"So I have undertaken to organize an orphanage in Uzhorod (the central town of Russian Carpathia), where boys on one side

and girls on the other will be maintained (boarded), and taught to be honest and hard-working citizens. But, as the means at my disposal are very limited, and everything here in this impoverished country is extremely dear, and many things cannot be had at all, I am forced to address myself to good people and pray them to aid me in my undertaking, and to collect the indispensable instruments, such as paper, pencils, pens, ink, states, maps; also pictures representing animals, plants, cities, types of the several races, etc. We need also some playthings, some materials to be made up by the children, scissors, knives and other tools, colors for painting, instruments with which to draw plans. If you would be so good as to gather some of these things, even second-hand ones, among your friends, we shall be grateful for every donation to our naked and hungry, ignorant, but very capable children.

"It will be such a delight to see them rationally occupied, working with their minds and hands, instead of wandering from village to village, from door to door, imploring for a bit of coarse bread or a cold potato, and never learning anything! Send all you can get to me, or better to A. A. Beskida, President of the School Fund, Civil Administration, Uzhorod, Karpato Russ, Czechoslovakia. It will be better to send the things to him, firstly because I am aged and my life is uncertain, secondly because I hope to profit by the first opportunity to leave for Russia. The man who presides over the School Fund in Uzhorod is my collaborator and an estimable person.

"Excuse me and my boldness. As a mother is never tired of trying for her children, so my heart is always apt to insist upon the welfare of the orphans.

"The climate of the Carpathians is warm enough to cultivate all sorts of flowers, including orchids, and I have on my table a beautiful bunch of roses and lilies, of excellent aroma.

"I have received some books from America.

"Clothes for children are indispensable. Coarse and second-hand garments would do perfectly, for they are naked, and the winter begins in November, and in autumn we have rain.

"This little corner of the earth contains all that people need to be contented. The soil is fit to produce the finest fruits, the forests are superb, the meadows splendid, the cattle magnificent, and it contains coal, iron and a quantity of mineral waters, besides having very picturesque scenery. Nature here is peaceful; there are no venomous creatures. The winter is mild and vineyards flourish on the slopes. But the peasants do not enjoy (the fruits). It will take two or three years before these poor people will be in a position to look out for themselves. Do not accuse us, dear Americans. You are living in better conditions, much better. Nobody has trampled down your soil, nobody has robbed you of your property."

I hope that as many as possible of the *Woman Citizen's* readers will send something to help Mme. Breshkovsky's orphanage. If they cannot conveniently send it to Czechoslovakia, Mr. A. W. Robinson, 3 Monadnock St., Boston 25, Mass., will receive and forward it.

A. S. B.

WE hear much of the sufferings of the women in war-devastated Europe and Asia, but comparatively little of their heroism. In Armenia, where a remnant of hard-pressed Christians hemmed in by Moslems are struggling bravely for their lives against overwhelming odds, many Armenian women, dressed in men's clothes, are fighting side by side with their husbands and brothers. And in the desperate fight, now going on all over the world, between the kingdom of darkness and the kingdom of light, the women are everywhere taking a valiant share. They must do this more and more, in ever-increasing numbers, if they are to live up to their enlarged opportunity.

A. S. B.



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What the International Congress Did for Switzerland

"IT is certain," writes Mlle. Emilie Gourd, president of the *Association Suisse pour le Suffrage Feminine*, "that a Congress of that kind (the International Suffrage Congress) is the most marvelous instrument of propaganda, especially if those who organize it have the wisdom not to make use of methods foreign to our customs and habits and to eliminate everything that would astonish or tend to cause ridicule."

The dignity and high character of the Congress held in June has brought nothing but help to the Swiss suffragists according to Miss Gourd.

"Even our adversaries, the sceptics, the mockers, and the indifferent are now forced to recognize that the suffrage movement is a force, a world power with which it is necessary to reckon. And that no one may longer deal ignorantly with it nor treat it with caricatures, after having seen the exquisitely feminine smile of a Lady Astor, or having once appreciated that her position as an M. P. has taken away nothing of the aspect of a serious mother of a family from an Elna Munch, no one need pretend any longer that women members of parliament are mere hybrid specimens of a race in its decadence.

"While it may not be wise to count too much on the partisans acquired in a night, still on the other hand we stake much for ourselves on that solidly placed public opinion, those living documents, those positive affirmations with which we shall hereafter be able to support our campaign.

"Woman suffrage is now a reality in Switzerland, in Geneva in any case. Those who have been willing to open their eyes have seen this.

"And they are numerous.

"It was not without apprehension that certain members of the committee of organization fixed upon the number of public meetings. In a city relatively small, compared with London, Berlin, or Budapest, could we manage four evening meetings in one week in the month of June, which with us is the one most filled with engaging walks and lake excursions. Should we be able to gather auditors in sufficient mass not to have our big hall look bare and desolate?

"From the opening session we were set upon the success that awaited us. On the last two evenings but for the measures for order taken by one of those who had the success of the Congress at heart, M. Louis Braschoss, there would have been a mob, a delirium. What a strange and gripping impression for those who for a long time have sown the seed of suffrage in an ungrateful soil, who have spoken before restricted audiences often assembled with difficulty in little school halls, who have refuted falsehoods in the face of lassitude and general indifference!

"The hall a little before eight o'clock was empty and silent. From outside the main entrance, from all around the building, where for more than an hour the crowd had grown dense, there was a noise like the sea. A wave of sound constantly increasing enveloped in its interest, its curiosity and also its sympathy, those who were about to speak.

"At the moment when the doors were opened a human torrent swept like a cascade through all the aisles, filled the galleries, took the stairs by assault, overflowed into the corridors to such an extent that after the session had commenced one saw auditors craning their necks from the sidewalk of the Boulevard Helvetique to catch some words from over the sea of 2,300 heads.

"It was then that one felt at the bottom of one's heart that the efforts of ten preceding years had not been in vain. And that something had happened, something new had arisen."

International Council to Meet in Norway

EXTENSIVE preparations are under way for the meeting of the International Council of Women at Christiania, Norway, September 8-17. About thirty representatives will go from America to the Council. Mrs. Phillip M. Moore, of St. Louis, president of the National Council of Women of America, which is affiliated with the international organization, will head the party of American women.

At the close of the Council meeting the party will tour the British Isles and the continent. Arrangements have been made for special receptions for the visitors.

Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, of Minneapolis, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, will be a member of the party attending the Conference.

Some of the subjects which will come before the meeting for discussion are:

New lines in the system of education, international aspects of public health, the housing problem, women police, the League of Nations—its appeal to women; the position of the smaller countries within the League of Nations.

The meetings will be held in the Norwegian Parliament building. The Countess of Aberdeen will preside at the sessions. Among the special affairs planned will be a reception at the Storthing. The Queen of Norway will receive at the Royal Palace. The National Theater will give a festival performance in honor of the delegates and the city of Christiania will arrange a luncheon.

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FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

LESSON XVIII.

ON the Senate side the proceeding is somewhat similar, but not exactly the same. On the Senate side the vice-president does not have to be elected, because he is the presiding officer of the Senate under the Constitution of the United States, but it is customary for him to absent himself very early in the session, so that a temporary presiding officer may be elected. He is nominated by the majority party, the Republicans, as it happened in the 66th Congress, and elected by the members on the floor. The Democrats made their nomination in the 66th Congress, too, but knew, of course, that it could not be carried. However, they voted for their candidate the first time just as seriously as if they expected it to be carried, but the Republican candidate, Senator Cummings, of Iowa, was elected.

The Republican committee nominations were made by the Republican Committee on Committees. The Democratic committee nominations were made by the Democratic steering committee. Both nominations were confirmed by the party caucuses, brought to the House by the party leaders, and the committees were elected in that way, and when the committees were elected the House and the Senate were organized.

The importance of committees in our congressional government cannot be over-estimated. Most important subjects are determined in the final legislation by the personnel of the committee which considers them, because so many details come before the Congress that it is practically impossible for the average member to be familiar with many of them, and the committees make the recommendations as to what shall be done, and the recommendation of the committee is, in two-thirds of the cases, the thing that brings or fails to bring legislation. So that in contested questions those interested in legislation, the Anti-Saloon league people, for example, who are interested in prohibition legislation in this Congress, were very keen in the interval between the two Congresses to see who was going to be on the Judiciary Committee, because the Judiciary Committee would have control of the enforcement legislation, so that it was a matter of very grave concern to them who went on to the Judiciary Committee.

Suffragists, of course, were very much con-

Congress and Its Work

By MAUD WOOD PARK.

A LECTURE delivered before the School for Political Education, conducted by Mrs. Catt at the Chicago Suffrage Convention, presented here in amplification of certain preceding lessons.

cerned as to who went on to the Woman Suffrage Committee, and people having measures of any sort are very much concerned as to who goes on to the committee who will have the consideration of those measures, because they know that the report of the committee stands a very good show to be made into legislation.

IN the last Congress, the Sixty-fifth Congress, a total of 22,594 bills and joint resolutions were introduced. The total number of laws passed by the last Congress was 543, so you see that most of the bills that are introduced fall by the wayside; you never hear of them again. Twenty-two thousand introduced and five hundred and forty-three enacted into law.

The changes in the passage of a bill are not so very different in the Congress from what they are on the State Legislatures, so that I will go over them fairly hurriedly.

A bill in the lower House is introduced by being put into a basket in the upper House, and the man who introduces it usually rises on the floor and states that he is introducing such and such a bill, and in both houses the bills are referred to a committee as soon as they are introduced. Now, that is all that there is obligatory about a bill. If it is introduced, it is referred to a committee, and beyond that it is hard work and good fortune that get it any further.

Each committee which has a bill in charge may be given hearings on that measure or not, just as it chooses. It may be reported or not, just as it chooses. And so the third and fourth stages of hearings and reports are guesswork as to whether you arrive that far or not.

In the lower house when a bill is reported it ordinarily goes on to one of three calendars. If it is an appropriation bill it goes on to the

calendar which is called the Calendar of the Whole House on the State of the Union; appropriation bills have certain rights that other bills do not have. Appropriation bills, by the way, by custom originate in the lower house, revenue bills by the constitution originate in the lower house, but almost anything else, excepting an impeachment question, can originate in either house.

Appropriation bills, as I say, go on to a special calendar and have special rights, so do bills that are called private bills, bill that have to do with pensions, or the settlement of claims in the civil war, or something like that; they go on to the Calendar of the Whole House. The rest of the bills go on to the House Calendar, and those bills have a very bad chance to get to a vote, even though they are reported by their committees. In the lower house the difficulty with legislation is getting a chance to get your measure on to the floor to be voted upon. Once you get it on to the floor you are sure of getting it off with a vote, because you will be provided with the time to vote when you get on in the lower house.

In the upper house it is just the reverse, it is easy enough to get on to the floor, but it is almost as much as your life is worth to get off with a vote on any controversial question. That is because the upper house has the custom of practically unlimited debate. And one great difference in the procedure of Congress from the procedure of other places is the Rules Committee power in the lower house and unlimited debate in the upper house. Those two things are different from most legislative bodies, but with those two differences the other stages are pretty much the same.

THERE is a perfunctory and nominal first reading of the bill, the vote is taken in connection with the third reading, and after the measure passes the one house it is sent on to the other house, and if the other house has a similar bill, and the chairman in charge of that similar bill wants to do his duty by the measure, he will substitute the bill that passed the first house; then if it is amended in the second house it goes to the Conference Committee. Each house appoints conferees. Those conferees may work a few days or a few months, or they may work practically the whole of the session, to get an agreement. If they get an agreement they each report it back

to the house to which they belong, the house conferees report back to the House, the Senate conferees report back to the Senate. Then it is a question for those houses to decide whether they will both adopt the conference report or not. If one adopts and the other does not, the thing has to go back to conference, and the measure may go back three or four times to conference and may fall out in conference; they may not be able to hit on any compromise in time to get it made into a law even though it has passed both houses.

If the conferees do agree on a report and both houses adopt it and it is ordinary legislation, it goes on to the President for his signature as the last stage, and he may do one of three things: he may sign the bill and return it within ten days; he may not return it for ten days, in which case it becomes a law without his signature, or he may veto it, in which case it requires a two-thirds vote to carry it over his veto, but if he vetoes it it has to go through the process of being voted on again. Those are the regular stages.

NOW I want to go back to the constitutional procedure of the House and Senate. In the House in ordinary legislation the Rules Committee has extraordinary power; it is a sort of program committee, and it is very difficult for any measure to get on to the floor without what is called a rule from the Rules Committee. When a committee chairman has reported a bill of which he is in favor, he will apply to the Rules Committee for a rule to bring the bill on to the floor. The Rules Committee may or may not have hearings, but it will decide whether it wants to give a place to that measure or not. Once the Graham anti-secession bill was coming on to the floor through the Rules Committee and the Rules Committee decided not to give it a place, and it had to go back to the Judiciary. That occasionally happens, and the next time when it comes a rule lays down the conditions under which the vote shall be taken. They will come in with a rule for example saying that on Friday, the 16th of February, such and such a question ought to be brought up for discussion, or five hours will be allowed for debate, the time to be divided equally between the affirmative and the negative, Mr. Johnson of Washington to have charge of the affirmative time, Mr. Smith of Tennessee to have charge of the negative time, and then the vote to be taken not later than such and such an hour.

When that day comes and the Rules Committee reports, the Rules Committee will come forward with this report and read it, and then there may be a debate on the adoption of the report, but when the report is finally adopted the debate on the main question begins; the time is divided equally between the two sides; one man will control the affirmative time ordinarily and one man the negative time,

and anybody who wants to speak on that question has to get time from the man who controls the affirmative time or the man who controls the negative time. If that man won't allow him any minute, one or twenty or whatever the case may be, then he cannot speak, for the Speaker will not recognize anybody except the persons who are listed by the man who controls the time. But the vote will have to be taken at the hour that has been set by the Rules Committee, so that if you get on to the floor you are sure of having a chance to get off.

That power of the Rules Committee is like nothing that I know anything about in any legislative proceeding anywhere; it is a most unusual thing. There are minor ways of getting on the floor that are exceptional and very rarely used, but in the main ordinary questions have to go on to the floor through the Rules Committee, and the chairman of the Rules Committee is a person of enormous importance.

IN the Senate the difficulty comes not in getting on, because directly a bill is reported unless it is an appropriation bill or one of the few special bills, it goes on to the calendar of general orders. Once a week, Monday, they call over the numbers on the calendar. If anybody protests, that number is not voted upon, but if there is no objection, the question may be voted upon without debate on the calendar day. Now, all controversial questions stand a chance of having a very long debate in the Senate, because only once in the entire history of the Senate of the United States has a vote been taken when anybody wanted to speak on the question, and that once was in the vote on the treaty in November, 1918. That was under the closure rule. You know the Congress before the last ended in a filibuster of a little group of men against the armed merchantmen bill, and that Congress caused so much consternation in the minds of members of the Senate, that the next Congress, the Sixty-fifth, that was then Democratic, passed a closure rule.

That closure rule is the only thing that can possibly stop debate in the Senate if there is one man who wants debate. Under the closure rule, at least sixteen Senators have to sign a petition asking to have closure applied to debate. That petition then is presented to the Senate, and has to lie over two days under the rule. Then after two days a vote is taken on it, two-thirds of the members present and voting, being a quorum, and if two-thirds of them vote in favor of the application of the closure rule, closure is applied. That means thereafter in the discussion of that question each Senator may speak only one hour, that makes ninety-six hours; that means there is a time beyond which they cannot talk. They had that rule the whole of the last Congress, the Sixty-fifth Congress, and they never applied it

once. The only time it has been applied in the whole history of the Senate was in the final vote taken on the treaty this year.

TOWARDS the end of the session the possibilities of filibuster are very much greater than they are earlier in the session, because the calendar is always crowded. A great many times men hold back measures that are a little risky, a little dubious, in order to bring them in in the crush at the end, and when people are anxious to get their own legislation through they will vote a little more rapidly for some other legislation, they won't examine it quite so carefully, so it is customary to hold back objectionable legislation very often. Then all legislation lags at the end, and any man who wants to hold up all legislation or who wants to hold up any legislation gets a chance to do it by talking endlessly. They have all-night sessions in the closing weeks, as a rule, when only a few men will be on the floor of the Senate. There will be the floor leaders or some one representing them on each side, the man who is making the filibuster speech, the one who is ready to relieve him if he drops from exhaustion, and then on the other side there are two or three men who want to get a vote taken, to break the filibuster, they are ready to jump to their feet, but generally there are only two or three of them. If they close their eyes for a moment, if the Speaker speaks, the cessation of noise wakes them up and there is a mad scramble, all the chairs go from under them, and they jump for the floor, the one who wants to continue the filibuster and the one who wants to end it.

Of the sixty committees in the House and the seventy-two in the Senate, a great many are bound to be useless committees, and are really appointed only for the purpose of giving somebody a chairmanship and an extra clerk. A great many of those committees never meet, and some of them haven't met for years, and yet they are regularly appointed in Congress.

I WANT to group, if I may, the procedure of the two houses that seems to me to need change. I will put them into three groups.

First, the kind of proceedings that waste the public time; second, the proceedings that waste the public money; and third, the proceedings that are destructive of national interest. Now, I have perhaps sufficiently illustrated in the Senate the proceedings that waste time. I might speak of the method of filibustering in the House. If any one wants to put off a vote in the House, one of the favorite ways of doing it is to keep calling the roll over and over again. It takes about forty minutes to call the roll in the House, with its 435 members.

In regard to the ways of wasting money, there are very many. Some waste only a few thousands or millions, but the waste of others goes up into the billions. One of the most un-

necessary wastes of money lies in the abuse of the franking privilege. Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts got stirred up on the franking privilege in the last House. Every member has a right to send out as much literature as he thinks he ought to, under his frank instead of under postage, and Mr. Fuller investigated the case of one man who was going to run for governor in his own state and thought it would be a good thing to send out a package of books to every voter in the state, and in one day he sent out—I haven't the figures exactly here—I think in one day he sent out 640,000 packages of books under his frank. And Mr. Fuller looked up the exact postage and he found that each one of these packages if he had had to put postage on it would have cost forty-five cents, consequently the cost to the government was \$325,000 in that one case, and there was nothing in the rules to prevent that man doing it every day. That was for postage alone. It is probable that the government paid for a good part of that printing. However, the printing allowance is limited, so the man must have had to pay for some of the printing, but the postage allowance covered by the frank is unlimited.

A great many members have the habit of sending out to every voter in their district once a month, some of them once a fortnight, some piece of literature under frank, and of course one of the very favorite methods is the sending out of garden seeds. This year Congress increased this appropriation per member for garden seeds about fifty per cent, and somebody burst into verse when that was done:

"I know I have a congressman in Washington,
D. C.,

For now and then he comes around to get a
vote from me.

He proudly shakes me by the hand and asks
about my needs,

And when he gets to Washington he sends me
garden seeds.

Whenever there's a bill for which I'd like to
have him vote,

I trust in him and tell him so by telegram or
note,

And he gets every one, I know and every one
he reads,

For always when the spring has come he sends
me garden seeds."

Throughout a great part of the country that is exactly what appeals to the voter, and as long as the voter is appealed to by that kind of thing, we will get that kind of procedure in Congress.

Another present that is frequently made, especially in country districts, is a collection of the funeral orations that are delivered in Wash-

ington when somebody has died, and members from the different states have them beautifully bound, and they make a very suitable present in the country district.

Those are small things. Next to those are what are called the patronage and pork possibilities. Patronage is not quite so important, because it means waste of service rather than a waste of money, but all the positions around the capital are on somebody's patronage list. Every doorkeeper, every elevator man, the women in the women's dressing rooms, all of those positions are on some one's patronage list. There have been very serious scraps over the patronage of one elevator position.

In the pork barrel abuse, I am happy to say, there has been a great improvement in the present Congress, because the two great pork barrel appropriations are the public buildings appropriations and the rivers and harbors appropriations. Now the steering committee of the lower house has decided, the Republican steering committee, that it will not allow any new projects to be undertaken under the rivers and harbors bill and that no new projects for public buildings will be brought in, and it has always been considered very necessary for a man who wanted to be reelected to stand in with the chairman of one or the other of those committees, because if he stands in with the chairman of the committee he will get a fat slice of pork in the shape of a public building for his district, maybe a postoffice, maybe a revenue collector's office, something of that sort, and that will mean getting improvements for the district, and contracts for somebody in the district, and the representative who does that is supposed to be serving the interests of his district and therefore is more likely to be re-elected. Consequently a man feels that he has to stand in with the chairman of these committees, and that means a very undesirable situation.

It is a great step in advance that those two sorts of pork barrel bills are going to be practically eliminated this year. Among other possibilities, however, are the possibilities that the lack of an adequate budget system gives. I am not going to talk about the budget bills, because I understand that is in somebody else's subject, but our two budget bills, one that has passed the House, the budget bill of Mr. Wood of Iowa, is coming into the Senate, and the budget legislation is most important, because that is the kind of legislation that demands a business system in the management of our public affairs.

The practices that are destructive of national interest are to my mind the most serious of all, practices that put so much emphasis upon small matters, sectional matters. Very little of the

legislation that goes through Congress is national in scope, and the appeals of the people at home and the whole trend of affairs in the Congress itself tends to make men feel that they are doing their duty by the nation when they attend to the affairs of their district. Exactly twice in the three years that I was in Washington did I hear a Senator—and once it was a Republican and the other time it was a Democrat—rise upon the floor of the Senate and say, when somebody tried to get him to vote for a measure because it would help certain business interests in his state, twice and twice only I heard a man say: "I am a Senator of the United States, and even though this matter would help certain interests in my state, my first duty is to the nation." Now, that is the point of view that we need to have cultivated by all members of Congress, we cannot hope to have an international point of view for we haven't even a national, in our national legislative body, and it is the fault of the people in the districts, who demand a representation for their personal or local or sectional interests. It is their fault that the men feel that the only thing they can do to get themselves re-elected is to pay attention to those interests rather than to the state of the nation. There is a funny incident that came up and came to my attention in one of the bills passed this year. Congress has legislated this year to permit women who are members of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the District of Columbia to vote and hold office. Now, that is entirely creditable legislation, it is no the fault of the Protestant Episcopal Church that it should come before Congress, but isn't it absurd that Congress should find it necessary to legislate on that?

There are innumerable instances of legislation like that, private bills on this, that and the other thing that ought to be attended to by bureaus or committees, that the time of Congress should never be cumbered with. As a consequence of being so encumbered Congress does not have the time to attend to the great national interests of the country. That to my mind is the worst trouble about Congress as it is at the present moment.

Whenever I make a criticism of one party you can be practically sure that it would apply equally to the other party were that party in power. This is not a matter of party, it is a matter of the custom of Congress, and it is a matter of the demand of the districts or the states from which those men are sent, and we have no right to blame the men until we take the districts and the states in hand and try to develop a real national spirit in this country.

With regard to the lower house, there was in

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the last Congress an all-round program of legislative reform introduced by this same Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts whom I have spoken about. He is very unpopular in the Congress. He came in as a sort of independent member. He resigned from one of the useless committees. He made himself very unpopular and he still is on both sides of the House, but he did draw up a program of reform. Now he has not brought in bills himself on these subjects, it would not be wise for him to do so, because they would not go through, but he outlined certain points that would if carried I think greatly remedy the procedure in the lower house. One of those things has been already carried, and that is the putting of the clerks of members of the lower house upon the public payroll. Each member is allowed a clerk and a secretary, and it has been customary until this year for the member to collect the salary for those persons, and it was rather notorious that very often the member got a rake-off on the salaries. Now secretaries are paid from the public payroll, and the member cannot get the rake-off unless the secretary gives it to him afterwards. So that was the first reform, and that has been adopted. The second was the budget system, which is likely to be adopted. The third was a political system of roll-call which would save all that time in the lower house. The fourth was the election of committee chairmen by the members of the committee instead of the appointment under the seniority system. The fifth was requiring that each committee should report out either favorably or adversely all bills committed to its charge. Another was the demand for complete publicity as to the proceedings at committee meetings, because that is when legislation is mostly drawn up, and mostly those are held in executive session. Another was the doing away with the entire patronage system. Another was the elimination of all these petty matters that I have been talking about that are crowding one another and are not national in their scope. Another was the restriction of franking, and another the elimination of the useless committees. If those ten measures were carried out it would go far towards making the procedure of the lower house businesslike. They would not all apply to the upper house, because the procedure there is very different. Each house makes its own rules.

One trouble is, of course, that the procedure is not adapted to the present large size of the lower house and the present demands and the interests with which both houses have to deal.

Citizenship Through Drama

ENLISTING the drama to teach women methods of government and legislative procedure is the device of the Boston League of Women Voters whose Committee on Education for Citizenship has announced a series of plays in which it is planned to present the various phases of government in a vivid and

entertaining way. This first play, entitled "Senate Bill 575," was written by Miss Eugenia B. Frothingham, to show how a legislative hearing is conducted. It deals with a hearing upon a bill to prohibit child labor, and the author not only has illustrated how this process of law making is carried on, but has also used authentic and interesting subject matter in the mouths of her characters.

The play is designed for acting before citizenship classes, and will enable those who live too far from Boston for visiting the State House to gain a clear idea of this phase of the work of the General Court.

Miss Frothingham is a well known Massachusetts writer whose interest in the work of civic education has led her to give her talent to further the needs of Leagues of Women Voters in this way.

NORTH CAROLINA is coming to the fore again with a unique plan for educating her women along the lines of citizenship. The University of North Carolina, working with Miss Gertrude Weil, Chairman of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association, decided on a very practical course in Citizenship for the last two weeks of the summer session.

The students discarding books and teachers actually did the voting themselves taking every step that any male citizen of that state ever took in order to cast a ballot into a ballot box. Because of the importance in North Carolina just now and also because of its peculiar interest to the largest number of women on the campus, it was decided to wage a regular campaign and hold election on the ratification of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

On July 17th the registration books were opened; the women having previously been instructed that unless they had paid their poll taxes they would not be permitted to register. The town and campus were divided into eight precincts, registration and polling places were established in each precinct, each in charge of a registrar. One week was allowed for registration, the books being closed on July 24th. Campaign committees were organized on both sides and campaign managers appointed. Public meetings were held, also joint debates, campaign literature was prepared and distributed. On July 31st the actual election took place and the women demonstrated their ability to cast a ballot as well as the men.

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Pennsylvania

THE plan inaugurated by the Pennsylvania League of Women Citizens, that of two women on every school board, is already bearing fruit. Northampton and Pike County Leagues are the first to report success in this direction. In Milford, Pike County, a commissioner resigned and in twenty-four hours the League of Women Citizens presented the judge with a petition bearing 145 women's signatures asking the appointment of a woman to fill the vacancy.

Pennsylvania has done a large measure of work through its citizenship schools. More than \$3,600 has been expended in these schools, above the amounts which have been contributed by local units. The membership of the League is past the thirteen thousandth mark with many counties still to be heard from.

Among the recent appointments is that of Mrs. John B. Davenport, of Wilkesbarre, who has been made chairman of the Committee on Election Laws and Methods of the National League of Women Voters.

Getting Ready

THERE is no desire on the part of state officials to be caught napping regarding preparations for the woman vote in the fall. Attorney-General William I. Schaffer of Pennsylvania issued a statement recently to suggest to county commissioners throughout the state that they prepare the necessary books and blanks preparatory to registering the new voters. The Attorney General said it would be "the part of wisdom" to be ready.

While admitting that Maryland, as represented in its official department, will send up no shouts of joy over the enfranchisement of the women by the Nineteenth Amendment, at the same time the press admits the state cannot shut its eyes to what seems an immediate possibility. Attorney-General Alexander Armstrong is therefore looking into the steps that must be taken to get the women's names on the registry books in time to register for the November vote. "It begins to look as if it has to be done" says one Baltimore paper.

The Eternal Riddle

THE question "How old is Anne?" will never be solved if the women of Kansas have their way. Led by the well known National Republican woman leader, Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, the women of Kansas are protesting against a ruling which requires that a woman must give her age more definitely than "over twenty-one" if she wishes to register for the elections. Prominent women of Topeka and the state are said to be rallying to the support of Mrs. McCarter who refused to give her age when registering as a voter and who says she will contest the ruling which was based on a decision of the attorney general.

Nebraska

EACH year at Nebraska, Wesleyan University, which is at University Place, Nebraska, it has been customary to hold a summer course for rural pastors and in conjunction with this a course for rural pastors' wives. The dates for the school this year were set for July 12 to 31 and the courses well planned when the Dean of the rural school made a startling discovery. The course, as planned for the wives, was replete with home economic features but, to quote the press, "the sociological features that appeal now more strongly to women than even the affairs of the kitchen were omitted." Dean Ruyle saw the error in time and called a conference of the faculty to sit on the question. It was agreed something must be done. As a result it was decided the Dean should give addresses on subjects of interest to women voters and that women versed along these lines should be called in to give other talks and addresses.

Questions which appeal especially to the women of the rural districts are those pertaining to school management, expenditure of school funds, co-operative schools, sanitation and employment and wages of teachers.

For Nurses

AS a memorial to the service rendered by the American nurses who died in the World War, a training school for nurses will be established at Bordeaux. A fund of \$50,000 has been subscribed for the memorial, which is to commemorate the heroism of some two hundred American nurses. The sum was raised largely by individual subscriptions from nurses throughout the United States.

The skill and efficiency of American nurses was famous throughout the World War, American methods being considered far in advance of most countries. It is to teach American methods that the school has been founded.

The American Memorial Training School for Nurses will be conducted in conjunction with the one nurses' training school now established in France. This too is at Bordeaux and is conducted along the rules laid down by Florence Nightingale. The memorial also commemorates the centenary of Florence Nightingale's birth.

In Memoriam

BY the death of Mrs. Mary A. Blodgett on July 8, Massachusetts lost its oldest suffragist. Mrs. Blodgett celebrated her ninety-ninth birthday on March 6. She was an ardent and consistent suffrage worker throughout all these years. When Connecticut granted school suffrage to women she was the first to register in Canaan. She was a nurse in the Civil War and one of her patients was her own son. Mrs. Blodgett is survived by seven grand-children, eight great-grand-children and one great-great-grand-child.

Correspondence

International Meetings

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I WAS so glad to have the account of the Geneva meeting which Miss Shuler wrote for the July 10th number of THE WOMAN CITIZEN. It is certainly a splendid account of a most remarkable meeting for it is definite in dealing with the agenda and yet, at the same time, it emphasizes the immensely human side of such a meeting.

However, there is one point to which I should like to call your attention, for I am sure that it is only through an oversight that it was allowed to pass. In the second paragraph of Miss Shuler's article, she says that the suffrage congress was: "The first big international meeting of women outside of pacifist circles since the war." Surely your readers cannot have forgotten the splendid account which you gave of the very important international meeting of women physicians which was held in New York last October, and in the same way, we cannot help but wish that the article had not made quite such a sweeping statement in view of the fact that, at the First International Congress of Working Women which met in Washington in October, 1919, there were women present from nineteen countries.

I realize, of course, that it is almost impossible to catch up this kind of detail, but I felt that you would appreciate my calling the matter to your attention.

Washington, D. C. MIRIAM G. SHEPHERD.

[Miss Shuler was, without doubt, considering the European meetings, not those in this country, but the point was not made clear.—ED.]

Advice Wanted

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

CAN you or some of the rest of you experienced women voters give a little advice to some of us much perplexed (as yet) non-voters?

Recently, state leaders of the party which has always claimed our allegiance (though not our votes) asked the women of the party to send some women representatives to meet with the men of the state committee. Among other things that the committee had to do at this meeting was to choose a member of the National Committee from this state; and, as a "compliment" to the women, they were to choose also a National "committee woman." And to give the appearance of having us "do something" at the meeting they asked us to recommend a woman for the place—which, after very careful consideration, we proceeded to do.

However, it soon developed (before the assembling of the Committee) that "political expediency" required the nomination of a certain man for National Committeeman (a man totally unfit, morally, for any kind of leadership) and

that he had already decided the question of who was to be associated with him as committee-woman. So our recommendation (which the committee had asked for) was entirely disregarded and a woman was chosen who has always been an "anti," who is entirely unknown to the women of the state (except as a relative of a well-known politician) and who is undesirable from many other standpoints as a representative of the women of the State.

Of course we were utterly helpless in the matter (the women in this state have no vote whatever upon any subject) and we were all very indignant. Some of our women who have been rather undecided as to which party they would support when we do get the ballot say that they are "through" with this party. However, so far as corrupt and undesirable political influences in this state are concerned I cannot see that we should improve matters any by going into the other party. The question is how can we best serve the cause of good government? By sticking to our own party (in whose principles, for the most part, we believe) and trying to organize its women so as to throw off, sometime possibly, its evil leadership, or by joining another party as a public protest against such leadership? Doubtless in helping us to decide this matter you will be helping many other women to decide similar questions which are likely to arise in many places.

A READER.

Republican Credit

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I AM grieved to think that the WOMAN CITIZEN has several times spoken as though we'd be indebted to the Democrats and the Democratic party if the thirty-sixth state to ratify happened to be a Democratic state. There would never have been an amendment to our national constitution to vote upon had it not been for the Republican Congress. For eight years the Democrats held sway and never let it come to a vote. I think that is a big reason why we are indebted to Republicans.

Again, 29 Republican Legislatures have ratified the amendment, and only 6 Democratic, almost five times as many Republican as Democratic. Then 16 Republican Governors have called extra sessions of their Legislatures and only 6 Democratic.

These figures alone show to whom our allegiance is due, so let us show our indebtedness to the party that has made it possible that only one more state Legislature is needed before women become truly American citizens. I wish you'd insert this in your next issue, as I know there has been but little said of our Republican indebtedness and much hinting of what we owe the Democratic party; but the figures tell where our indebtedness lies.

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The Book Stall

Mary-Girl

MRS. LEONARD MERRICK'S posthumous novel, *Mary-Girl* (E. P. Dutton and Co.) will be read by many people for its author's name. Such a glow of literary fervor has attached to the name Leonard Merrick that curiosity alone would be enough to tempt many into an effort to find out what manner of creature was Hope Merrick. Her story is of an older day, in which woman is pictured as frail and fair, like Mary, or selfish and spoiled like the Countess, who was Mary's undoing. Man, on the contrary, is either woman's tempter or her wiser, domineering mate.

Yet there is a certain rather plaintive charm about Hope Merrick's story—her one novel, apparently. The element of lofty piety which drove the rough peasants into their temptations has dignity of its own. *Mary-Girl* is by no means a stupid book even if it is not of to-day's technique and to-day's problems.

Too Much Susan

IN Lee Wilson Dodd's *The Book of Susan* (G. P. Putnam and Sons) there is too much Susan. Fresh from Birch Street with the vigor of its diction upon her, Susan was an appealing creature, fit to tempt any man into adoption. But Susan as poet, as playwright, as a bewitching beauty, as a Red Cross heroine, as a telepathic medium, gets on one's nerves.

The doting parent attitude towards her talents produces the customary results of making Susan a strutting little person with a singular ability for happening into the limelight.

Susan herself was shrewd enough to know that she really wasn't a whole four-ringed circus in her own small person. And in those less exhilarated moments, those hours when she was let off the spotlight, as it were, she confessed as much.

By all signs and tokens, she should have married Jimmy. Else why Jimmy? Falling in love with her guardian and demanding that her author get up an extraordinarily bloody murder to do away with a superfluous wife, jerks the book back to the days of Jane Eyre, and the mid-nineteenth century.

Then there was Susan's diary, that dull evidence of the fact that while professionally and for hire, she might be a wonder-child with her pen, when in her literary kimono and slippers, so to speak, she could only write the dullest of twaddle.

This is said to be the first novel of Mr. Dodd, who is a successful playwright. For a man

who knows stage values, he surprises one by starting more clues than he can finish. They lead nowhere, and an ordinary first novel author could have taught him better. This seems odd when the same propensity on the stage would spoil a play.

Jimmie Kane, for instance,—one keeps coming back to Jimmie since he is so much more alive and interesting than the three middle-aged men who squabbled over Susan—is a wrong clue entirely. He has no status but that of decoy duck, and this is quite unjust to Jimmie, who deserves better of his creator.

There is one thing about the Book of Susan which may commend it as a book for a vacation. It can be read at for a long, long time. There is a lot in it for the money. And there are samples of many sorts of plots in it, detective plots, psychic phenomena, a couple of murders and much talk. In these days of the high cost of reading matter, there is much to be said for the full measure novel. Susan makes a full measure, yard wide, all-wool story.

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THE California Wage Commission has announced a minimum wage, ranging from \$10.00 to \$16.00 a week for women and minors employed in California stores. More than 20,000 workers are affected by this decision.

Apprentices under 18 years of age must be paid \$10 and 18 or over \$12 a week. The \$10 wage must be raised to \$12 at the end of the first six months and \$14 at the end of a year. The workers under the \$12 initial wage must be raised to \$14 at the end of the first three months and to \$16 at the end of the next three months.

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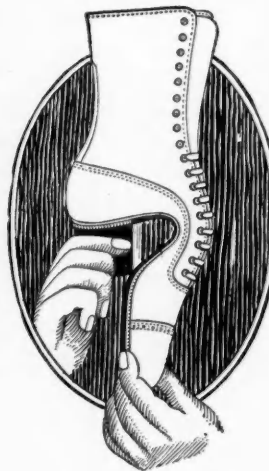
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August 21, 1920

Two Hundred and Ninety-nine

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

FOUNDED JUNE 2, 1917

TEN CENTS A COPY

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

AUGUST 21, 1920

No. 12

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

AUGUST 21, 1920

NUMBER 12

Victory at Last!

Tennessee has Ratified Senate 25 to 4—House 49 to 47

Tennessee's Opportunity

"A TREMENDOUS opportunity is offered Tennessee. Centuries-old injustice to womanhood is demanding correction.

"The great Republic of the West, the beacon light of liberty—for over a century the leader of democracy—our own beloved United States—has fallen back to the rear line in the battle for an equality that is abridged neither by faith, power, wealth nor sex.

"England, and other great powers, including Germany—our recent foe—have passed the United States in the battle for democracy by enfranchising their women and recognizing them, as they have proven themselves to be in finance and in war, the equals of men.

"For half a century this great battle inaugurated by a small band of patriotic and Godfearing men and women has been waged. A skirmish has been lost here and there, but this band has grown until today it is a mighty army marching forward under Old Glory determined to gain justice and equality for the mothers of men.

"Equal suffrage—irrespective of Tennessee's action—will be part of the fundamental and basic law of this great democracy within six months.

"But Tennessee would have missed its greatest opportunity if it left this act of justice to be done by some other state.

"Tennessee stands for progress, intelligence, justice and equality among its citizens.

"Its men have been famous in war and unrivaled in peace.

"Its women have been noted as personifying the highest ideals of the purest type of womanhood of the women of America.

"Tennessee will be true to its traditions and being true to them there is but one answer that it will give to the thirty-five states that stand today with outstretched arms imploring Tennessee to give to them the privileges they ask.

"No legislator violates his oath of office by supporting the Constitution of the United States whenever there is a conflict between it and the state constitution.

"No advocate of states rights till now has ever insisted seriously whenever both the state and Federal constitutions spoke upon any question that the state constitution outweighed the Federal constitution.

"Tennessee has a great opportunity.

"The members of this General Assembly have a great opportunity.

"Theirs it is to say: 'Justice shall be done.' With confidence Tennesseans face the Capitol today, believing that the wrongs of the ages will be righted and another bright jewel will shine in the diadem crowning the old Volunteer State."

Nashville Tennessean.

Serving the Devil Cheap

IN Brittany there is an old folk-tale about a wizard who was very poor and threadbare, in spite of his magic arts. One day he overheard a neighbor say of him, contemptuously: "He serves the devil cheap!"

Something of the same surprise and scorn is aroused by the behavior of the politicians who are putting forth such desperate efforts to stave off the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. They know perfectly well that the utmost they can hope for is to postpone it for a few months, until the Legislatures of 1921 come together.

Why should they make this vast expenditure of money and labor, of falsehood and meanness, and every sort of foul tactics, just to buy so short a delay? Verily, they serve the devil cheap!

Of course, everyone who serves the devil will find in the end that he has served him cheap, because the devil never pays in coin that has any permanent value; but in this case it seems obvious on the face of it that the game is not worth the candle.

Looking below the surface, however, there may be a reason for it, and a sinister reason. We do not speak here of the few true-blue suffragists who oppose ratification because they are obsessed by an exaggerated idea of state's rights. Their good intentions are unquestioned. These women are a minor factor in the case.

But there are powerful politicians, who have shown themselves in the past to have no real regard for state's rights or any other principle, political or ethical, yet who are determined, for reasons of their own, if it is a possible thing to block ratification till after November. What are those reasons? Why does it seem to them worth while to wage a tremendous fight and forego a distinct party advantage, in order to stave off equal suffrage over one more election.

Is it because they are bent on having a majority of machine politicians in the next Congress and they fear that in the Congressional election the woman voter might upset the plans of the machine?

If that is not the reason, what is it? A great many women would like to know.

A. S. B.

AS the WOMAN CITIZEN goes to press, it offers its sympathy to the women of North Carolina from which news of a Senate defeat has just come over the wires.

Said Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, ranking official at the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association: "North Carolina has lost her opportunity. The men of the state have just put on record their distrust of North Carolina women, a record which will be chronicled in history and forever stamped on the hearts of women."

From the Tennessee Firing Line

AS usual the WOMAN CITIZEN must go to press before the last word of the suffrage fight is written. The following account of the vote in the Senate in Tennessee, written from Nashville by Miss Marjorie Shuler, is so replete with interest that it is passed on to the readers of the Citizen. Whatever the news from the lower house, there is so large an augury for the eventual cooperation of men and women for the common good of the country in this well told tale that it will remain as one chapter in the history of suffrage which must never be forgotten.—Ed.

Nashville, August 13.

THE political freedom of twenty million American women is in the hands of ninety-nine men gathered from Tennessee's mountains and cities, from her cotton plantations and cotton mills. It is an awe-compelling thought that the work of millions of men and women throughout three generations has carried the federal amendment forward until today its accomplishment can be in the power of these ninety-nine men.

Sitting here in the shadow of the Capitol building on the hill, gazing up its terraced steps, up beyond its row of columns to the flag-staff which is lost in the clouds, it seems certain that the descendants of those who fought at King's Mountain for the political freedom of American men must show equal courage and justice in winning the political freedom of American women.

Today's vote in the Senate of 25 to 4 for ratification was a complete vindication of the favorable poll announced by Mrs. Catt nearly a month ago and which has been the object of attack by friends as well as foes of suffrage. But with the adjournment today of the house until Monday the ultimate fate of the ratification is in the integrity and honor of the majority of the house members who are pledged to vote for it. Will they stand firmly? By the time this is read the answer should be known.

Today's vote in the Senate came at the close of one of the best debates in the history of the ratification campaign.

It may have been that some of us were prejudiced. It was so comfortable to sit there confident of victory without clenched hands and anxious eyes watching, wondering, fearing, hoping. It was so good to hear the thunder of applause from the big suffrage galleries drowning the little pitter-patter of the antis. It was so fine to see the rows and rows of yellow flowers and to observe that the red roses were limited mainly to the little group of Southern antis around Mrs. Wyse of Baltimore. There was just one group, a few Tennessee antis with some Northern women to whom Senator Monroe addressed himself when slipping off the anti poll he brought down the house with his announcement that having been asked by Northern antis to vote against the ratification and being reminded by them of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, he was going to vote for ratification so as to give back to the North what the North had given to Tennessee by ratifying the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Senator Monroe's declaration was closely followed by Senator Finney Carter, who fell off the anti poll with quite a thud by announcing that he too would vote for ratification, largely because of the request to him from the American Federation of Labor. There were fine speeches for the suffrage side. There was that doughty champion, Senator Houk, for more than twenty years a member of the Tennessee Legislature and a strong Republican, who said that he would vote for ratification even though he were told that the votes of women would elect a Democratic

president of the United States. There was Speaker Todd, who left the chair to declare that the mothers of the sons who fought in Europe were best qualified to express themselves upon the question of our international relationships and that he deplored any effort to delay their enfranchisement past the November election in which they should be able to declare themselves for the senators and congressmen who are to effect these relationships. There was Senator Patten, who reminded his colleagues of the 350,000 qualified male voters who did not participate in the last state gubernatorial election, demanding in ringing tones to know who forced the vote on these men or denied it to other voters on this account. There were other good speakers for the suffrage side and but two who spoke for the antis, Senator McFarlane, whose statement that he would probably never again seek an office in Tennessee brought a round of cheers totally surprising to him, and Senator Candler, whose speech will go down in the history of insults to American womanhood. He outraged his own party by calling the Tennessee members of it "Republicans for revenue only." A vituperative personal attack was followed by the statement that the women there seeking ratification had "their dresses cut out at the neck and up at the knees and knew not what it was to go down in the shade of the valley to bring forth children." Few of the speakers who followed him omitted to rebuke his words and to pay tribute to the great army of suffragists. One especially effective reply came from Senator Collins, who had been brought from a sick bed to cast his vote for ratification and stood clinging to his desk, trembling, the perspiration rolling down his face as his voice quavered and broke in its eloquent defense of women.

THE Senate vote today came on the heels of another brilliant defense of ratification. The Senate and House committees on constitutional amendment had a joint hearing on Thursday evening, at which the suffrage speakers were all Tennesseans. Miss Charl Williams, vice-chairman of the National Democratic committee, who opened for the suffragists, announced that the women had placed their fight entirely in the hands of the men.

Mr. Ed Seay, General Fowler, Senator Kenneth D. McKellar and General Charles T. Cates, Jr., argued brilliantly for the constitutionality of action on ratification by the present Legislature, proving that the provision for delay in the Tennessee constitution is in conflict with the federal constitution and the United States Supreme Court decisions. Judge Tillman, Judge Wilson, Major Stahlman, who had previously assured many suffragists that he would support ratification in his paper, *The Nashville Banner*, and had proven extraordinarily agile in inventing excuses for delay, Congressman Finis Garrett and Miss Charlotte Rowe represented the opposition. The men opposed adhered to the rules of the hearing, that all speeches be limited to the question of constitutionality. Miss Rowe, however, digressed, bringing forth a sharp rebuke from Senator McKellar for calling suffragists Bolshevik-minded and later a spirited reply from General Cates, who labeled her arguments illusive as a dream and as unsubstantial as a rainbow, and told her that "When the men of Tennessee desire to take lessons in honor they will take them from the womanhood of Tennessee. When you find elements among them of Socialism then it will be time for you to talk of that, but you may preach to us for a thousand years before we will believe that the women of Tennessee 'have lost their grip on womanhood.'"

Once again has the vote in the Tennessee House been postponed.

Suffrage Honor Roll

SUFFRAGISTS have collected a long roll of men who have rushed across continents, risen from sick beds, who have even been carried unto legislative halls to vote, or who have stood up on crutches to make speeches for the enfranchisement of women.

Such chivalry as theirs will be remembered long after gallant compliments have been forgotten. To those who have already given evidence of self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of women, must be added the names of three men of Tennessee.

They are Senator S. C. Collins, of Elizabethtown, a Republican, and Representatives R. L. Dowlen, of Ashland City, and Dr. J. Frank Griffin, of Tiptonville, both Democrats.

Senator Collins has been ill for many months. He is old and time is claiming its toll of him. His head is as white as snow. Yet the long trip from the far eastern end of the state did not deter him from making the journey to Nashville that he might vote for his pet measure, which he has espoused every time it has been presented in the Legislature.

Representative Dowlen, who is just out of the hospital, was brought to Nashville yesterday by a friend to his boarding house, which he selected within a stone's throw of the Capitol.

"If I live I'm going to be up there to vote for that amendment," he said, as he was being carried into his rooms. Mr. Dowlen, it is said, had been counted previously as against the amendment.

Dr. J. Frank Griffin, formerly of Tiptonville, is raced back from California to vote for suffrage ratification. His return was made at the request of his suffrage friends of the Ninth district, headed by Miss Mary Skeffington.

An Aristocracy of Brawn

THE old idea of force as the basis of human government has arisen to vex the minds of a few stalwart gentlemen to whom the boxing ring and the bull-fight are still sacrosanct evidences that the male is the dominant factor in human life. These men say, albeit they now whisper it where once they bawled it: "Ballots and bullets should be interchangeable terms. Women make a poor fist at fighting, therefore they should not vote. They could never have quelled the Boston police mobs. They could not have endured the trenches. Therefore they have no place, except as acquiescing passengers, on the political band wagon."

Of government's three (!) functions, say they, two and the two most important, are impossible to women. These three are making laws, enforcing laws, and national defense. Women can neither enforce laws nor defend the country, and a group of non-fighting citizens would tend to become a specially privileged group—a burden to be carried by the efficient males. A privileged class of citizens, making laws at their own random will which they can not enforce, these men claim as a menace—and conclude therefore that woman suffrage is a menace.

There are just about a score of ways of proving their theory wrong. Facts existing in suffrage states; history; newer ideals of government; the psychology of the situation; the spirit that is within woman, her contribution to the race, which requires physical endurance of which man is incapable—all these things answer them.

But the most effective answer lies in pursuing their own argument to its legitimate conclusion.

It lies in trying to picture a state in which muscle and not the consent of the governed is the ideal of a happy society.

LET us accept force as the basis of government—let us for the moment stick in this slough which has mired every empire from Egypt to Germany. Let us say that only those should vote who can bear arms for the defense of the nation and see where we come out. As we have had a very recent testing of those who are our physical saviors we know just where they are to be found and how many of them there are. There were during the war 54,000,000 men and boys, and 51,000,000 women and girls in the United States, according to the World Almanac for 1920. Of these, 30,000,000 men and 28,000,000 women were of producing age. 47,000,000 men, women, boys and girls were too old or too young to be productive assets. Of course all of these 47,000,000 people must be carried as society's burden, for according to the ideal that government is by force, none of the old non-producing men, any more than the old non-producing women, should be allowed to vote. Of course this does not prove that the remaining 58,000,000 could shoot a gun, quell a riot, be called on to serve on a criminal hunting posse, or even defend a wood shed. It merely means that they are not the obviously helpless.

Out of every 100 American citizens in war time there were 29 producing men. Of these 1 was fighting and 1 behind the lines in France; two were soldiers and sailors somewhere else than in France; 7 were doing civilian war work; and 18 were doing work which was not war work at all. Of these 100 citizens, 26 were producing women, divided as follows: 2 civilian war workers and 24 non-war workers. That is of the entire 100 there were 4 men doing things which presumably could not have been done by women, since women have now entered nearly every trade and occupation, and have made as fine records as men in dangerous types of munition making. Out of every 100 men of producing age during the war, 3 were fighting at the front, 3 behind the lines, 7 were soldiers or sailors elsewhere, 24 were civilian war workers; 63 non-war workers. That is, 13 out of every 100 men are fitted to vote in a force-bound type of government such as we are now considering.

The United States was raked from end to end in 1917 for men fit to bear arms. Of the twelve and one-half millions of males within the draft age in this country we achieved an army of 3,703,273, between a third and a fourth of the men subject to draft in the United States.

THERE are about 27,500,000 women of voting age in this country. Probably there are a few hundred thousand more men. Of these, say 28,000,000 men, a negligible three and a half million, would be the voters in a government of the force type, an aristocracy of brawn, in which logically the prize-fighter and the baseball pitcher should be leaders.

Carried to its conclusion, qualifications for President and for Congress should be tried out on the football field. The man fitted to make laws because most fitted to enforce them would be more often found among the dazzling physiques of the traffic squad, or the splendid upstanding mounted police, or the stevedores, or the coal heavers.

But as it is unfair to make flesh of one and fowl of another, even here a few extra vigorous females would be eligible to vote.

There are always a few Mollie Pitcher's and Mary Ambree's to be found. And in addition an occasional charwoman or cook, like Katrinka, could single-handed manage a company of men such as the army threw out. These would justly be included in the votes of a Government by force. At most this nation would be governed by the votes of some four or five millions.

This is no fancy picture, it is the exact truth. Of the great rank and file of producing men and producing women outside of soldiering, mining, and a few other occupations, it can not be proved that women have the physically easy end

North Carolina Cannot Evade

IF the North Carolina Legislature fails to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment it will be in the face of a solid wall of demand for ratification by both men and women, collectively and individually.

Both Governor Bickett and Senator Simmons have seen the strategic importance of North Carolina as the 36th ratifying state.

The senior senator, Furnifold McL. Simmons, was urged by George White, national Democratic chairman, to go to Raleigh and help the ratification of the Amendment through the special session.

Ex-Governor Locke Craig of North Carolina, who is a warm friend of Senator Simmons, has come out strongly for ratification.

Governor Craig in a statement issued August 9th says:

"In the near future, regardless of the action of North Carolina, suffrage will surely be conferred upon women. Why vainly contend against the inevitable? Let us settle this agitation and this contention and turn our attention to other vital issues.

"I am a Democrat. I believe in maintaining our organization, and in unity of purpose. I stand by the platform and the principles enunciated in authorized assemblies. I do not wish to be disloyal nor antagonistic to the constituted leaders of my party, and on this issue which we know must be settled in but one way, I feel that to resist any longer would be an evidence of wilfulness on my part, when our constituted leader, Governor Cox, earnestly desires the adoption of this amendment. Not only he, but great Democrats like President Wilson, Senator Simmons and other leaders, who are imbued with the principles of Democracy, and are jealous of the rights of the states, have come to the conclusion that we should vote for this amendment.

"I hope that our Legislature will make North Carolina the 36th state. It is practically here. Let us have the advantage that this ratification will give us in the national contest."

IT is such letters as this, which are pouring thick and fast into the headquarters of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association, from loyal Democrats all over the state, that make the suffragists constantly more confident of the successful outcome of the issue. The numerous expressions of opinion similar to the above are considered by the suffragists as positive indications that the suffrage fight has been taken wholly out of the hands of the women, and has become one which the party itself has assumed, and consequently one in which there is but one course open for the Democrat to whom his state and national platforms are more than mere scraps of paper; to whom they are binding agreements, to the fulfillment of which every honest party member is already pledged.

IN a public statement made at Washington on August 10th, Secretary of War Josephus Daniels outlined the urgent necessity of ratification by North Carolina and Tennessee.

"Ratification is now up to the Democratic South," said Secretary Daniels. "The Republicans," he said, "have no real issue in this campaign, and they are hoping that North Carolina and Tennessee will reject woman suffrage so that they can have

JUSTICE WALTER CLARK wants North Carolina to put the cap-stone on the Suffrage Amendment.

Said he recently:

"**O**N May 20, 1775, the people of Mecklenburg declared their intention to be a part of the government under which they lived and for which they paid taxes. We are so proud of this action that we have put the date upon our state seal and state flag.

"On April 12, 1776, the state Congress at Halifax requested the United States Congress to declare independence. We are so proud of that event that we have put the date also upon our state flag. One of these events was the action of a county and the other a request from the state.

"If North Carolina shall become the 36th state and put the cap-stone upon the Suffrage Amendment it will be an historic event deserving to become a national as well as a state holiday for it will confer a share in the government upon the taxpayers not of a mere county, nor be a request from the state, but will render free and sovereign voters the mothers, the wives and daughters of the people not only of this state but of the entire Union from the date, forevermore. North Carolina has had and will have no other equal opportunity to do an act as memorable in the annals of the Union and of humanity.

a sectional issue to rally the North and West, against the Democratic party.

"In the present campaign they have nothing to revive sectionalism unless North Carolina and Tennessee turn a deaf ear to the rightful claims of the women of the nation. If these two Southern Democratic states fail to ratify, the Republicans will have an issue that they are secretly hoping and working to secure."

The Secretary said the Republicans had never been sincere on this woman suffrage question. They know that four years ago it was the women who elected Wilson.

The South, through the Legislatures of North Carolina and Tennessee, never had such an opportunity presented to it

to present the issue of sectionalism as a free gift to the Republican party which is now bankrupt in issues.

Ratification by Tennessee, said the Secretary, should make ratification by North Carolina all the more certain. The fact is ratification by the daughter state ought to remove all opposition to ratification by the mother state. Tennessee's ratification will make suffrage an accomplished fact. It cannot hurt North Carolina to recognize an accomplished fact, but it will not help the Democratic party and the high idealism it stands for in this campaign for North Carolina to reject ratification. North Carolina cannot morally evade the issue. There is too much at stake, and, above all, so far as the state is concerned, is its good name for progress, the advancement of Democracy and human freedom.

IN his speech urging ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment upon the North Carolina Legislature, Governor Bickett made several important points. He said, among other things, that he was "not impressed with the suggestion that the amendment would be an invasion of state rights."

"We may just as well realize that this country is no longer an association of States, but a Nation," said he.

"Woman suffrage is at hand. It is an absolute moral certainty that inside of six months some State will open the gate and the women will enter political forum. No great movement in all history has ever gone so near the top and then failed to go over. The very most that this General Assembly can do is to delay for six months a movement it is powerless to defeat.

"This being true, I am profoundly convinced that it would be the part of wisdom and of grace for North Carolina to accept the inevitable and ratify the amendment.

"Gentlemen, the front gate has 'clicked.' The women are coming up the walk. They are going to enter our home. Shall we receive them with a smile, or a frown?

"But there is another and a far deeper reason for not delaying the movement we are powerless to defeat. The big question that is going to be settled in the next six months in this nation is whether or not the United States shall enter into an alliance with twenty-nine of the most powerful nations on the earth for the purpose of forever delivering humanity from the burdens and horrors of war. On that question the women have a sacred right to be heard.

Women Ask for Vote

WOMEN attending the summer schools of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill took time off one evening of late to assemble themselves and pass the following resolutions:

"We, the women of this summer school, representing the many thousands of women who will be most vitally affected by the adoption or the rejection of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, feel it our privilege and our duty to give expression to our desires both as a group and as individuals.

"Therefore we, the women of the summer school of the University of North Carolina, adopt the following resolutions:

"First: We, as a body representing the educated citizenship of our state, request our state Legislature to ratify the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

"Second: We as individuals will write our legislators, requesting them as our representatives to give their assistance toward the ratification of the 19th Amendment.

"Third: We, as individuals, will use our every influence toward making the adoption of this amendment a progressive step for our nation, and toward the making of a more intelligent woman citizenship by:

"(a) Becoming intelligent ourselves along the lines of true citizenship.

"(b) Assisting toward this end with whom we come in contact, especially the school children of this state."

This resolution was passed at the instigation of Miss Katherine Robinson, acting chairman, who challenged the audience to disprove the stock argument that "the women of North Carolina do not want the ballot." With the exception of approximately ten, the entire body of teachers, college students, public welfare workers, and residents of the town, rose to cast their votes in favor of the adoption of the resolutions and to signify their intention of carrying them out.

STUDENTS of the summer school of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, composed of teachers of the public schools, have voted with an overwhelming majority to petition the General Assembly to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment at its special session in August.

THE North Carolina State Society of Friends, in session at Guilford, adopted a resolution endorsing woman suffrage and calling for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Makes for White Supremacy

MR. J. W. BAILEY, collector of internal revenue for North Carolina, has made public his faith in ratification. He speaks as a Democrat, and believes ratification will aid white supremacy.

Mr. Bailey's statement in regard to his stand upon the suffrage issue is as follows:

"I am for ratification of the Anthony amendment by the North Carolina Legislature because I believe that it will be a good thing for the women and a good thing for the state to give our women the ballot.

"I believe it will make for white supremacy rather than against it. In fact, that it is the only way to guarantee the existence of two parties in North Carolina pledged to white supremacy.

"The ballot does not hurt men, but helps them. It cannot hurt women, but will help them.

"My belief is strengthened by the knowledge that I stand upon the Democratic platforms, national and state, and with the Democratic leaders."

For the Honor of Tarhelia

By MARTHA HAYWOOD

In the Raleigh News and Observer

THE question of suffrage will not be downed in North Carolina.

In the first place, the honor of the two party organizations is at stake. The Republican and the Democratic state conventions passed resolutions that certainly cannot be regarded as "mere" scraps of paper."

The women of this state will probably be voting very shortly, through the act of ratification by Tennessee or some other state, if not by the act of our own state, and certainly politicians who have made promises of support will have a hard time explaining to these voters in the future, if ratification is allowed to go by default at the special session of the Legislature called for August 10th.

Furthermore, the action of the Democratic national convention at San Francisco, in specifically calling upon the North Carolina Legislature, places upon the Democratic members of the Legislature the responsibility to carry out the plank in the national platform, or else have their party held accountable for their failure, by the millions of women who now vote, and by additional millions who may be enfranchised by the action of a Republican state, if the Democratic ones refuse. It will also be remembered that the North Carolina situation was given nation-wide publicity and significance, at a time when Republican Delaware was playing with the issue. If North Carolina fails now, she will be again advertised from one end of the country to another, as the biggest "bluffer" of the day.

Throughout the campaign for ratification, local suffragists have been warned by local politicians to beware of "outside influences," and to endeavor to keep "outside influences" off of the situation. We have heard this advice with some impatience and perhaps with some doubts, in view of the outside influences at work on the side of the forces opposing suffrage. Has the advice been given because those who gave it realized that the outside suffrage workers were most experienced, and might penetrate disguises and recognize the difference between a real and a pretended support?

At any rate, it can no longer be said that outside influences are to be ignored. The seventeen million women who already vote are an "outside" influence to be reckoned with, for what they can do to one party or the other in the election in November. The millions of women whose votes may be released by the ratification of a single other state are another "outside" influence to be reckoned with. Ratification is now beyond the power of either of the great political parties to withhold.

Do the Democrats of North Carolina want the women of America to always feel that the suffrage plank adopted at San Francisco was mere political twaddle; that the pledge of North Carolina Democracy by the act of its state convention in April was but an idle bid for notoriety with no semblance of sincerity?

IN answering these questions we can not look alone to what the women of North Carolina may think—for the questions must be answered to the satisfaction of the women of other states—and what we may think will matter little to them in the face of hard cold facts.

The question goes further than local interests or influences. It concerns millions of women outside of the state of North Carolina. It concerns the whole relationship that those millions of women will bear to the party which happens to be in the majority in the North Carolina Legislature.

(Continued on page 310)

Why and How Should One Study American Government and Politics?

By P. ORMAN RAY

*Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University
Author of An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics.*

THERE has probably never been a period in the world's history when democracy has been more widely, more universally, exalted as the highest good, the *summum bonum*, in human government than since the outbreak of the World War in 1914. We have all shouted ourselves hoarse for democracy; and many of our friends and fellow-citizens have fought, bled and died to make the world safe for democracy.

But, in spite of all this, a democracy will not endure permanently if the great mass of its citizens lack an intelligent understanding of the political and governmental institutions under which they live and move and have their being. No democracy will endure if its citizens are without clear and definite knowledge of the structure and actual operations of the government to which they look for the protection of life and property, and for the defense of which they may at any time be called upon to sacrifice both life and property.

Without such a thorough understanding of its institutions even the democracy of the United States cannot be insured against a subtle, scarcely perceptible, transmutation into something which in reality is far from being a genuine democracy; the American Republic may seem destined to last forever; it may long masquerade in the trappings of democracy; nevertheless, it is almost certain eventually to degenerate into something which in essence is a tyranny or an oligarchy. Indeed there are not a few people who think that they already discern a tendency in this very direction.

It is discernible, they say, in our characteristic American toleration of inefficient, wasteful and corrupt government; and especially, in our toleration of the petty tyrants called "political bosses"; in our toleration of oligarchies euphemized as "political machines"; and in our toleration of their systematic manipulations of our governmental institutions which we stigmatize as "bossism" or "machine rule."

It is because I believe that a careful, conscientious and painstaking study of our governmental system is essential to the perpetuation of genuine democracy in America, and because I am constantly being reminded of the gross ignorance of the most elementary features of our government and politics on the part of men and women supposed to be intelligent and well-informed, that I receive with peculiar gratification every announcement of the formation of a club to study the history, organization and current problems of American government and politics. For I am one of those who believe that patriotism is a matter of the head as well as of the heart; and that the seeds of enlightened, disinterested and uplifting participation in political activity and governmental duties may be made to fructify by reading and study and formal instruction.

Such a study will enable one the more readily to distinguish between the true and the false democrats, between the genuine and the counterfeit democratic institutions; and here in America today we have peculiar need to be able to make these distinctions: for no one in our country shouts louder for democracy and more persistently demands "government by the people" than the petty tyrants we call bosses and their camouflaged oligarchies which we call political machines.

ANY adequate course of study of our system of government must take into account the existence of two great sets of governmental institutions, of whose structure, interrelations and actual workings every intelligent citizen should have some knowledge. The first of these sets of institutions may be conveniently described as the *machinery* of government, or the formal organization or structure of our national, state and local governments with their executive, legislative and judicial branches. All of these formal institutions are more or less fully outlined in the federal and state constitutions and in our municipal charters. But if one limits one's study of government to the provisions of the state or federal constitutions and for good measure adds the federal and state statutes which amplify the constitutional provisions, one would derive a very erroneous notion of the nature and workings of government in the United States; for these formal legal documents merely create an inert piece of machinery, and many of their provisions have been widely changed from their original purpose in actual practice.

We, therefore, also need to study coincidentally our great party system, for political parties furnish the real motive-power and the necessary lubricant for running our clumsy, and, at times, loudly-creaking governmental machinery. It is easier to imagine the destruction of any part of our governmental system described in federal and state constitutions than to imagine our getting along without political combinations. "They are our vital institutions; they abide in the innermost spirit of the people." Indeed, the most complete revolution in our political system has not been brought about by constitutional amendments or by statutes, but by the customs or unwritten law of political parties in operating the machinery of government.

No one need flatter himself, therefore, that he understands the government of the United States, federal or state, who does not understand thoroughly the composition and practical operations of our great party organizations. These two sets of institutions, governmental machinery and the party system, must be studied together; and the one which is likely to prevail in the long run, the one which is likely to touch us most closely as individual citizens, and the one in connection with which the ordinary citizen may exert the greater influence, is the institution of political parties. For about the only point of direct and vital contact which the average citizen has with his government is at the ballot-box on primary and election days in voting for the candidates of one party or another.

NOW every one knows that political parties have been responsible for a great deal of misgovernment, corruption and other evils. All that has to be conceded. It likewise has to be admitted that the history of the Christian church, especially in the Middle Ages, contains many very dark and discreditable chapters; but we all know that the good which the institution has accomplished far outweighs the evil. And similarly, political parties are powerful forces for good in a democracy. They educate and organize public opinion by keeping the people fully informed in regard to public matters; by discussing fully and thoroughly every public question in the presence of the people; and by securing not only discussion before the people, but what is

quite as important, discussion by the people. In our country and other English-speaking countries, parties have become so indispensable that it is hard to conceive of the possibility of getting along without them.

It is generally tacitly assumed that voters select their party affiliations of their own free will and accord. In fact they seldom do anything of the kind. The political preferences of ninety voters out of every hundred, like their religious or denominational preferences, are determined for them either by inheritance or by environment. We inherit our party affiliation and prejudices along with our denominational preferences and prejudices; or else we have them largely determined for us by our social or business environment.

But in whatever way our party affiliations may be determined, it is a fact that the great preponderance of voters have found themselves supporting one or the other of two great parties which have occupied the center of the stage throughout most of our political history. This two-party system, as it is called, is a distinguishing feature not only of the United States but also of all English-speaking countries; and it is to be found practically nowhere else.

Here in the United States, we began our history under the constitution with the Federalist and Jeffersonian Republicans as the two great parties. Then ensued a period when most voters found themselves in either the Whig or the Democratic party; and since the Civil War, the great majority of voters have called themselves Democrats or Republicans. Nevertheless, there has always been a not inconsiderable number of voters in the aggregate who, for one reason or another, or from pure cussedness as their opponents have often thought, have been dissatisfied with the principles, policies or leadership of each of the great parties for the time being. So they have started independent, or third-party, movements. First, came the Anti-Masonic party in 1826, followed by the Liberty party in 1840, the Free Soil party in 1848, the Republican party in 1854-56, the Prohibition party in 1872, the Populist party about 1890, and the Socialist party about 1897. These and other minor or third parties have served a very useful purpose, and at times they have polled enough votes to change the result of presidential elections.

In 1912 and again in 1916 there were no less than six national parties with presidential tickets in the field. And today it looks as if the unattached voter would have an equally varied bill of fare from which to select in the ensuing presidential election. For it seems probable that, besides the Republican and Democratic nominations, presidential tickets will be named by an Independent Labor party, by a possible combination or fusion of former Progressives, Prohibitionists, War-Socialists, Single-taxers, and so-called Liberals led by the Committee of Forty-eight, and also by one or more of the four Socialist groups in the country, the I. W. W. or Socialist Labor party, the Communist Labor party, the Communist party, and the Social Democratic party which has just nominated Eugene V. Debs for the presidency, although the latter is now serving a term in a federal penitentiary. Certainly, it would seem that with all their varied programs to choose from, no voter would stay away from the polls next September or November through sheer indifference or fancied inability to give adequate expression to his feelings on public questions.

THERE are different methods by which to approach the study of American government and politics. One may approach it from the historical point of view, and trace in chronological order the progressive development of our institutions from the colonial period to the present time. From such a study you will find that English government and politics in the 17th and 18th centuries had a much more direct influence on colonial politics

and government than is commonly understood, for the American colonies were then only the western frontier of the British Empire. Consequently a knowledge of English history will not come amiss in studying American political beginnings. You will also find that our earliest state constitutions really originated in the charters granted to trading corporations or to individual proprietors in the 17th and 18th centuries. You will find the interesting beginnings of representative government in America in the early colonial assemblies which sooner or later "broke out" in every colony. You will discover that in all but one or two colonies these assemblies sooner or later divided into two bodies which furnished the prototypes of our bicameral state legislatures today. You will learn that the bickerings and friction between the colonists and their governors explain the relatively insignificant position to which the state governor was relegated in the earliest state constitutions and the relatively important position accorded the Legislature in those constitutions. Not only will you happen upon these and many other interesting beginnings in the field of local self-government in the colonial period, but you will also come upon certain equally interesting, although less successful, experiments in the formation of a union of two or more colonies which helped in some measure to prepare the way for the formation of the present Union in 1787-89.

OR, if your time is too limited to permit such a long running start, you might begin with the formation and adoption of the present Constitution of the United States. But in order to understand what this was designed to accomplish, one must know the significance of the Preamble, which reads, "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union," etc. Why a "more perfect" union? The answer is to be found in the exceedingly imperfect union under the Articles of Confederation which were in force during the Revolutionary War. No more graphic account of this intensely interesting period is to be found than in John Fiske's well-known volume entitled "*The Critical Period of American History*."

There is also a third possible approach from the historical point of view. You might fix your attention upon the history of political parties in the United States and study the development of governmental machinery only as incidental to the history of party organizations and operations.

The history of political parties may be conveniently divided into five or six periods, as follows:

- (1) Federalist Supremacy, 1789-1800.
- (2) Republican Supremacy, 1801-1816.
- (3) Period of Personal Politics, 1816-1832.
- (4) Democratic and Whig Rivalry, 1832-1860.
- (5) Republican Supremacy, 1860-1884; and
- (6) Democratic and Republican Rivalry, since 1884.

The best short historical account of political parties is to be found in the early chapters of Professor J. A. Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems*, while the best history of presidential campaigns and elections, including all party platforms, is to be found in Edward Stanwood's *A History of the Presidency*, which in successive editions has been brought down to and including the campaign of 1916. Either one of these books would furnish a very satisfactory basis for an enlightening course of study.

The great advantages to be derived from approaching the study of our governmental and political institutions from the historical standpoint is the perspective, the sense of proportion which one obtains, the clearer understanding of present-day tendencies, together with a better basis for judging the course of future political development in this country. In fact, no method of studying American government and politics can disregard entirely our past

history. On the other hand, there always lurks the danger that the study of the origins and past history of institutions will prove so fascinating that we shall have no time left in which to read the daily newspaper or the weekly and monthly reviews, and we may even forget to go to the polls on primary and election days. The humdrum present is constantly raising so many complex, disturbing, if not positively irritating, questions that we may often be tempted to dodge them by indulging in serene contemplation of what went on in "the good old days."

BUT there is another method of approach which may appeal to some more strongly than the historical. Starting with some knowledge of how our federal, state and local governments are constructed and how political parties are organized and operate, we may adopt some test or definition of genuinely democratic government, and then proceed to apply that test to our political institutions for the purpose of ascertaining just what are the genuinely democratic features of our governmental system, and in order to discover whether false democrats, in the name of democracy but for selfish and sinister purposes, have either foisted upon us institutions and practices which are essentially undemocratic or have perverted to base uses institutions originally created for the promotion of true democracy.

I THINK that nearly every one will agree that genuinely democratic government must combine at least three essential elements or characteristics.

(1) The great majority of the adult population must have a voice in the choice of public officials and through those officials must have a voice in the determination of public policy as expressed in national and state laws. In spite of our boasted democracy, we are only now just upon the threshold of achieving this essential element in a genuinely democratic government with the complete enfranchisement of women.

But if the electorate is to play its proper part in government, the duties imposed upon it must be such as can be performed intelligently and with a reasonable expenditure of effort. In determining these duties, we must take into account the fact that the average voter can devote only a very small portion of his or her time to political activity or to acquiring information about candidates for public office. Therefore the question arises, is genuinely democratic government more likely to be promoted by having a few offices filled by popular election, or is it more likely to be promoted by multiplying the number of elective officers? Advocates of the short ballot say the former; professional politicians are loud in asserting the latter. This is the Short Ballot issue in a nutshell.

Other questions which suggest themselves in connection with this essential of democracy are the following: Is voting a duty or a privilege, and if a duty, is it right or expedient to compel every person to perform that duty under penalty of a fine and ultimate deprivation of the right to vote? Here we have the question of compulsory voting, which is now before the Illinois constitutional convention.

Or again, the electorate in a genuinely democratic community must be able to express its will easily and clearly on election day, amid favorable surroundings, and have that will fairly and accurately ascertained and recorded by honest and competent election officials. How do our ballot laws, our registration, primary and election laws, meet this test? Here is an interesting, but sadly neglected, subject for study.

Lastly, does genuinely democratic government require that the electorate should retain in its own hands the right abruptly to remove from office any public official who proves incompetent or dishonest, and to select a substitute to serve out the unexpired

term? In other words, does the recall of elective officers contribute to a truly democratic government?

(2) Another essential is for a democracy to provide itself with agencies whereby the will of the voters, as expressed at an election with reference to broad questions of public policy, can be embodied in the necessary legislation with the least possible friction and delay. Applying this test, we find ourselves confronting such questions as these: Is a national or state Legislature likely to function better in the interest of democracy if organized in one house or in two houses? Are the organization and methods of procedure of Congress and our state Legislatures really calculated to carry out the public will, or to defeat or at least to obstruct or side-track the public will when it runs counter to the plans of bosses, machines and special interests? Or, to be more specific, is Congress a genuinely democratic institution as now organized, or is it run by an oligarchy? In view of the history of many of our state Legislatures, we must also face the question whether more truly democratic government will be promoted by giving to the electorate the ultimate voice in deciding what measures shall, and what measures shall not, become laws; in other words, is true democratic government promoted by the adoption of the initiative and referendum?

(3) A third essential, and one which is quite as important as the others, is this: A genuinely democratic government must provide suitable and efficient means for carrying into execution the public will as enacted into law by the Legislature, so that in case of any failure by the administrative or judicial branches of the government properly to execute the popular will, the electorate may know exactly where to locate the responsibility.

Immediately there appears a long list of live questions connected with our federal, state and local governments. For example, is the method provided by the federal Constitution for conducting our foreign relations, including the declaration of war and the termination thereof, the method which is most likely to reflect the will of the electorate, or is there a more democratic method which is both possible and practicable?

Are the executive and administrative organs of our national, state and municipal governments organized so as to operate and cooperate smoothly, efficiently and economically?

ARE our federal and state judicial systems as efficiently organized as they should be? Do our methods of selecting and retiring judges work in the interest of democratic government or otherwise? Should the judicial servants of the people have the right to declare null and void laws passed by the legislative agents of the people? In case of conflict between our judicial agents and our law-making agents as to what laws are constitutional, should the electorate have the final decision through the adoption of the so-called recall, or popular review, of judicial decisions?

One might go on indefinitely and suggest many other questions which are bound to present themselves as soon as we begin to apply thoroughly and honestly and unflinchingly these tests of genuinely democratic government to our existing political institutions. Throughout such an examination we must bear in mind that in order to get the best results, in order to secure the most thoroughly democratic government, a democracy must provide its agents with the best possible instruments with which to work. It is not all a question of electing the best men to office, as we have so often been told. Of course a good mechanic will get better results than a poor one using the same poor tools; and similarly, able and honest public officials will get better results than incapable and dishonest officials operating the same clumsy and cumbersome governmental machinery. But we cannot expect the best results under such circumstances; and the best is none

(Continued on page 311)

"The Missing Certificate of Arrival" Found

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1920.

IN your June 5th issue of the *Woman Citizen* there appeared an article entitled "The Missing Certificate of Arrival," by Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley. The article was brought to the attention of the Assistant Secretary by one of the officers of the National League of Women Voters. At his direction I requested the deputy Commissioner of Naturalization to inquire into the facts and the result of the inquiry indicates that Mrs. Bagley apparently has not ascertained the correct circumstances. I am enclosing a copy of the Deputy Commissioner's memorandum in order that you may have the facts before you. Would it not be desirable, in view of the circumstances, to have Mrs. Bagley re-inquire into the matter? I am sure that neither she nor your organization desire to bring any false or unwarranted charges against the Bureau of Naturalization.

(Signed) HUGH REID.
Private Secretary.

THE adventures of a "Mr. King" in the pursuit of American citizenship were portrayed in an article headed "The Missing Certificate of Arrival," which appeared in the June 5, 1920, issue of the *Woman Citizen*. The author of that article was Mrs. Frederick Bagley, Chairman of American Citizenship, National League of Women Voters.

According to the writer, King had lost the certificate of arrival furnished to him at the time of his entry into the United States in 1913, had tried but failed to obtain a new certificate for the purpose of making an application for naturalization, and the net result was that his first citizenship papers (legally termed a "Declaration of Intention," which is only valid for seven years) had lapsed, and he was confronted with the necessity of renewing his first papers and waiting at least two years more before he would be in a position to apply for final naturalization. The article further points out that unless the missing certificate of arrival "miraculously" turns up, or the law is changed dispensing with certificates of arrival, King can never hope to become an American citizen.

In fairness to all concerned, it is deemed only just that the facts in the case, as taken from the official records of the Bureau of Naturalization in Washington, as well as from other official sources, be related, in order to correct whatever erroneous impressions the public may have gained from the article in question.

To better understand the situation it is necessary to bear in mind the following salient requirements of the naturalization law, compliance with which is essential to the acquisition of American citizenship. An alien must take out a first paper (declaration of intention). That declaration must be at least two years old before it may be used as a basis for an application for final naturalization, but if not used within seven years it lapses. At the time the alien makes application for final naturalization, he must have resided in the United States for at least five years continuously. Also, if the alien arrived in the United States after the date of the current naturalization law (June 29, 1906), he must have on hand to file with his final naturalization petition a certificate from the immigration authorities evidencing the date, place and manner of his arrival in this country. This certificate of arrival serves a substantial purpose, but to avoid detail let it simply be said that that is another story.

Now for the facts in the case of King, or Hocking as his right name is. Hocking came from Australia, arriving at Seattle,

(Continued on page 310)

Women Voters of the U. S. A.

FIFTEEN FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
1. Arizona	1912 ✓	48,419	3
2. California	1911 ✓	872,802	13
3. Colorado	1893 ✓	264,647	6
4. Idaho	1896 ✓	105,146	4
5. Kansas	1912 ✓	471,854	10
6. Michigan	1918 ✓	848,916	15
7. Montana	1914 ✓	103,975	4
8. Nevada	1914 ✓	26,611	3
9. New York	1917 ✓	3,125,999	45
10. Oklahoma	1918 ✓	470,176	10
11. Oregon	1912 ✓	221,008	5
12. South Dakota	1918 ✓	161,024	5
13. Utah	1895 ✓	100,646	4
14. Washington	1910 ✓	444,919	7
15. Wyoming	1869 ✓	37,146	3
		7,303,288	137

THIRTEEN PRESIDENTIAL, OR PRESIDENTIAL PLUS MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE STATES

(Those starred have both. Women do not vote for Congressmen in any of these thirteen states.)

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
16. *Illinois	1913	1,699,160	29
17. Indiana	1919	800,484	15
18. Iowa	1919	603,644	13
19. Maine	1919	234,765	6
20. Minnesota	1919	558,528	12
21. Missouri	1919	931,998	18
22. *Nebraska	1917	318,903	8
23. *North Dakota	1917	157,903	5
24. Rhode Island	1917	183,030	5
25. *Tennessee	1919	564,104	12
26. Wisconsin	1919	653,936	13
27. Ohio	1919	1,496,225	24
28. Kentucky	1920	597,149	13
		8,809,829	173

TWO PRIMARY SUFFRAGE STATES

(The chance to help choose the Democratic candidates at the Primary is the only choice any voter can effectively exercise in Southern one-party states. Ohio women also have primary suffrage.)

29. Arkansas	1917	355,514	9
30. Texas	1918	999,166	20
		1,354,680	29

MAKING A GRAND TOTAL FOR THE 30 STATES

Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
17,467,797	339

Therefore, there are 17½ million women over voting age who live in the 30 states where women have the right to vote for the next president of the United States, whether ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is completed before election or not. The eighteen states in which women are inhibited from voting in the presidential elections are Vermont, Connecticut, North Carolina, Delaware, South Carolina, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, New Mexico.

The Missing Certificate

(Continued from page 309)

Washington, July 28, 1913. He took out his declaration, or first paper, April 24, 1918. It is a simple question of arithmetic to figure that the very earliest date on which he could legally make application for final naturalization was April 24, 1920. As a matter of fact, as well as of record, this is exactly what he did.

Unfortunately, he overlooked the very mandatory provision of the law to have on hand with his final naturalization petition a certificate of his arrival. His petition of April 24, 1920, was therefore not a complete or legal petition, and had it been presented to the court in that form the court would have had no alternative but to dismiss it because of failure to comply with the requirements of the law. With the discovery of the omission, steps were taken to obtain from the immigration authorities a certificate of his arrival.

Let it be remembered that Hocking was in Boston, Massachusetts, his arrival was of record at Seattle, Washington, and the certificate which the immigration authorities were called upon to furnish had to be based upon that Seattle record. The next thing shown by the official record is that Hocking made a new naturalization petition June 29, 1920 (a little over two months from his prior attempt), to which new petition was attached the required and proper certificate of his arrival.

Briefly to refute some of the leading statements in the article:

Mr. Hocking did not spend "six years of baffling attempts to become naturalized."

Mr. Hocking did not receive and therefore did not lose his certificate of arrival upon entering this country.

Mr. Hocking did receive his certificate of arrival in comparatively short order after applying for it.

Mr. Hocking's first paper did not lapse, and he will not have to take out a new first paper.

Mr. Hocking can be admitted to citizenship at any naturalization hearing following the expiration of ninety days from the date of his petition (June 29, 1920).

Other statements of a general nature appearing in the article, which are erroneous, inaccurate and misleading, might at this juncture be challenged and corrected, but since this is merely an occasion to tell the true version of Hocking's story, only one general observation will be made: Every possible effort is exerted by the federal officials engaged in the various phases of naturalization work to assist aspiring aliens to accomplish their desire to become American citizens, and their aid is limited only by the available forces at their command for carrying on the work, as well as by the legal restrictions and safeguards with which Congress has surrounded the grant of American citizenship.

Mrs. Bagley Answers the Bureau

August 14, 1920.

To the Editor:

ANSWERING your communication regarding the letter of the Naturalization Department concerning my article entitled "The Missing Certificate of Arrival" printed June 5, 1920, I quote from the above mentioned letter:

1. "Mr. King did not spend six years of baffling attempts to become a naturalized citizen."

Mr. King states that he did spend six such years. He first applied to the immigration authorities in the West. He was told that he must establish a year's residence and when he asked whether such residence should be in San Francisco or in the United States, he was wrongly told San Francisco. The facts are that he might have applied and have been given his first papers the day he came to this country in 1913. He would have

been eligible for his second papers when he had been a resident of the United States five years, one year of which he must have resided in the state—not in the city—in which he petitioned. The misinformation he received at this time was the first of the series of baffling attempts to which my article referred.

2. "Mr. King did not receive and therefore did not lose his certificate of arrival upon entering this country."

My information that Mr. King lost his certificate of arrival was received from a source the reliability of which I have had no reason to doubt through years of experience. Since receiving your letter I have ascertained that Mr. King himself has gone to Greece and will not return to this country for several months, so no further light can be received on this point until his return.

3. "Mr. King did receive his certificate of arrival in comparatively short order after applying for it."

Mr. King's statement is that five months elapsed after his application: whether or not this is a long or short period between the time for the application to be made and the return of the certificate of arrival, depends upon one's point of view.

4. "Mr. King's paper did not lapse and he will not have to take out a new one."

The report on the case when my article was written was that the certificate had not come and that Mr. King would have to take out a new paper. I am very glad that a later decision was made.

I wholly agree with the statement that the effort of the Federal officials to assist aliens in becoming naturalized is limited by the available forces at their command. No one is more earnest in the belief that a larger appropriation for this Department is imperative, nor more sincere in the hope that the next Congress will bring a large increase in that appropriation. Nor did I wish to criticize the Department of Naturalization, either in Washington or in New England. I am deeply appreciative of the work which they have done and are doing and of the many courtesies which I have personally received. My only wish was to eliminate a useless piece of red tape which in the opinion of experts in many parts of the United States merely clogs the machinery and has no function which may not be filled by the testimony of the witnesses required for each applicant.

Sincerely yours,

GRACE H. BAGLEY.

(MRS. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY),

Chairman, American Citizenship for the National League of Women Voters

The Honor of Tarehelia

(Continued from page 305)

THE national Democratic party has recognized the irresistible world-force behind the woman suffrage movement, and in asking the North Carolina Legislature to ratify the suffrage amendment it appealed to its very own to help it align itself with this irresistible world-force that is greater than any political party, and against which none can safely stand.

The point has been reached where suffragists need not worry over the outcome as much as party leaders. Woman suffrage will prevail, irrespective of the support of either political party. It is not so sure that either can prevail irrespective of its support of suffrage.

The situation that exists must be met and dealt with openly, and it might as well be discussed frankly.

Tennessee is expected to ratify, but suppose that it does or doesn't? Can North Carolina safely await the action of Tennessee?

Women can vote for President in Tennessee already. The Republicans have boasted that they would break through the solid

South this year. What their play in Tennessee will be, on the suffrage question remains to be seen. The fact remains that in this presidential suffrage state the Republicans hold the balance of power as between the suffrage Democrats and the anti-suffrage Democrats—and North Carolina cannot afford to await the action of her erratic sister state.

Why and How Should One Study?

(Continued from page 308)

too good for our American democracy. Reform of governmental institutions must go hand in hand with the election of good men to office.

To sum up this second method of study in just a word: the study of American government and politics may well commence with a series of questions, a succession of challenges, the answers to which will go far toward disclosing what is genuinely democratic and what is spurious.

Each of the foregoing methods of study which I have outlined has its advantages over the other, and neither is without certain defects. The best method, perhaps, is one which combines in some measure the best features of each. Your choice must be determined by your judgment as to which will, with the limited time available, prove, on the whole, to be the more profitable.

But whatever your decision may be, do not allow the bigness, the prestige and the prominence of our national government to obscure the problems and institutions which lie nearer home in our state, county and municipal governments. With these nearer, but less well-known, governmental units our points of daily contact are vastly more numerous than our points of contact with the national government. Yet how few of us know as much about our state government and politics as about our national government and about national politics? And so few of us know *anything* about our county governments that they have been aptly called the "dark continents of American politics." Indeed, Cook county, Illinois, is a veritable jungle. In the city of Chicago there are no less than thirty-eight distinct local governments, most of them independent of one another; while outside the city, in the area of the Sanitary District, there are 162 other local governments; and beyond the Sanitary District are 192 additional local governments, making a grand total in Cook county of 392 separate units of government. Naturally there is a corresponding maddening maze of elective officials; 417 elective officials in Chicago, 1,640 in the Sanitary District, and 2,557 in the entire county. Each male voter in Chicago is expected to vote for at least 178 different officials in a period of about nine years; while in other parts of Cook county each voter is expected to vote for from 172 to 197 different officials. Verily, verily, this sounds like democratic government exalted to the *nth* power; but if our tests of truly democratic government were applied to such a condition, should we find a genuine democracy, or a counterfeit?

In conclusion, I cannot too strongly urge the importance of devoting oneself wholeheartedly to some such study of American political and governmental institutions as I have tried to suggest. By so doing you will not only be better prepared to fulfill more efficiently your ordinary duties as citizens, but in time of peace you can perform no duty that is more patriotic. For you must remember that there is a patriotism of the head as well as of the heart; and that they can best work and fight for their country who most thoroughly understand its history and its institutions, their strong points and their weaknesses; that they can best prevent the perversion of democracy who are most familiar with the institutions and channels through which it functions, who best know the pathway along which American democracy has moved in the past, and who are most alert to avoid the pitfalls which beset its pathway in the future.



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The United States and Its Dependencies

Uncle Sam's Step-Children

UNCLE SAM, having brought up a lusty family of forty-eight children, born at various intervals, since he started in with his original family of thirteen, is now bringing up his grandchildren, his adopted and his step-children. These are surprisingly varied in race, color and previous conditions of servitude.

It is only when one studies them at close hand that one begins to realize how near to a world empire this young republic has become. Presently we shall have to stop talking about ourselves as an infant prodigy among states and begin to realize how far we have grown up and how much like those of other countries are our problems.

American possessions are by no means all governed in the same way and a study of their entrances into Uncle Sam's big family will prove a good basis from which to appreciate what must be our present and future world policy. There was never an hour from the day of its birth when this nation did not have a subject territory to govern. Even when the states were colonies, there was the hinter region toward the sunset to which they severally professed ownership.

The United States fell heir to its first public domain when, by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Great Britain relinquished her title to the area north and west of the Ohio River—then described as the North West Territory. Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut had each laid claim to this land; and it was Maryland who stuck out that this should be common property to be held by Congress for the benefit of all the states. She, indeed, refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until she was assured this would be done.

As early as 1780 Congress had promised that lands ceded by the claimant states should be "disposed of for the common benefit, and be settled and formed into distinct republican states which shall become members of the federal union".

There does not seem to have been any idea for seventy-five years after the federal constitution was ratified that the country would ever do any colonizing amongst alien folk who might not become homogeneous republican citizens.

The two principles formulated in 1780

formed the basis of all the territorial policy the country needed until the end of the nineteenth century. Jefferson was made chairman of a committee to report a plan of government for the public lands, and the two ordinances of 1784 and 1787 became law. They are considered as second in importance only to the federal constitution itself, since they lay down the fundamental principles on which territories have been governed by this country.

It will be seen that necessity modified some of these first ordinances when the country adventured into the control of lands wherein foreign and dependent people were already installed.

BY the original ordinances government was to be of two stages, a temporary stage in which laws were to be made by a governor and three judges appointed by Congress.

As soon as 5,000 male inhabitants of voting age accrued to the territory, the temporary government was to give place to a more permanent one. A Legislature of two houses was to be created, the upper house consisting of a council of five members appointed by Congress—from a list of names submitted by the lower territorial house. The council was to serve for five years. The lower house was to be elected for a term of two years by popular vote.

This Legislature was to have power to pass any law not repugnant to the principles of the ordinance itself and subject to the governor's right of absolute veto.

Representation in Congress was secured by means of a territorial delegate, chosen by the two houses of the Legislature in joint assembly. This representative was to have a seat in Congress with the right to debate, but not to vote. In addition the early ordinances contained six articles which were a bill of rights and were held to be an unalterable contract protecting the people of the territories. These included individual liberty, religious freedom, rights of habeas corpus, trial by jury and so on.

Statehood was promised whenever a district gained 60,000 free inhabitants. The new commonwealths were to be "on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever", and were forever to remain a part of the Union.

This general scheme of territorial government answered all needs until the first break in our traditions came when we bought the detached territory of Alaska.

Out of the original public domain, the North West Territory with which the United States started off as heir, the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin were formed. In all twenty-nine organized territories have been created within the boundaries of the United States. The only states which did not come into the Union through the pathway of territorial apprenticeship were, in addition to the original thirteen, Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, West Virginia, Texas and California.

By organized territories one means those which have come into full territorial relationship with the United States. At present there are but two—Alaska and Hawaii.

ALASKA which was the first detached bit of public land owned by the United States was bought by Seward when he was secretary of state in 1867. It has had a peculiar governmental history not exactly in accordance with tradition. For seventeen years it was administered directly by the President of the United States, without any express authority from Congress. By an act of 1884, it entered into the first of the two typical stages with a civil government administered by a governor who was appointed by the President—not by Congress—and for a term of four years. The territory of Alaska was thought of as a sort of dooryard of Oregon, since the general laws of that state were, so far as applicable, to be extended to Alaska. In 1900 a complete civil code and a code of civil procedure were enacted for the territory, and finally in 1912 it became a fully organized territory.

The first Legislature met in Juneau in 1913 when 8 senators and 16 representatives were elected to make laws for this huge country. It was in 1913 that Alaska granted to women all the rights of citizenship which men enjoy.

After the purchase of Alaska, by Mr. Seward, a fearless expansionist, he attempted in 1868 the purchase of the Danish West Indies at a far lower price than was paid for them in 1916 (\$25,000,000), but the Senate contemptu-

ously refused even to consider it seriously.

The time did not come until Hawaii was under discussion when the United States began to think of a public domain which should be detached not only from the United States proper, like Alaska, but detached from the mainland itself.

This brought a new problem of government, the problem of governing a different race. Hawaii is the only one of the insular possessions of the United States which now has a typical territorial government according to the policy of the early ordinances. It is governed under an act of Congress of 1900 which extends to it the provisions of the federal constitution and laws not locally inapplicable. Citizens of Hawaii are citizens of the United States. The President appoints the governor, who, with the advice and consent of the territorial senate, appoints for a four year term the principal administrative officials.

ANOTHER way of grouping the dependencies of the United States is as continental and insular. Of the continental territories, Alaska has the only typical territorial government. The Panama Canal Zone is under a governor appointed by the President. Until the opening of the Canal in 1914, the district was governed by the Isthmian Canal Commission of seven members and was under the direction of the war department.

The District of Columbia, which is the third continental territorial possession, is not governed like any other dependency. It is an area of seventy square miles, ceded to the United States in 1790 by the states of Maryland and Virginia for the site of a national capital.

From 1801 to 1871 the district was administered as a municipality with a mayor and council. In 1874 Congress established a commission of three persons appointed by the President who have practical control of city administration. One of the commissioners must belong to the engineering corps of the army. The Legislature of the district is the Congress of the United States, and in each house there is a committee on the District of Columbia to which all bills relating to it are referred.

On one day of each week an hour is set apart for the consideration of all such bills. No provision is made for representation of the District in Congress and the inhabitants take no part in presidential elections. The last is also true of all territories and dependencies. The organized territories may, however, send delegates to the national conventions for the nomination of the President and the Vice-President.

OF the partly organized territories of the Nation, the most important are Porto Rico and the Philippines. Congress in 1917 vested the supreme executive control of Porto Rico in a governor appointed by the President

for an indefinite term. He has all the powers which usually belong to a territorial governor. The attorney-general and the commissioner of education of the island are appointed by the President for a term of four years; the heads of the remaining four executive departments are appointed by the governor. These six heads form an executive council to perform such duties as the governor prescribes.

Both houses of the island's biennial Legislature are elected by the people for terms of four years. Laws vetoed by the governor may be passed again and transmitted to the President for his approval. All the acts of the Legislature must be submitted to the United States Congress which may annul them.

Practically all males who can read and write are voters, and by the law of 1917 citizens of Porto Rico are citizens of the United States. The interests of the island are looked after at Washington by a resident commissioner elected by the qualified voters for a term of four years. He has no seat in the House of Representatives as has the delegate from an organized territory.

Porto Rico has its own internal revenue system for raising taxes, and the receipts from all customs duties on goods imported into the island are turned into the insular treasury. Unlike the Philippines, Porto Rico does not have its own monetary system, but uses that of continental United States.

The Philippines have presented more formidable questions of civil government than has any other territorial possession of this country. Instead of one island with homogeneous people there are hundreds with inhabitants at many stages of civilization. The organic act of 1902 contained in general the form of government which has been created by the Philippine Commission.

In 1916 a legislature was created in which both houses are elective. The governor general is appointed by the President, as is also the vice-governor and the auditor. The Legislature is allowed to choose two resident commissioners to represent the islands at Washington. They have seats, but no vote, like other territorial delegates.

Of the unorganized dependencies of the nation, the latest acquisition was the Virgin Islands, purchased from Denmark in 1916. These were the Danish West Indies Seward tried to buy in 1867. They have a governor appointed by the President, but their own local laws are still in force.

The American Samoan Islands are governed by a naval officer, the commandant of the naval station at Tutuila, the most important of the islands in which is the valuable harbor of Pago Pago. This commandant makes laws and regulations, but in as far as possible, the inhabitants are self-governing.

Guam is, like the Samoan Islands, governed by the commandant of the naval station.

The United States also owns four other insular possessions, all in the Pacific Ocean. They are Wake Island, Midway or Brooks Island, Howland and Baker Islands. They are so nearly uninhabited no provision for their government has been found necessary.

The federal government has, in addition to its three forms of territories, organized, partially organized and unorganized, certain public domains of various sorts, such as Indian reservations, navy yards, military posts, dock yards, Land used in this way is ceded by the state in which it is located and is under the control of Congress.

THIS country is thought of by most of us and continually referred to as isolated from world affairs, without desire for conquest and able to keep aloof from foreign contracts.

As a matter of fact, we have never kept aloof and a very brief review of the story of American expansion ought to show how the affairs of this country have been mixed up with those of Europe. Several times have anti-imperialistic groups arisen, deploring as if it were a departure from a traditional policy, the tendency of the United States to annex whatever land lies in its path.

These people objected to the purchase of Russia, to the annexation of Hawaii, President Cleveland being so opposed to the latter that he withdrew the Treaty with Hawaii from the Senate in 1893, attempted to overturn the provisional government of Hawaii and restore the monarchy.

It was not until 1898, in President McKinley's administration that the bitter struggle ended by the ratification of the treaty and the annexation of the islands upon the request of the Hawaiian provisional government.

This was America's first extra continental acquisition. It was loudly acclaimed as "the new imperialism" and resisted in many quarters. The same opposing forces have protested against the policy of the United States in the Philippines, in Cuba and in Porto Rico. As a matter of history the United States has always been open to the charge of imperialism, if by this term one means great expansion projects. That is, it has always been a central group of states, reaching out to grasp new land. It began this little policy of accruing new lands when its constitution was an infant prodigy of six. In this sense, the United States has not ever been a nation indifferent to other nations nor unaffected by world currents. A short review of the countries from which this country has taken toll will show that her evolution has been along the same primrose way of dalliance with covetous desires that every great empire has followed.

When the Union began it was a string of states touching upon the Atlantic Ocean but

(Continued on page 322)



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An Arraignment of Wadsworth

"WADSWORTH'S industrious disbelief in popular government" is the analysis of his political blunders given by Tax Commissioner George Henry Payne, his opponent for the Republican nomination for United States Senator from New York.

His attitude on prohibition and woman suffrage is but an indication of his ideals, which are "so contrary to the spirit of these democratic times."

"Without ideas or idealism," says Mr. Payne, "he has worked always with the worst element in the Republican party, his progress never toward light, but always toward a most insolent revival of political ideas that were supposed to have gone out of this country forever when the Federalist party died with the Hartford convention.

"IT is time for us to be frank. The State ticket itself recommended at Saratoga is a good one. But the blight of Wadsworth endangers the success of that ticket and makes the task of the men on it doubly hard. At this particular time, when there is so much unrest and discontent, the nomination of Wadsworth would be nothing less than an affront to large numbers of Republicans who, aside from those opposed to him on the prohibition and woman suffrage issue, view his steady opposition to popular government for over twenty years with disgust and irritation.

"Pitchforked into a position of prominence on a political deal he began his career as a tool of bosses who represented the jointure of corrupt politics and corrupt business. His cold indifference to everything that concerns the common man has never wavered in twenty years. He has never been identified with a single measure to my knowledge that looked to alleviate the sufferings or lessened the burdens of those who live by daily toil. He has opposed progressive measure after measure. He has never hesitated to stand forth as a champion of those who like himself had because of inherited wealth found it unnecessary to toil or to sympathize with those who did toil.

"He is a conspicuous example of the rich man's son gone wrong.

"I appeal to the sane, broad-minded, clear-thinking Republican men and women of this State, for the sake of Harding and Coolidge, to save this State from the calamity of his

nomination.

"I appeal to those who knew, who loved and who still believe in the principles of Theodore Roosevelt, who, in his life, found Wadsworth a bitter and at times an insulting antagonist.

"I appeal to the followers of Charles Evans Hughes who, when Governor of this State, was continuously opposed in his endeavor to put reform legislation on the books of New York State by Wadsworth and those whom he led and who led him.

"I appeal to the followers of Leonard Wood.

"I appeal to every Republican of this State who, whether he considers himself or herself, organization or independent, to think well that the man whose political ideas are of the color and the time of the defunct Federalist party of 100 years ago may not in his selfishness bring the great Republican party in this State to the same unhappy end that marked that unfortunate movement."

The Wadsworth Record

MR. WADSWORTH tries to show that he is a friend of such legislation as the great majority of women voters want.

He has asked us to go back ten and fourteen years, when, as Speaker of the Assembly, he was an influential member of the New York legislative body. It is true that during 1905-'10 certain measures were passed which raised New York State above the low standard in regard to child welfare it had hitherto occupied. But that these measures were as superlative as Mr. Wadsworth suggests is contradicted by the fact that year in and out bills for the better protection of children are still introduced.

When Mr. Wadsworth says "We passed the famous eight-hour law" he does not make himself clear. The fifty-four-hour law for women was defeated, but an eight-hour law for children in factories was passed in 1907. I presume he refers to this law as the "famous law," but it takes a good deal more imagination than most of us possess to appreciate the reason for calling an eight-hour law for young factory children "famous."

Mr. Wadsworth assures us that "all these steps toward the betterment of human life had my active support as Speaker." Indeed, for whatever Mr. Wadsworth did to aid the intelligent standardization of child labor he deserves credit, but do not let us be misled in giving him more than is his due, for if Mr. Wadsworth was then or is now as staunch an advocate of better industrial conditions as he would have us believe he could not have escaped being thought a friend of social welfare legislation and of labor. No one, not even his friends, regards him as such. Instinctively and normally he is not. He believes too much in the

(Continued on page 321)

LEGAL NOTICE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS

32-20-400 (2-8211)

ONE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York will be submitted to the people for the purpose of voting thereon at the next general election to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING TO AMEND SECTIONS TWO, FOUR, FIVE, ELEVEN AND TWELVE OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO DEBTS CONTRACTED BY THE STATE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), that sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 2. The state may, in order to meet current needs or failures of revenues, or for expenses not provided for, contract debts; but such debts, direct or contingent singly or in the aggregate, shall not at any time exceed one million of dollars; and the moneys arising from the loans creating such debts shall be applied to the payment of which they were obtained, or to repay the debt so contracted, and to no other purpose whatever; contract debts in anticipation of the receipt of taxes and revenues, direct or indirect, for the purpose and within the amounts of appropriations therefor, may, however, be contracted, and the moneys so borrowed shall be issued as may be provided by law, and shall with the interest thereon be paid from such taxes and revenues within one year from the date of issue.

§ 4. Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, no debt[s] shall be hereafter contracted by or in behalf of this state, unless such debt shall be authorized by law, for some single work or object, to be distinctly specified therein. [No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted to be determined by general laws, which determination shall be conclusive, nor for more than fifty years from the time of the contracting of such debt. A debt heretofore contracted by the state pursuant to an authorization hereafter made, and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted, may, if provided by the law authorizing such debt, be paid in equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year from the date of issue, and shall be payable not more than fifty years, after such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. Such law shall if it authorize the contracting of a debt payable otherwise than in equal annual installments impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay, and sufficient to pay, the interest on such debt as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof. No law authorizing the contracting of a debt pursuant to this section shall take effect until, at a general election, have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election.] On the final passage of such bill in either house of the legislature, the question shall be put to the yeas and nays, to be duly entered on the journals thereof, and shall be: "Shall this bill pass and ought the same to receive the sanction of the people?" No such law shall take effect until it shall, at a general election, have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election nor shall it be submitted to be voted on within three months after its passage nor at any general election when any other law, or any bill shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may, at any time after the passage of such law, or any bill, repeal the same; and may at any time by law, forbid the contracting of any further debt or liability under such law. [But the tax, if any, imposed by such act, in proportion to the debt and liability which may have been contracted in pursuance of such law, shall remain in force and be irrevocable, and be annually collected, until the proceeds thereof shall have made the provision hereinbefore specified to pay and discharge the interest and principal of such debt and liability.]

Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, all debts contracted by the state after January first, nineteen hundred and twenty, pursuant to an authorization hereafter, heretofore or hereafter made and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted irrespective of the terms of such authorization, shall be paid in equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year, and the last of which shall be payable not more than fifty years, after such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted, to be determined by general laws, which determination shall be conclusive.

The legislature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt which has been or may be authorized pursuant to the provisions of this section or upon any part of such debt provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be increased upon any part of such debt or upon any bond or other evidence thereof which has been or shall be created or issued before such alteration.

The moneys arising from any loan for stock creating such debt or liability shall be applied to the work or object specified in the act authorizing such debt or liability, or for the payment of such debt or liability, and for no other purpose whatever. [No such law shall be submitted to be voted on, within three months after its passage or at any general election when any other law, or any bill, shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may provide for the issue of bonds of the state to run for a period not exceeding fifty years in lieu of bonds heretofore authorized but not issued and shall impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax for the payment of the same as hereinbefore required. When any sinking fund created under this section shall equal in amount the debt for which it was created, no further direct tax shall be levied on account of said sinking fund and the legislature shall be authorized to apply the amount equal to the accruing interest on such debt. The legis-

LEGAL NOTICE

lature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt, which has been or may be authorized pursuant to the provisions of this section, or upon any part of such debt, provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be altered upon any part of such debt or upon any bond or other evidence thereof, which has been, or shall be created or issued before such alteration, in case the legislature increase the rate of interest upon any such debt, or put thereon, it shall, if such debt be payable otherwise than in equal annual installments, impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay and sufficient to pay the increased or altered interest on such debt as it falls due and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof, and shall appropriate annually to the sinking fund moneys in amount sufficient to pay such interest and pay and discharge the principal of such debt when it shall become due and payable.]

§ 5. The sinking funds provided for the payment of interest and the extinguishment of the principal of the debts of the state heretofore contracted shall be continued; they shall be separately kept and safely invested, and neither of them shall be appropriated or used in any manner other than for the specific purpose for which it shall have been provided; such payment and extinguishment as hereinafter provided. The comptroller shall each year appraise the securities held for investment of each of such funds at their fair market value not exceeding par. He shall then determine and certify to the legislature the amount of each of such funds and the amounts which, if thereafter annually contributed to each such fund, would, at the end of the year, be sufficient to pay the interest and upon the contributions thereto, computed at the rate of three per centum per annum, produce at the date of maturity the amount of the debt to retire which such fund was created, and the legislature shall thereupon appropriate the sum sufficient to each such fund for such year at least the amount thus certified.

If the income of any such fund in any year is more than a sum which, if annually added to such fund would, with the fund and its accumulations as aforesaid, retire the debt at maturity, the excess income may be applied to the interest on the debt for which the fund was created.

After any sinking fund shall equal in amount the debt for which it was created no further contribution shall be made thereto except to make good any losses ascertained at the annual appraisals above mentioned, and the income thereof shall be applied to the payment of the interest on such debt. Any excess in such income not required for the payment of interest may be applied to the general fund of the state.

The legislature may also by general laws provide means and authority whereby outstanding bonds of the state, for which sinking funds are provided, may be exchanged at par for cancellation, for serial bond of the form authorized under section four of this article, upon such terms and conditions as to interest and otherwise as it may in its discretion authorize or determine except that the debt as thus refunded shall finally mature no later and at no greater comparative cost to the state than the original debt; the determination of the legislature as to such comparative cost shall be conclusive. No further contribution to the respective sinking funds shall be made on account of bonds so exchanged and the proportion of any such sinking fund which the amount of the bonds so exchanged shall bear to the amount of bonds outstanding of the same issue may be appropriated, as required, for the payment of the substituted serial bonds.

§ 11. [The legislature may appropriate out of any funds in the treasury, moneys to pay the accruing interest and principal of any debt heretofore or hereafter created, or any part thereof and may, if such debt be payable otherwise than in annual installments, set apart in each fiscal year, moneys in the state treasury as a sinking fund to pay the interest as it falls due and to pay and discharge the principal of any debt heretofore or hereafter created under section four of article seven of the constitution until the same shall be wholly paid, and the principal and income of such sinking fund shall be applied to the purpose for which said sinking fund is created and to no other purpose whatever; and, in the event such money so set apart in any fiscal year be sufficient to provide such sinking fund, a direct annual tax for such year need not be imposed and collected, as required by the provisions of said section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof. The legislature shall annually as the same shall fall due provide by direct tax, appropriation or otherwise for the payment of the interest upon and installments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state, payable in annual installments, pursuant to section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof.] The legislature shall annually provide by appropriation for the payment of the interest upon and installments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state except those contracted under section two of this article, as the same shall fall due, and for the contribution to all of the sinking funds heretofore created by law, of the amount annually to be contributed under the provisions of section five of this article, if at any time the legislature shall fail to make any such appropriation, the comptroller shall set apart from the first revenues thereafter received, applicable to the general fund of the state, a sum sufficient to pay such interest, installments of principal, of contributions to such sinking fund, as the case may be and shall so apply the moneys thus set apart. The comptroller may be required to set aside and apply such revenues as aforesaid, at the suit of any holder of such bonds.

§ 12. Debts heretofore authorized for the improvement of highways shall be created only in the manner provided in section four of this article. No provision of this article shall be deemed to impair or affect the validity of any debt of the state heretofore contracted or any right or obligation heretofore created between the state and any of its civil divisions.

[A debt or debts of the state may be authorized by law for the improvement of highways. Such highways shall be determined under general laws, which shall also provide for the equitable apportionment thereof among the counties. The aggregate of the debts authorized by this section shall not at any one time exceed the sum of fifty millions of dollars. The payment of the annual interest on such debt and the creation of a sinking fund of at least two per centum per annum to discharge the principal at maturity shall be provided by general laws whose force and effect shall not be diminished by the existence of any debt created thereunder. The legislature may by general laws require the county or town or both to pay to the sinking fund the proportionate part of the cost of any such highways within the boundaries of such county or town and the proportionate part of the interest thereon, but no county shall at any time for any highway be required to pay more than thirty-five hundredths of the cost of such highway, and no town more than fifteen hundredths. None of the provisions of the fourth section of this article shall be deemed to apply to debts for the improvement of highways hereby authorized.]

LEGAL NOTICE

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be submitted to the people for approval at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty, in accordance with the provisions of the election law.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. s.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

TWO

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

STATE OF NEW YORK,

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section one of article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TWO

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION ONE OF ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO QUALIFICATION OF THE VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section one of article two of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. Every citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ninety days, and an inhabitant of this state one year next preceding an election, and for the last four months a resident of the county and for the last thirty days a resident of the election district in which he or she may offer his or her vote, shall be entitled to vote at such election in the election district of which he or she shall at the time be a resident, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now are or hereafter may be elective by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people, provided however that a citizen by marriage shall have been an inhabitant of the United States for five years; and provided that in time of war or of the actual military service of the state, or of the United States, in the army or navy thereof, shall be deprived of his or her vote by reason of his or her absence from such election district and the legislature shall have power to provide in which and the manner in which and the place at which such absent electors may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election districts in which they respectively reside].

Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, after January first, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, no person shall become entitled to vote by attaining majority, by naturalization or otherwise, unless such person is also able, except for physical disability, to read and write English; and suitable laws shall be passed by the legislature to enforce this provision.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

THREE

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be

LEGAL NOTICE

held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THREE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO ABSENT VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That article two of the constitution be amended by inserting therein a new section, to be section one-a, to read as follows:

§ 1-a. The legislature may, by general law, provide a manner in which, and the time and place at which, qualified voters who may, on the occurrence of any general election, be unavoidably absent from the state or county of their residence because their duties, occupation or business require them to be elsewhere within the United States, may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election district in which they respectively reside].

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 15, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
§ 8: I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOUR

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section six of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOUR

SECRETARY OF STATE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SIX OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That section six of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 6. Each member of the legislature shall receive for his services an annual salary of (one thousand five hundred) three thousand dollars. The members of either house shall also receive the sum of one dollar for every ten miles they shall travel in going to and returning from their place of meeting, once in each session on the most usual route. Senators, when the senate alone is convened in extraordinary session, or when serving as members of the court for the trial of impeachment, and such members of the assembly, not exceeding nine in number, as shall be appointed managers of an impeachment, shall receive an additional allowance of ten dollars a day.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 1, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 14, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
§ 8: I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

FIVE

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIVE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO APPOINTMENTS OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE TO THE OFFICE OF NOTARY PUBLIC.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment within this state or the senate of the United States, from the governor, the governor and senate, or from the legislature, or from any city government, during the time for which he shall have been elected [;], and all such appointments and all votes given for any such member for any such office or appointment shall be void; provided, however, that the legislature may provide by law that any such member may be appointed during such time to the office of notary public.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Mar. 3, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Mar. 25, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
§ 8: I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SIX

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SIX

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTIONS TWENTY-SIX AND TWENTY-SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE LEGISLATURE TO PROVIDE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE COUNTIES OF WESTCHESTER AND NASSAU.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That sections twenty-six and twenty-seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 26. There shall be in each county, except in a county wholly included in a city, a board of supervisors, to be composed of such members and elected in such manner and for such period as is or may be provided by law. The legislature may provide by law for forms of government for the counties of Westchester and Nassau, or either, subject to adoption and approval by the electors of any such county at a general election in an odd-numbered year. Any such form of government may include the transfer to the county or to county officers of any functions now exercised by towns or town officers. The law providing for such form of government shall also prescribe the manner in which the county affected may subsequently abandon it, and revert to its former form of government. The adoption of such form of government by the county shall not preclude the legislature from amending or modifying such plan. If under such form of government the board of supervisors be abolished, the powers and duties of the board of supervisors, as prescribed by the constitution, or by statute if not provided for by such form of government shall devolve upon the governing elective body in such county. In a city which includes an entire county, or two or more entire counties, the powers and duties of a board of supervisors may be devolved upon the municipal assembly, common council, board of aldermen or other legislative body of the city.

§ 27. The legislature shall, by general laws, confer upon the boards of supervisors, or other governing elective bodies, of the several counties of the state such further powers of local legislation and administration as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient [;]. In counties which now have, or hereafter have, county auditors or other fiscal officers, authorized to audit bills, accounts, charges, claims or de-

LEGAL NOTICE

mands against the county, the legislature may confer such powers upon [said] such auditors, or fiscal officers, as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendments be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
§ 8: I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section nine of article five of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SEVEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION NINE OF ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO PREFERENCES, IN EMPLOYMENT AND PROMOTION, OF SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND MARINES.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section nine of article five of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 9. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers, [and] sailors [from] and marines who shall have served in the army, [and] navy or marine corps of the United States in [the late civil] time of war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made; provided they were residents of this state at the time they entered said army, navy or marine corps; and provided also that soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the civil war shall have preference over all others on the same list.

Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 19, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 19, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
§ 8: I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

AMENDMENT NUMBER EIGHT

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state], comptroller, [treasurer], and attorney-general [and state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article].

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was appointed, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive compensation to be fixed by law. He shall be required by law to give security for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor. He shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall report to the legislature a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, who shall be appointed by the governor, subject to modifications by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works; but in case of the suspension or removal of any such assistant superintendent by him, he shall at once report to the governor, in writing, the cause of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be subject to suspension or removal by him. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners and board of canal commissioners, as now declared by law, until otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature, whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.

LEGAL NOTICE

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation and finance; 4. Law; 5. State; 6. Public works; 7. Conservation; 8. Agriculture and markets; 9. Labor; 10. Education; 11. Health; 12. Mental hygiene; 13. Charities and correction; 14. Public service; 15. Banking; 16. Insurance; 17. Civil service; 18. Military and naval affairs; 19. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government, to the several departments, in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new departments shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the term for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of audit and control shall be the comptroller, and the head of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and may be removed by the governor in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All offices for the weighing, gauging, measuring, cuiling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever, are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office or function hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 7. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendments be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,

President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

T. C. SWEET,

Speaker.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

NINE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in italics is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER NINE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state] comptroller, treasurer,

LEGAL NOTICE

and attorney-general [and state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article].

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Conservation; 9. Agriculture and markets; 10. Labor; 11. Education; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Banking; 18. Insurance; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive

functions of the state government, to the several departments, in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new departments shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the term for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of audit and control shall be the comptroller, and the head of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and may be removed by the governor in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All offices for the weighing, gauging, measuring, cuiling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever, are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office or function hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 7. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendments be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

§ 8. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.

§ 9. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.

§ 10. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.

§ 11. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature, whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.

§ 12. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Conservation; 9. Agriculture and markets; 10. Labor; 11. Education; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Banking; 18. Insurance; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Architecture.

§ 13. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive

LEGAL NOTICE

utive functions of the state government, to the several departments in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new department shall be erected hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article, by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article was amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the term for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller, and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor or shall, with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor, in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All officers for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list for which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 7. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.
By order of the Senate.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly.

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript thereof and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany,
[L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TEN
CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state] comptroller, [treasurer], and attorney-general and [state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be required: (1) To audit all vouchers before payment and all official accounts; (2) to audit the accrual and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) to prescribe such methods of accounting as are necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature shall define his powers and duties and may also assign to him supervision of the accounts of any political subdivision of the state and shall assign

LEGAL NOTICE

to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incident to the exercise of his functions; and any other provision of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. He [Each of the officers in this article named, excepting the speaker of the assembly,] shall, at stated times during his continuance in office, receive for his services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected; nor shall he receive to his use any fees or perquisites of office or other compensation. [No person shall be elected to the office of state engineer and surveyor who is not a practical engineer.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following, and shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.]

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of the laws relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by him, subject to modification by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works; but in case of the suspension or removal of any such assistant superintendent by him, he shall at once report to the governor, in writing, the cause of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be appointed by the superintendent of public works, and be subject to suspension or removal by him. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners and board of canal commissioners, as now declared by law, unless otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.]

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate; and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security and shall be subject to such duties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.]

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.]

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Conservation; 9. Agriculture and markets; 10. Education; 11. Labor; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Banking; 18. Insurance; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government; to the several departments of the state government; to the several departments mentioned in this constitution; the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new departments shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article was amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the

LEGAL NOTICE

terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller, and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor or shall, with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor, in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All officers for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health of the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 7. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.
By order of the Senate.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly.

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript thereof and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany,
[L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to section seven of article six of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ELEVEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SIX OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF JUDGES AND ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE COURT OF APPEALS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That section seven of article six of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. The court of appeals is continued. It shall consist of the chief judge and associate judges now in office, who shall hold their offices until the expiration of their respective terms, and their successors, who shall be chosen by the electors of the state. The official terms of the chief judge and associate judges shall be four years from and including the first day of January next after their election. Five members of the court shall form a quorum, and the concurrence of four shall be necessary to a decision. The court shall have power to appoint and to remove its reporter, clerk and attendants. Whenever and as often as a majority of the judges of the court of appeals shall certify to the governor that said court is unable, by reason of the accumulation of causes pending therein, to hear and dispose of the same with reasonable speed, the governor shall designate not more than four justices of the supreme court to serve as associate judges of court of appeals. The justices so designated shall be relieved from their duties as justices of the supreme court and shall serve as associate judges of the court of appeals until the causes undischarged of the court are reduced to two hundred, when they shall return to the supreme court. The governor may designate justices of the supreme court to fill vacancies. No justice shall serve as associate judge of the court of appeals except while holding the office of justice of the supreme court, and no more than seven judges shall sit in any

LEGAL NOTICE

LEGAL NOTICE

LEGAL NOTICE

THIRTEEN

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THIRTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE FOREST PRESERVE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That section seven of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. The lands of the state, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as now fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be leased, sold or exchanged, or to be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the timber thereon be sold, removed or destroyed. Nothing contained in this section shall prevent the state from constructing a state highway from Saranac Lake in Franklin county to Long Lake in Hamilton county and to Old Forge in Herkimer county by way of Blue Mountain lake and Raquette lake.

The legislature may by (general) laws provide for the use of not exceeding three per centum of such lands for the following purposes: for the construction and maintenance of reservoirs for municipal water supply, or the canals of the state and to regulate the flow of streams, and may further provide for the development of water power and for rights of way for electric transmission lines, all of which are hereby declared to be public uses. Such reservoirs, water power and transmission lines shall be constructed, owned and controlled by the state, but such work shall not be undertaken until after the boundaries and high flow lines thereof shall have been accurately surveyed and fixed, and after public notice, hearing and determination that such lands are required for such public uses. The expense of any such improvements shall be apportioned on the public and private property and municipalities benefited to the extent of the benefits received. Any such reservoir shall always be operated by the state and the legislature shall provide for a charge upon the property and municipalities benefited for a reasonable return to the state upon the value of the rights and property of the state used or leased and the services of the state rendered in the construction, control and operation of said reservoirs, water powers and transmission lines, which charge shall be fixed for terms of not exceeding ten years (and be readjustable at the end of any term). Any such water power may be leased for terms of not exceeding ten years. Unsanitary conditions shall not be created or continued by any such public works. A violation of any of the provisions of this section may be maintained at the suit of the people or, with the consent of the supreme court in appellate division, on notice to the attorney-general at the suit of any citizen.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and, in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution, be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 20, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that same is a correct transcript thereof and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. s.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOURTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that same is a correct transcript thereof and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. s.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOURTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal [in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained between Rome and Mohawk. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 15, 1920.

This bill was duly passed a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 23, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that same is a correct transcript thereof and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FIFTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old matter to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that same is a correct transcript thereof and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIFTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 8. The legislature shall not sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the Erie canal, the Oswego canal, the Champlain canal, the Cayuga and Seneca canal, or the Black River canal; but they shall remain the property of the state and under its management forever. The prohibition of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained; nor shall such prohibition apply to that portion of the existing Erie canal in the county of Herkimer between the easterly portion of the village of Mohawk and the county boundary line between the counties of Herkimer and Oneida. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Mar. 11, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 15, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that same is a correct transcript thereof and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

SIXTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section ten of article eight of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SIXTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION TEN OF ARTICLE EIGHT OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE AMOUNT TO BE RAISED BY TAX FOR COUNTY OR CITY PURPOSES IN CERTAIN COUNTIES AND CITIES.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section ten of article eight of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 10. No county, city, town or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money or credit to or in aid of any individual, association or corporation, or become directly or indirectly the owner of stock in, or bonds of, any association or corporation; nor shall any such county, city, town or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness except for county, city, town or village purposes. This section shall not prevent such county, city, town or village from making such provision for the aid or support of its poor as may be authorized by law. No county or city shall be allowed to become indebted for any purpose or in any manner to an amount which, including existing indebtedness, shall exceed ten per centum of the assessed valuation of the real estate of such county or city subject to taxation as it appeared by the assessment rolls of said county or city on the last assessment for state or county taxes prior to the incurring of such indebtedness; and all indebtedness in excess of such limitation, except such as now may exist, shall be absolutely void, except as herein otherwise provided. No county or city whose present indebtedness exceeds ten per centum of the assessed valuation of its real estate subject to taxation, shall be allowed to become indebted in any further amount until such indebtedness shall be reduced within such limit. This section shall not be construed to prevent the issuing of certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes for amounts actually contained, or to be contained in the taxes for the year when such certificates or revenue bonds are issued and payable out of such taxes; nor to prevent the city of New York from issuing bonds to be redeemed out of the tax levy for the year next succeeding the year of their issue, provided that the amount of such bonds which may be issued in any one year in excess of the limitations herein contained shall not exceed one-tenth of one per centum of the assessed valuation of the real estate of said city subject to taxation. Nor shall this section be construed to prevent the issue of bonds to provide for the supply of water; but the term of the bonds issued to provide for the supply of water, in case of the limitation of indebtedness fixed herein, shall not exceed twenty years, and a sinking fund shall be created on the issuing of the said bonds for their redemption, by raising annually a sum which will produce an amount equal to the sum of the principal and interest of said bonds at their maturity. All certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes, which are not retired within five years after their date of issue, and bonds issued to provide for the supply of water, and any debt hereafter incurred by any portion or part of a city, shall be included in any such debt, shall be included in ascertaining the power of the city to become otherwise indebted; except that debts incurred by the city of New York after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and four, and debts incurred by any city of the second class after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and eight, and debts incurred by any city of the third class after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and ten, to provide for the supply of water, shall not be so included; and except further that any debt hereafter incurred by the city of New York for a public improvement owned or to be owned by the city, which yields to the city current net revenue, after making any necessary allowance for repairs and maintenance for which the city is liable, in excess of the interest on said debt and of the annual installment necessary for its amortization may be excluded in ascertaining the power of said city to become otherwise indebted, provided that a sinking fund for its amortization shall have been established and maintained and that the indebtedness shall not be so excluded during any period of time when the revenue aforesaid shall not be sufficient to equal the said interest and amortization installments, and except further that any indebtedness heretofore incurred by the city of New York for any rapid transit or dock investment may be so excluded proportionately to the extent to which the current net revenue received by said city therefrom shall meet the interest and amortization installments thereof, provided that any increase in the debt incurring power of the city of New York which shall result from the exclusion of debts heretofore incurred shall be available only for the acquisition or construction of properties to be used for rapid transit or dock purposes. The legislature shall prescribe the method by which and the terms and conditions under which the amount of any debt to be so excluded shall be determined, and no such debt shall be excluded except in accordance with the determination so prescribed. The legislature may in its discretion confer appropriate jurisdiction on the appellate division of the supreme court in the first judicial department for the purpose of determining the amount of any debt to be so excluded. No indebtedness of a city valid at the time of its inception shall thereafter become invalid by reason of the operation of any of the provisions of this section. Whenever the boundaries of any city or town shall be changed, or when any city shall include within its boundaries more than one county, the power of any county wholly included within such city to become indebted shall cease, but the debt of the county, heretofore existing, shall not, for the purposes of this section, be reckoned as a part of the city debt. The amount hereafter to be raised by tax for county or city purposes, exclusive of appropriations for educational purposes, in any county containing a city of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, or any such city of the State, in addition to providing for the principal and interest of existing debt, shall not in the aggregate exceed in any one year two per centum of the assessed valuation of the real and personal estate of such county or city, to be ascertained as prescribed in this section in respect to county or city debt.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing

LEGAL NOTICE

amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY.

April 20, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE.

April 23, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SEVENTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eleven of article eight of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SEVENTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION ELEVEN OF ARTICLE EIGHT OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES, THE STATE COMMISSION IN LUNACY AND THE STATE COMMISSION ON COMMISSIONERS ON MENTAL HYGIENE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section eleven of article eight of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 11. The legislature shall provide for a state board of charities, which shall visit and inspect all institutions, whether state, county, municipal, incorporated or not incorporated, which are of a charitable, eleemosynary, correctional or reformatory character, *excepting state institutions for the education and support of the blind and the deaf and dumb, and excepting [only] also such institutions as are hereby made subject to the visitation and inspection of either of the [commissions] authorities hereinafter mentioned, but including all reformatories [except those in which adult males convicted of felony shall be confined] for juveniles; a state commission [in lunacy] or commissioner on mental hygiene, which shall visit and inspect all institutions, either public or private, used for the care and treatment of the insane, epileptics, idiots, feeble-minded or mentally defective [not including institutions for epileptics or idiots]; a state commission of prisons which shall visit and inspect all institutions used for the detention of sane adults charged with or convicted of crime, or detained as witnesses of debtors.*

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE.

April 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY.

April 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EIGHTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provision of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section two of article twelve of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER EIGHTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION TWO OF ARTICLE

LEGAL NOTICE

TWELVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO CITY BILLS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section two of article twelve of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 2. All cities are classified according to the latest state enumeration, as from time to time made, as follows: The first class includes all cities having a population of one hundred and seventy-five thousand or more; the second class, all cities having a population of fifty thousand and less than one hundred and seventy-five thousand; the third class, all other cities. Laws relating to the property, affairs or government of cities, and the several departments thereof, are divided into general and special city laws; general city laws are those which relate to all the cities of one or more classes; special city laws are those which relate to a single city, or to less than all the cities of a class. Special city laws shall not be passed except in conformity with the provisions of this section. After any bill for a special city law, relating to a city, has been passed by both branches of the legislature, the house in which it originated shall immediately transmit a certified copy thereof to the mayor of such city, and within fifteen days thereafter the mayor shall return such bill to the clerk of the house from which it was sent, [or] who if the session of the legislature at which such bill was passed has terminated, shall immediately transmit the same to the governor, with the mayor's certificate thereon stating whether the city has or has not accepted the same. In every city of the first class, the mayor, and in every other city, the mayor and the legislative body thereof concurrently, shall act for such city as to such bill; but the legislature may provide for the concurrence of the legislative body in cities of the first class. The legislature shall provide for a public notice and opportunity for a public hearing concerning any such bill in every city to which it relates, before action thereon. Such a bill, if it relates to more than one city, shall be transmitted to the mayor of each city to which it relates, and shall not be deemed accepted unless accepted as herein provided, by every such city. Whenever any such bill is accepted as herein provided, it shall be subject as are other bills, to the action of the governor. Whenever, during the session at which it was passed, any such bill is returned without the acceptance of the city or cities to which it relates, or within such fifteen days is not returned, it may nevertheless again be passed by both branches of the legislature, and it shall then be subject as are other bills, to the action of the governor. In every special city law which has been accepted by the city or cities to which it relates, the title shall be followed by the words "accepted by the city" or "cities," the case may be; in every such law which is passed without such acceptance, by the words "passed without the acceptance of the city," or "cities," as the case may be.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE.

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY.

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposition, chapter eight hundred seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred twenty will be submitted to the people for the purpose of voting thereon at the next general election to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE

CHAPTER 872

AN ACT MAKING PROVISION FOR ISSUING BONDS TO THE AMOUNT OF NOT TO EXCEED FORTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE PAYMENT OF A BONUS TO PERSONS WHO

SERVED IN THE MILITARY OR NAVAL SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES AT ANY TIME BETWEEN THE SIXTH DAY OF APRIL, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN, AND THE ELEVENTH DAY OF NOVEMBER, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN, AND PROVIDING FOR A SUBMISSION OF THE SAME TO THE PEOPLE TO BE VOTED UPON AT THE GENERAL ELECTION TO BE HELD IN THE YEAR NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY.

Became a law May 21, 1920, with the approval of the Governor. Passed three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. Bond issue authorized. There shall be issued, in the manner and at the times hereinafter recited, bonds of the state in an amount not to exceed forty-five million dollars, which bonds shall be sold by the state and the proceeds thereof paid into the state treasury, and so much thereof as may be necessary ex-

LEGAL NOTICE

LEGAL NOTICE

pendent for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States, at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, as hereinafter provided. Such bonds when issued shall be exempt from taxation.

§ 2. Sale; interest. The comptroller is hereby directed to cause to be prepared the bonds of this state to an amount not to exceed forty-five million dollars, such bonds to bear interest at the rate of not to exceed five per centum per annum, which interest shall be payable semi-annually in the city of New York. Such bonds, or the portion thereof at any time issued, shall be made payable in twenty-five equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable one year from the date of issue, and the last of which shall be payable twenty-six years from the date of issue. The comptroller is hereby charged with the duty of selling such bonds at not less than par to the highest bidder after advertising for a period of twenty consecutive days, Sundays excepted, in at least two daily newspapers printed in the city of New York and one in the city of Albany. Advertisements shall contain a provision to the effect that the comptroller, in his discretion may reject any or all bids made in pursuance of such advertisements, and in the event of such rejection, the comptroller is authorized to readvertise for bids in the form and manner above described as many times as in his judgment may be necessary to effect a satisfactory sale.

§ 3. Commission to distribute proceeds. The proceeds of such bonds, after appropriation or appropriations therefrom by the legislature, shall be distributed by a special commission created by the legislature for such purpose, to the persons entitled thereto, under the provisions of this act, on application within a time to be prescribed by the legislature.

§ 4. Disability fund. The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment and administration of a fund to be used for the amelioration of the condition of residents of this state who are suffering disability incurred in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the date when they were honorably separated or discharged from such services, and shall authorize any person who so desire to assign to such fund the bonus to which he is entitled under this act.

§ 5. Bonuses to certain persons who were in the service of the United States in the war with the German empire and its allies. Every person, male or female, who was enlisted, inducted, warranted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, for a period longer than two months, and who at the time of entering into such service was a resident of the state of New York, and is a resident at the time this act takes effect, and who was honorably separated or discharged from such service, or who is still in active service, or has been retired, or has been furloughed to a reserve, shall be entitled to receive from the proceeds of such bonds as a bonus the sum of ten dollars for each month or major fraction thereof that such person was in active service, of not exceeding a total of two hundred and fifty dollars. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who at the time of being separated or discharged from such service, or at the time of being retired or furloughed to a reserve, or at the time of his death in the service, was a member of the army or of the marine corps above the grade of captain, or in the navy above the grade of lieutenant, senior grade. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who being in the military or naval service of the United States subsequent to the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, refused on conscientious political or other grounds to subject himself to military discipline or to render unqualified service, or whose only service was in the students' army training corps, or who received from another state a bonus or gratuity of a like nature provided for by this act. The husband or wife, child, mother, father, brother and sister in the order named, and none other, of any deceased person, male or female, who was enlisted, inducted, warranted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States as provided in this section, shall be paid the sum or allowance that such deceased person would be entitled hereunder if such deceased person had lived.

§ 6. Payment exempt from taxation and execution. All payments or allowances made under this act shall be exempt from all taxation, and from levy and sale on execution.

§ 7. Submission of law to people. This law shall not take effect until it shall at a general election have been submitted to the people and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election; and the same shall be submitted to the people of the state at the general election to be held in November, nineteen hundred and twenty. The ballots to be furnished for the use of voters upon the submission of this law shall be in the form prescribed by the election law and the proposition or question to be submitted shall be printed thereon in substantially the following form, to-wit: "Shall chapter eight hundred and seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty,' be approved?"

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original law.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

[L. S.] FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE.
"Shall the proposed amendment to Sections Two, Four, Five, Eleven and Twelve of Article Seven of the Constitution, in relation to debts contracted by the state," be approved?"

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE.
"Shall chapter eight hundred seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of

the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty, be approved?"

The Wadsworth Record

(Continued from page 314)

status quo, as his suffrage record indicates, and he favors too faithfully the masters of the game, as his labor record in Washington shows.

He says he would have voted for the Federal child labor bill had he been in this country in 1918, but in 1916, when he was in this country, he did not vote for the child labor bill.

In going over his labor record in Congress we find that on twenty-six measures favored by labor he voted against fourteen, for five, and failed to vote on seven. He did not support the appropriation for the Federal Employment Bureau, though even Mr. Wadsworth must know how immensely such a bureau would make for "the betterment of human life."

He speaks of his support in securing a hearing for the women's bureau bill which became law. Did he by chance remember that he needed some women's votes this fall, and did he hope to counteract his unworthy suffrage record?

One cannot blow hot and cold and think that folks will understand. What we women in New York do understand is that he voted against suffrage when to have voted for it would have saved us and our beloved leaders endless trouble, heartache and expense; that he voted against the protection of children when he had the chance; that he is no friend of the ideals of social betterment for which we wanted the vote, and that he has shown no understanding of the great social and economic questions confronting the nation and which cry out for solution. And, added to all this, we remember that he is wet, and finally that he is the friend and loyal servant of Barnes.

Why, then, should any women, to say nothing of the progressive-minded men, vote for Mr. Wadsworth? Indeed, why should any of us Republican women, who do not think kindly of him for all this, nor for his share in the recent National Republican Convention? Our loyalty to the party has been assailed because we have dared say for a long time that we would not under any circumstances vote for Mr. Wadsworth, but I have still to hear Mr. Wadsworth's loyalty questioned because he has insisted upon making more thorny the path of the Republican party in New York.

But we are undismayed by these charges. We have been honest from the start, and we know that there are enough independent women and enough Republican women of independent spirit to show Mr. Wadsworth in November that if he had been more self-sacrificing than self-seeking it would have been better for the Republican party.

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The United States and Its Dependencies

(Continued from page 313)

with uncertainties concerning its northern and southern limitations. It had inherited from the days of the Confederation "a vast domain west of the Alleghany Mountains to which the individual states surrendered their claims."

Thus the federal government began its existence with a territorial policy and with the habit of frontier margins extending beyond its central domain. It has always had a fringe of partially stabilized territory. The Constitution provided for this and vested in Congress the power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States"; and under certain limitations, to admit new states to the Union.

Since the origin of the Federal Union in 1789, the land owned by this country has grown from 892,135 square miles to 3,743,306 square miles, that is, it has more than quadrupled.

"The American Empire has grown with prodigious and incontinent rapidity", says H. H. Powers, in his *America Among the Nations*. "The Roman Empire did not grow so fast. The British Empire did not grow so fast. Neither of them took such long chances nor so often did the unintended and inconsidered thing".

Discharged, No Evidence

MRS. LILLIAN HOWE and Mrs. Mary O'Brien of Chicago were clerk and judge respectively in the Seventh Precinct of the Fifth Ward, of Chicago, during the may-oralty primary of February 25, 1919. They with three men were charged with conspiracy to make false returns of the election.

On August 9th, 1920, this charge, said to be the first case in the history of Chicago in which women were charged with vote fraud, ended abruptly. Assistant Attorney Grover Neimeyer admitted that the prosecution had no evidence and submitted not guilty verdicts.

As a matter of record, voting women are singularly free from duplicity, corruption or fraud. Governors of woman voting states and rulers of woman voting countries, have again and again made this clear by emphatic statements over their own signatures.

This is not guess work; it is fact. Columns of quotations could be assembled to prove it.

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Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-five Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3 Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2 Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0 Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0 Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York	House, yes, 137; no, 0 Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6 Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44 Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47 Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20 Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5 Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4 Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15 Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 2, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes; 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6 Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire	House, yes, 212; no, 143 Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2 Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68 Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota	House, yes, 102; no, 6 Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota	House, yes, 52; no, 0 Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0 Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island	House, yes, 89; no, 3 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25 Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0 Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 25; no, 1 Senate, yes, 8; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24 Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0 Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10 Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 28, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12 Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40 Senate, yes, 16; no, 13
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0 Senate, yes, 40; no, 0

Where Ratification Carried by a Unanimous Vote

In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan	South Dakota
Kansas	Colorado
New York	Oregon
Nebraska	Wyoming
Utah	Arizona
	Washington

In One House

Illinois	Senate
Iowa	Senate
Montana	House
California	Senate
Indiana	House
Nevada	Senate
Idaho	House





"LOVE ME, LOVE ME NOT?"

The **Woman Citizen**

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
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FOUNDED JUNE 2, 1917

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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

AUGUST 28, 1920

No. 13

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

AUGUST 28, 1920

NUMBER 13

Suffrage Is Certified By Gov. Roberts

*Tennessee Executive Sends Official Notice to Secretary Colby
New Order Sets Aside Injunctions Issued by Lower State Tribunal*

By Way of a New Beginning

THE final triumph of suffrage means opportunity for more work and added responsibility. It is too belated for it to come with any shock of surprise. We have long been ready for it. We are ready for the work that lies on ahead of us.

Since votes for women is now an accomplished fact, what are the women going to do with the vote?

Are they going to draw back their skirts in disdain from all interest in politics on the ground that it is corrupt?

Are they going to join the army of kid-gloved men slackers whom we have heard proudly boast that they would not touch politics with a ten-inch pole?

Or, are they going to be of those who will help swell America's army of voters, who put conscience and thought into the scales with party politics and party candidates?

It was to help the new woman voter find her way through the maze of these besetting questions that the National League of Women Voters was formed. The League is not encouraging women to leave their parties, for it is through the political parties that we must work. They furnish us with the machinery through which we are enabled to reach the public, create public consciousness, and keep the public informed.

Neither state nor nation should temporize with the problems of government before them. Lynchings, compelling the kissing of the American flag, deportations do not meet the situation. The nation is suffering from having so long kept the tools of government from women. Home means more to woman than it ever can to man. Since the earliest forms of civilization when a dug-out with its wood fires was the center of the home, woman with her children has been the defender of that spot and she will continue to defend it to the last.

We must set our strong American shoulders against intolerance wherever it may be. Intolerance anywhere will cause the crumbling of any foundation. The great war was the result of many causes, but after all the one great cause was intolerance. No sooner has one step of freedom been gained, than those who suffered from intolerance, themselves become intolerant and try to prevent the next step. Let us unite upon that principle and give our efforts, our every thought and energy to making this everybody's world.

C. C. C.

Tennessee Triumphs

TENNESSEE has triumphantly closed the sixty years of women's struggle for the right to have their prayers counted on election day. The gallant men of the Volunteer State, unafraid of the noisy threats meant to intimidate, have opened at last the long-locked door through which millions of grateful women will pass to political freedom. Ratification of the amendment is more than a victory for woman suffrage. It is proof of the inviolable integrity of the Tennessee Legislature, a fact which should fill every Tennessee heart with pride. In this hour of victory there is but one regret and that is that every man and woman in the nation does not share our joy. Today there are those yet too blinded by prejudice to recognize the justice and inevitability of woman suffrage, but tomorrow we know that we shall work together for the common good of this great and glorious nation.

C. C. C.

Fitted to the Moment

WE kept our heads when all about us
Were losing theirs and blaming it on us;
We made allowance for the doubts of men
And kept our faith though they were scornful then;
We were lied about yet did not deal in lies;
We were hated yet did not give way to hating;
We did not look too good nor talk too wise;
We waited and were not tired by waiting;
We heard the truths that we had spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
And watched the cause we'd given our life to broken
Yet bravely built again with poor cheap tools;
We held on when there was nothing in us
Except the will which says
Hold on.
Thus for sixty years marched on the suffrage soul
And felt no doubt to reach the final goal;
Thus filled we up each fleeting minute
With sixty seconds worth of distance run.
And now ours is the Earth and everything that's in it
Rejoice, applaud, be glad—you've won.

C. C. C.

The Great Finis

WITH the thirty-sixth ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment there comes to an end what has been, paradoxically enough, the longest drawn and one of the soonest ended campaigns ever conducted in behalf of a piece of federal legislation. The longest-drawn in the effort to secure passage by Congress, the soonest-ended in the effort to secure ratification by three-fourths of the states. There are some other superlatives that apply to this campaign. It has been the most bitterly contested, the best systematized, the most unfalteringly pursued federal campaign ever developed. Moreover, there has been implicit in it the most radical significance that ever at once fired and burdened a struggle for a reform.

In view of this last, in view of the fact that men have been constrained by every link of tradition, every ancestral fear, to hold on to what seemed to them a strong outer armor of superiority by denying political liberty to women, forty-two years is not so long a time to have had to wait from the year the amendment took form until its final victory.

The thing that impresses one most as one calls up the crises, episodes, and determining factors in the struggle is its wonderful wholeness, its unbroken continuity. It was in 1878, forty-two years ago, that what has come to be known as the Federal Suffrage Amendment (or the Susan B. Anthony Amendment) was first introduced in the Congress of the United States, under the auspices of the National Suffrage Association, then headed by Miss Anthony. The Congress was the 45th. From that day to its passage by the 66th Congress in 1919 it has been introduced into every subsequent congress, twenty-two congresses in all, by the same organization, and that organization has backed up introduction by far-sighted campaign work in behalf of the measure.

A fact that is sometimes lost sight of, in full view of the association's great suffrage victories by state route, is that the National Suffrage Association was organized to work for suffrage by federal legislation, supplemented by state legislation. After Miss Anthony had been rebuffed many times at Washington she saw that attention would have to center at first upon gaining suffrage by the state route so that women could come to Washington to plead for a federal suffrage amendment backed by women's votes. But even during the years of most ardent and victorious state campaigning, the National Suffrage Association consistently took all state victories as but supplementing and strengthening the federal struggle and never has the federal vigil been left unguarded. In these 42 years full suffrage has been won for 15 states, presidential suffrage for thirty and primary suffrage for three, not to mention minor forms of suffrage in other states. But no matter what state victories were won, year by year a congressional committee has been maintained at Washington to work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

With the winning of New York to suffrage in 1917, the era of state campaigning closed. The case was proved. There were at that date in all some nine million women voters to back up the plea for federal action on suffrage and, Senator Wadsworth's best efforts to the contrary notwithstanding, on June 4, 1919, the 66th Congress completed the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

If the National's campaign for the passage of that amendment was the longest-drawn, its campaign for ratification has been one of the speediest on record. The ink was hardly dry on the signatures of Speaker Gillett and Vice-President Marshall before the women of the National's state auxiliaries had the wheels in motion

for ratification. In ten states ratification has been secured in regular sessions but in 26 states special sessions have had to be called. That has meant the importuning of governors and the sending out of thousands of letters and telegrams. Moreover, special emissaries had to be sent to the Northwest and the Southwest. And, finally Mrs. Catt herself had to go from coast to coast to urge the calling of special sessions. Following upon that trip came ratification in Utah, California, South Dakota, Colorado, North Dakota and Wyoming.

It is a record of which the National may well be and is very proud.

THIS is the record of the nineteen amendments to date:

First ten proposed at first session of First Congress begun and held at the city of New York on Wednesday, March 4, 1789, were declared in force December 15, 1791.

Article XI. Proposed by 3rd Congress, March 5, 1794. Ratified January 8, 1798.

Article XII. Proposed by 8th Congress, December 12, 1803. Ratified September 25, 1804.

Article XIII. Proposed by 38th Congress, February 1, 1865. Ratified December 18, 1865.

Article XIV. Proposed by 39th Congress, June 16, 1866. Ratified July 28, 1868.

Article XV. Proposed by 40th Congress, February 27, 1869. Ratified March 30, 1870.

Article XVI. Proposed by 61st Congress, July 12, 1909. Ratified February 25, 1913.

Article XVII. Proposed by 62nd Congress, May 16, 1912. Ratified May 31, 1913.

Article XVIII. Deposited in Department of State, December 19, 1917. Ratified January 29, 1919.

Article XIX. Passed Congress June 4, 1919. Last state ratified August 18, 1920.

America That Is To Be

By Yetta Kay Stoddard

*A*MERICA that is to be—

It is a call to you, to me!

Look up, look high,

To the vast sky

Where stars with dust of stars agree,

For symbols of our unity.

Ours is no race of petty aims,

Content with civic wrongs and shames.

Great-brained, great-souled,

Ours is to hold

The course that highest Right proclaims,

Our guide the whitest Truth that flames.

Heirs of the "Great Land of the Sun,"

Whose Heaven-sent task has just begun,

We ask each land

To understand

That all are brother-lands, as one,

Challenged to see pure justice done.

Woman, today, it is to thee,

Comes this old call of destiny.

Strive! That no wrong

Shall make less strong,

Less beautiful, less great, less free,

America that is to be!

From the Tennessee Firing Line

BY MARJORIE SHULER

Nashville, Tennessee, August 22.

THE sixty-year fight for justice and freedom has been won clearly and unmistakably and inevitably even though the final declaration of victory may be delayed a short time longer.

The fact that at this minute the opposition has secured a five-days injunction against the governor, the secretary of state and the speakers of the two houses of the Tennessee Legislature may keep the certificate a little while from the office of the United States Secretary of State. It may prevent for a short time the issuing of the proclamation of victory. And yet there is always hope that even between the time of writing and the time of publication in the *Woman Citizen* the fight may be finished.

To those engaged in this last battle in Tennessee no future developments can obscure the names of those forty-nine heroes, the immortal forty-nine, who have stood for the women of the nation against such forces as even those of the greatest legislative experience have never seen invoked before. Threats and bribes, appeals to emotions and friendship and obligation, everything that human ingenuity could devise or vested interests could carry on, has been invoked against the forty-nine men who voted for ratification in the Tennessee House on August 18th and have held the lines since like the Stonewall of cherished memory.

Here is the roll of honor:

Anderson	Howard	Phelan
Bell	Jeter	Phillips of Hawkins
Burn	Johnson	Phillips of Madison
Canale	Kahn	Rector
Carr	Keaton	Riddick
Crawford of Bedford	Larsen	Shoaf
Davis	Leath	Simpson of Bradley
Dodson	Light	Simpson of Humphreys
Dowlen	Longhurst	Stovall
Ellis	Luther	Swink
Fisher	Lynn	Tarrant
Fitzhugh	Martin of Washington	Travis of Henry
Foster	McCalman	Tucker
Griffin	Miller	Turner
Hanover	Morgan	Wade
Harris of Knox	Moose	
Hickman	Odle	

AS the pressure of the anti male lobby became open, there were summoned from every county in the state men and women to whom the legislators had given their pledges to vote for ratification and they were present on the floor Tuesday morning, August 17th, the first time that the suffragists were able to get the resolution to the floor of the House. Then came the first open move of the antis in the House. The women of Tennessee were ordered from the floor of their own Legislature while men of the opposition were given an opportunity to do last minute lobbying. Then and for every succeeding day of the week the galleries were packed with suffragists, their hats wreathed with golden glow and their arms filled with flowers so that they looked like a waving flower garden of gold.

The debate was opened by T. K. Riddick of Memphis, who declared that the Senate had gone through the ordeal of fire and kept faith with the people of Tennessee. "I have in my pocket the pledges of sixty-two members of this House which the people of Tennessee will have an opportunity to read," he declared. "If those men fail to keep faith I shall go from this chamber ashamed of being a Democrat, ashamed of being a Tennessean."

The argument of C. F. Boyer, who followed in opposition, was suited to the type of such of his constituents as those who, he charged, are on every election day excited, reeling, rocking, telling filthy stories, making the polls unfit for women.

An eloquent tribute such as only a Southerner can pay to women was made by George Canale of Memphis, who pleaded

for American women to have the opportunity to purify the muddied waters of American politics.

THE next speech was a glittering gem from the lips of Percy Sharpe, the first of the several Davison County men to slide off the suffrage poll to the humiliation of the Nashville women. Representative Sharpe was elected to the Legislature in August after he had solicited and gained the help of women on his pledge to vote in the special session for ratification. Representative Sharpe announced that he was going to vote, not as he had pledged himself to his constituents, but as he thought his native state of South Carolina, which he had left twenty years ago, would like to have him vote. W. W. Bond argued that the special session of the Legislature had no right to act on the ratification, and then came what a mountaineer called a "bear cat" of a speech from Speaker Seth Walker, the same Seth Walker who had been on the suffrage ratification committee, had agreed to vote for ratification and had promised to introduce the resolution and who then suddenly over-night, with no warning to the suffragists, had become the floor leader of the opposition. He read a telegram from President Wilson asking him to help ratification. Then he read his own refusal and made a great flourish of the "yea and nay letter" from Senator Harding which had left Tennessee wondering whether the Republican nominee wanted ratification or did not want it. Speaker Walker repeated the charge made against him that his conversion to the opposition was due to a certain railroad which he named and while he resented the charge he made no specific denial. After his speech there was an attempt to shut off debate by a motion from the opposition for the previous question. But Joe Hanover of Memphis, the suffrage floor leader, protested so vigorously that he was permitted to give facts and statistics denying those of Speaker Walker and to make a spirited attack on the anti lobby. "What is a greater crime than for the interests from New York to San Francisco to send lobbyists here to ask you to break your pledges, or for certain newspapers connected with railroads to threaten you as they have been doing for the last ten days?" he demanded. When he had finished the antis forced an adjournment to the following morning, probably due to the hunger of the men. The suffragists had provided sandwiches and iced tea which the anti sergeant at arms refused to permit them to get to the floor.

On the following morning the debate was brought to a conclusion by a ringing speech by L. D. Miller of Chattanooga, who said, "When the special interests made an attack on this Legislature in January they had a gang of lobbyists to put over their infamous bills. I recognize in the lobbies these same special interest servers. You have an opportunity on this occasion to rid this state of an incubus that has had its claws in this Legislature for fifty years. Let us show by our votes that the special interests are done in Tennessee."

Immediately further charges were shut off by Seth Walker, who dramatically shouted, "The hour has come. The battle has been fought and it is won." He moved to table, and was defeated by a tie vote of forty-eight to forty-eight. It was the vote of Banks Turner, turned from the anti to the suffrage side, that defeated Speaker Walker. In his surprise he demanded a second roll call in which every man stood by his first vote, although Turner had to vote with Walker's arm on his shoulder and his eager arguments in his ears. Harry Burn, on their side, carried the vote by forty-nine to forty-seven. By the irony of fate the vote which gave ratification a constitutional majority was cast by the

man who had most bitterly fought it, Speaker Walker, who changed his vote in order to gain reconsideration.

THEN came the most fearful onslaughts of the opposition lobby. First they centered on Harry Burn, threatening him with secret affidavits of an alleged bribe, the plan being frustrated by the securing and publishing of them with denials by many persons who had heard the alleged incident. Then the twenty-four-year-old boy was told his moral character would be attacked unless he remained away during the vote on reconsideration. That led him to make the following statement in the House:

"I desire to resent in the name of honesty and justice the veiled intimation and accusation regarding my vote on the suffrage amendment as indicated by certain statements and it is my sincere belief that those responsible for their existence know there is not a scintilla of truth in them. I know they are false and I feel that my association amongst you has enabled you to know me so well that you will unanimously join me in resenting the same. I want to take this opportunity to state that I changed my vote in favor of ratification first because I believe in full suffrage as a right; second I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify; third I knew that a mother's advice is always safest for her boy to follow and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification; fourth I appreciated the fact that an opportunity such as seldom comes to a mortal man, to free seventeen million women from political slavery, was mine; fifth I desired that my party in both state and nation might say that it was a Republican from the mountains of East Tennessee, the purest Anglo-Saxon section in the world, who made national woman suffrage possible at this date—not for personal glory but for the glory of his party."

The request to Representative Burn from his mother was contained in the following message from the little home in the mountains at Nieta to the son in the Legislature: "Dear Son. Hurrah and vote for suffrage. Don't keep them in doubt. I notice some of the speeches against; they were bitter. I have been watching to see how you stood but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt put Rat in ratification. Your Mother."

Then the little home in the mountains from which had come the mother's letter was invaded, but the country woman met with courage and dignity the intrusion and sent the following telegram to Mrs. George Fort Milton, chairman of the Tennessee League of Women Voters:

"Woman was here today claims to be wife of Governor of Louisiana and secured an interview with me and tried by every means to get me to refute and say that the letter I sent to my son was false. This letter is authentic and was written by me and you can refute any statement that any party claims to have secured from me. Any statement claiming to be from me is false. I stand squarely behind suffrage and request my son to stick to suffrage until the end. This woman was very insulting to me in my home and I had a hard time to get her out of my home."

"Mrs. J. L. Burn."

IT was this same "clever" anti worker who assured Representative Lynn, Republican, one of the staunchest suffragists, that dreadful things would overtake the South if ratification of suffrage were achieved. Most of all, she declared, it would turn the South Republican.

Tremendous pressure was exerted against two other men, representatives T. O. Simpson and S. F. Stovall, who were called up every half hour day and night so that they had no sleep. Representative Simpson was told that he would not be allowed to teach again in his little district school and that he need never return to his county if he stood by the ratificationists. Upon

representative T. A. Dodson came another influence. He voted for ratification on August 18th although summoned home to his sick baby. On August 21st, when the reconsideration motion became the property of the house, the baby was said to be dying. Mr. Dodson went to the train after consultation with the other Republican members of the House and then just as the train was pulling out he was told that his vote was needed and he went back to the Capitol. He was sent home that afternoon on a special train. Representative C. W. Brooks, who went home to a critically ill wife, was able to return for the twenty-first.

And so day by day the lines were watched. No words could describe the waiting days and sleepless nights. Women picketed the hotel floors where suspicious incidents were taking place. Men polled the suffrage members every two hours during the day and watched them at night after one man disappeared and was brought back only after a long search by those who suspected the kidnapping.

When everything else had failed the antis tried the "Save the South" cry. They had a meeting which sounded like 1861, at which the audience was worked up by the repeated playing of Dixie, by cries of "states' rights," "secession," "Let a hodie carrier rule at Washington so long as the other states keep their hands off Tennessee," "The after-war days of parched corn." All were repeated again and again during the speeches, which were both inciting and seditious. At this meeting Seth Walker promised the audience that three legislators were coming over to the antis that night, and there was produced a remarkable companion piece to Senator Harding's letter, a letter written to an anti by Governor Cox, strangely enough on the same date, August 10th, since which time there have emanated from other political leaders statements of the inconvenience in the campaign of having a large block of new voters. But the next day the suffragists proved that the forty-nine were standing solidly and the motion to reconsider went over to Saturday, August 21st. During the intervening night when suffragists were standing firm, thirty-four antis deserted the posts to which they were elected by their constituents and very suitably indeed in their choice of conveyance went by an L. & N. train over the border into Alabama to remain while the anti lobby renewed its attack against suffrage members.

Saturday morning the House met with members of the League of Women Voters in the seats the men had left as a silent protest against the betrayal of the honor of their state. There were fifty suffragists and nine antis of the elected membership present, and the fifty, a constitutional quorum, took possession of the House and with Speaker Walker in the position of a defiant suppliant in the very aisles which he had walked with bravado, bragging and blustering and threatening to defeat the amendment they overruled his every move, defeated a motion to reconsider and ordered the resolution returned to the Senate.

It was a joy to see the House machinery work once for suffrage. It had been clicking so well for a fortnight for the antis with even the chaplain praying fervently for that side. On the morning of the 21st he told God all about the absentees while the suffragists reverently stood, and then he asked "God's richest blessings for our absent ones."

During the session a temporary injunction was served on the Governor, Secretary of State and speakers of the two houses against forwarding the certificate to Washington. The Tennessee law prohibits any injunction upon the governor and the motion to dissolve will probably be based on that point. The women will continue to watch both the Legislature and the courts, although the state attorney-general and leading lawyers of the state hold that the motion to ratify on August 18th was binding and that no reconsideration is possible under the provisions of the federal constitution.

(Continued on page 335)

When The News Came Home

ON the great day when news came over the telephone at the New York headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that the 36th state was won for ratification, the weather had been muddy, muggy, mussy. Hope deferred had made hearts so sick that seconds of numbness ensued after the announcement before they began to feel the thrill of victory.

But suddenly officials drenched in one of New York's humidest moments began to feel the starch creeping back into their blouses and their spirits. The day began to seem crisp and cool, the breezes began to waft strength into sagging shoulders. No one was limp any more; no one was tired any more. Only one thing troubled a radiant office force and that was the fact that of all the patient band of suffrage workers, there were so few on hand to get the very first thrill, to put up the first glad huzza. Even the *Woman Citizen's* editor-in-chief, herself, was absent and ill. The scene was like Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

In Mrs. Catt's absence in Nashville, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was ranking official at Headquarters, and she promptly voiced the general rejoicing:

"We have always known that when both parties got busy, the Federal Suffrage Amendment could be pushed through at once," she said. "The ratification in Tennessee was a signal instance of work in a two-party state. While the Democrats had a majority in the Legislature and the Governor who called this special session in Tennessee is a Democrat, it is reported that a larger proportional majority of the Republicans than of the Democrats were in favor of ratifying. Too much cannot be said of the work of Governor Cox, Democratic nominee for President, nor for Governor Roberts of Tennessee. Both were constantly on the alert, and at every point Governor Cox showed a readiness to redouble his efforts if need be.

"As for the faith of the suffragists in victory, this has never wavered. Victory was needed just now for women are needed just now. Great questions of vital import to women await settlement. A 36th ratifying state had to come, and we are glad it came from the South."

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, suffrage historian, biographer and friend of Susan B. Anthony, was also one of those at her desk in New York. Said she:

THERE never has been any doubt that Southern women as a whole would have to receive their full suffrage from the North. The men in the row of coast states from Louisiana to Maryland (and Delaware should be included) have, with a few notable exceptions, clearly demonstrated that they would not grant it by any method. On the other hand, Southern women always will have the satisfaction that those of the North and East owe their complete enfranchisement in 1920 to the Southern state of Tennessee, and the bitter fight made against it there has been shared by Northern men and women. History must record, therefore, that universal suffrage for women in the United States is not wholly due to one section or one party, a most desirable situation, as it makes women free and independent voters.

"There was never in any country so long a struggle for the franchise by either men or women as in this first and so-called largest republic, and it is to be deeply regretted that the opponents will carry it even to the court of last resort before they yield. Their names will be put on the record with the other enemies of a government by the people. Women wish there might be a hall of fame where could be preserved for all time the names of the men in every state who have been true to republican and

democratic principles and to the womanhood of the nation. These names will be remembered with grateful hearts by millions of women when they go to the polls next November to help decide the national and state governments under which they and their families will live until another election. For a long time to come Tennessee will be a household word in the homes of suffragists, while those Southern states which boast so proudly of their deeds during the American Revolution of the 18th century will be left in the rear by those who have made a prouder record in the American revolution of the 20th century."

Victory Notes

THE action of the Tennessee Legislature has brought joy to women everywhere.

"Is that thy answer, strong and free,

O loyal heart of Tennessee?"

Thus John Greenleaf Whittier wrote exultingly, long ago, when the vote of Tennessee had been cast on the side of freedom. And now hearts of women everywhere will echo the words.

It must be a source of pride and happiness to American women to realize that this great victory brings joy to women not only in the United States, but in every part of the world; and not only for the sake of the cause, but also for the sake of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. To her, more than to any other woman now living, the triumph is due; her genius and her generalship have pulled us through, against a tremendous combination of hostile forces. As president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, she has endeared herself to the suffragist of all countries, and the rejoicing they feel when any great nation enfranchises its women will be increased on this occasion because it is her nation.

But this happy outcome, like every other great victory, is due to the combined efforts of many thousands of women and men, who have worked hard and faithfully, and most of them obscurely, generation after generation, to bring it about. If those who have gone before know what is taking place on earth, what rejoicing there must be now among the pioneers! Let us remember today with gratitude not only Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Henry B. Blackwell, Wendell Phillips and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, but the multitude of the faithful who circulated petitions and got up entertainments and addressed envelopes and wrote letters to legislators and distributed literature and got subscribers for the suffrage papers, and did every kind of drudgery, with no thought of self and no prospect of fame. Without them the victory could never have been won. Today those of them who are still with us are exultant, and we hope that those who have gone before know of the triumph and share in our joy.

A lesser but real source of satisfaction is that national ratification clears up all the local uncertainties as to the right of women to vote in this state or that, where the legality of partial suffrage had been called in question. The decisions would probably have been in our favor, but might not have been rendered till after election.

Equal suffrage is won. The next question is what we shall do with it. Let women remember that the ballot is not a plaything or an ornament, but a weapon. Let them use it always on the side of peaceful and orderly progress, and against the reactionary forces that are now plundering and squeezing the people by every sort of profiteering. The reactionaries have always been afraid of woman's ballot. Let us show them that they had reason to fear!

A. S. B.

Foreign Suffragists Send Congratulations

Wyoming, First in Suffrage, Leads a Host of Messages to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

TELEGRAMS of congratulations from Europe and all parts of the United States have poured into the National American Woman Suffrage Association's headquarters at 171 Madison Avenue all this past week.

The first to arrive came from Wyoming, the original 1869 woman suffrage state. It reached the office of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, within three hours after the announcement of the vote in the Tennessee House.

From Wyoming's woman educator, orator and leader, Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, the following came: "Reverently I thank the dear Lord for Carrie Chapman Catt."

"For forty years Moses led the people of Israel through the wilderness toward a promised land. For forty years Mrs. Catt mobilized her people into a vast army for true democracy. He had divine promises for a successful journey. She had faith in the spirit of justice. He was guided by a pillar of fire by night and a cloud by day. She by a belief in her cause. For him the seas divided that he might lead on his hosts. For her no miracle. She waded through water and mud undefiled. For him a rain of manna. For her years of fifty-fifty substitutes during the reign of the Hooverities. He allowed his anger to wax hot and broke the ten commandments in one vexatious moment. She was not only a law-maker but a law-keeper, marching into the midst of her foes and out of their stronghold with her banner of conquest unsullied. At the end of two score years he was not permitted to enter the promised country, his, only to see the land which the Lord had given to the children of Israel. She enters into the land of freedom. Unfurling the emblem of democracy, she comes into her rightful heritage, the peace and joy that passeth all understanding. Blessed be Moses. Thrice blessed be Carrie Chapman Catt."

And from the other side of the continent, at Lake George, New York, Mrs. Emily Nordstrom, long-time suffrage leader in up-state New York, echoed, "Thank God for Mrs. Catt."

"Congratulations and abiding gratitude—only you could have brought the victory," is the message that came to Mrs. Catt from Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the National League of Women Voters, after the news of Tennessee's ratification was announced. The League is the daughter society which will pick up the work which the National Suffragists have now brought to the end of its first stage. The League of Women Voters will continue the active work of women as voting citizens.

FROM Anna Wicksell, president of the Swedish women suffragists from San Juan, Porto Rico, where the *Liga Femeina Puertorriquena* has its headquarters, sincere congratulations were cabled.

A cablegram to Mrs. Catt from the British suffragists, whose association has been led for years by Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, arrived bearing "Heartiest congratulations from British suffragists."

Other telegrams are full of zeal for new opportunities. Two to Miss Mary Garrett Hay show the women on the alert to do their utmost: "Congratulations," wired Mary Olcott of Ridgeville, Connecticut. "But now the work has only begun, we start in at once."

From the women of Utah, from suffrage leaders on vacation all along the Atlantic coast and in mountain camps, messages are piling up. The tenor of them is expressed in the words of Mrs. Richard B. Edwards of Indiana, one of the directors of the Na-

tional Association and also a leader in the League of Women Voters: "I am anxious to do anything I can for the next stage."

Here is one from Mrs. J. T. Bowen at Bar Harbor, Maine:

"Warmest congratulations on your great victory glorifying a long hard fight. We rejoice with you and shall not forget the immortal women whose leadership made the victory possible."

Here is another from Miss Gertrude Weil, suffrage president in one of the grateful states where women owe their enfranchisement to Tennessee men, who spoke for North Carolina:

"Congratulations on final and complete victory in the long suffrage fight."

And yet another from that gallant little fighter, Connecticut, where women of the North must thank men of the South for their freedom:

"Congratulations on wonderful victory," wires the Equal Franchise League of Ridgefield, Conn.

Mrs. Grace Clendenning spoke up for North Dakota on the day of victory: "Your tireless efforts have achieved this victory for us all. We hope the strain has not broken your health. Very happy that it is over."

From Augusta, Maine, Miss Mabel Conner, daughter of ex-Governor Conner and president of the state association, wired that "the Maine suffragists send sincere and heartfelt congratulations to their great leader on the end of the long fight."

From Richmond, Virginia, Mrs. Edith Cowles, press secretary of the Virginia Equal Suffrage League, sent a jubilant shout: "Ain't it a grand and glorious feeling, fellow citizen!"

From 500,000 Women Workers

THE women workers of the nation were early in the field with their vote of thanks to Mrs. Catt. From Chicago on the day of victory, came this message signed by Mrs. Raymond Robbins and Emma Stephagen, secretary and treasurer of the Women's Trade Union League:

"Accept the profound and heartfelt appreciation of the National Women's Trade Union League and the five hundred thousand trade unionists it represents, for your splendid zeal and tireless courage in the long fight which has just borne its latest victorious fruit in Tennessee."

William G. McAdoo to Mrs. Catt

THE following telegram from William G. McAdoo to Mrs. Catt is only one of hundreds which have been received in appreciation of the importance of Tennessee's ratification:

"I doubt if even you realize what a colossal triumph you and your associates have won for genuine democracy, not only in America, but throughout the world, through the ratification by the Tennessee Legislature of the 19th Amendment. It is one of the most significant and impressive events in history, and I am sure that its beneficial effects will be profoundly felt for all time."

"To the brave and enlightened women who through all these tedious, discouraging and painful years have fought with such devotion and unconquerable spirit, history must accord the highest rank as benefactors of humanity. Under your own inspiring, skillful and splendid leadership this great act of justice has been consummated. I rejoice with you and congratulate you and your associates on the great achievement."

Mr. George Foster Peabody, himself a Southern gentleman, wired the following delighted message to Mrs. Catt:

"I cannot express fully the depth of my admiration for the campaign you have so successfully accomplished. I send profound congratulations and I am only sorry I am not in the city to present my greetings in person. I greatly honor your true statesmanship and superb tactical ability; the world is greatly in your debt. Our release from narrow prejudice will mean much gain to humanity."

From the Secretary of State, Mr. Simms, of the full suffrage state of Arizona, comes the following:

"I extend congratulations for your signal victory won before the Legislature of the state of Tennessee. We are now assured of the rights long sought for and unjustly withheld from the women of this nation. We will now be able to approach the political and social problems of the future with the assurance that the influence of women will not be found wanting in effort to purge politics of its iniquities and thereby insure a better government for the people. I rejoice with you and commend the efforts of you and your faithful co-workers in this behalf."

Many See Political Strength in Women's Vote

Republican and Democratic women leaders were in the field with congratulations. From Philadelphia, Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton, daughter of John Wanamaker, Chairman of the Republican Women's Committee of Pennsylvania, wired at once: "On behalf of the women of Pennsylvania I send you most earnest congratulations and sincere gratitude for your untiring effort which has rewarded you with so splendid a victory," while from St. Paul, Minnesota, Mrs. Stiles Burr, one of the national leaders of Democratic women, cheered: "Hurrah for Tennessee."

Miss Della Dortch of Nashville, Tennessee, Regional Director of the National League of Women Voters for the southern tier of states, is one of the happiest women in the country, as her telegram of announcement showed. Miss Dortch is also one of the Democratic women's national leaders.

From the Firing Line

(Continued from page 332)

THE last few days of the Tennessee suffrage campaign have been enlivened by a grand jury investigation of lobbying ordered by Judge J. D. B. DeBow with the following statement: "It has been and is being currently reported and is being claimed by some of the friends and advocates supporting ratification of the proposed Federal Suffrage Amendment that forces of compulsion and representatives of special interests have come into this state from beyond our borders and that lobbyists, or in any event individuals bearing the reputation of lobbyists have been and are at present in this city and county invading and infesting the rooms and halls of our state and Capitol and the lobbies and public assembling places in hotels and other places in our county."

No representatives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from outside Tennessee have done any lobbying, following the policy outlined by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt when she came to Tennessee a month ago. The first person summoned before the grand jury was J. S. Eichelberger, publicity representative of the anti-suffragists, who published an account of his testimony with two results. The first was a great deal of resentment toward him when he admitted that the first statements against Representative Harry Burn were brought into his office. The second was a physical attack upon him by Representative Sidney Carr. Mr. Carr said: "Mr. Eichelberger himself disproved the truth of his claim that I had told him he could buy votes when after I hit him he asked me for my name."

The Nashville *Tennessean* printed the following editorial following Mr. Eichelberger's appearance before the grand jury:

Mr. Eichelberger

"Mr. J. S. Eichelberger introduces himself to Tennessee as the publicity man of the anti-ratification forces. Due probably to his inordinate modesty, the designation he applies to himself utterly fails to do him justice. He is really one of those angels in disguise, who, like the Caliph of Bagdad, travel through the byways of the earth to detect error and convict sin.

"Mr. Eichelberger has been summoned before the grand jury of Davidson County, and feeling that the story of lofty purposes he revealed before that body is a matter of some public interest, he freely donates a portion of his biography to any newspaper willing to encourage the struggling youth by showing what can be undertaken on a small capital.

"According to his plain tale, he landed in the 'City of Opportunity' with less than a hundred dollars. Note here the parallel between Eichelberger entering Nashville and Benjamin Franklin entering Philadelphia, each of them with less than a hundred dollars. It is regrettable that Eichelberger neglected to equip himself with a loaf of bread under his arm, so as to make the parallel complete.

"But Eichelberger exceeded Franklin in the matter of Faith, and here he much resembles the prophet, Elijah. In his humble room at the Hermitage he took stock of the few frayed bills that comprised his earthly possessions and patiently sat down to wait for the ravens to appear. They appeared.

"At about this period of his life he conceived the plan of trapping members of the Legislature with marked bills. His project, though laudable, was necessarily defective. It was impossible to distribute the pitiable sum of less than one hundred dollars among the members, even in one-dollar bills, because there are over a hundred members. Even at the price of a dollar apiece, Eichelberger was unable to buy them all, and being a just man and desiring to avoid partiality, he was reluctantly compelled to abandon his great project and confess his mission a failure. And it is this pathetic story of failure that he relates to the grand jury and the public.

"Lest there be men in this world so suspicious and doubtful of virtue as to doubt this story, he offers to the grand jury's inspection the stubs of his check book. Yes; you have guessed it. This guileless stranger had hardly arrived amongst us before a hustling bank drummer had seized him and recited the story of Hetty Green and taught him to open a bank account. So now his money is gone and he can only offer the stubs of his check book to clinch his moving tale.

"The people of Tennessee should show their appreciation for this benefactor who has come from afar and has offered his talents and his pitiable hoard to purge their Legislature. Eichelberger should have a monument to portray his lineaments and his empty purse to future generations. The *Tennessean* has no suggestions to make concerning its location, its size or its mountings, but we respectfully advise that its composition be of brass."

Ratification Certified

Nashville, Tenn., August 24.

GOV. A. H. ROBERTS has certified to the Department of State at Washington that Tennessee has ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Gov. Roberts, according to Representative Miller and Attorney General Thompson, mailed the certification to the Secretary of State.

The certification was sent to Secretary Colby by registered letter shortly before noon. It was said that at the same time similar certifications were sent to President Wilson, Vice-President Marshall and the Speaker of the lower house of Congress.

Real Mattress Cleanliness

ONE-THIRD of our life is spent in bed. Then why not make it comfortable by using the

Excelsior QUILTED MATTRESS Protector

which really solves this vexing problem



It protects the mattress and adds to its life. Made of bleached Muslin padded with white wadding—wash easily—dry light and fluffy as new.

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Misses' Autumn Suits

THE Suit is the most necessary acquisition to every school-girl's wardrobe, for practical or for dress wear, combined with a more simple or dressy blouse, according to the occasion. Suits this season may be chosen in most elaborate fur-trimmed models of handsome rich fabrics or in plain sports or tailored models.

The model illustrated in semi-dress effect would be a most suitable style for the school miss. It is fashioned of velour de laine, in navy, brown, reindeer, twilight blue, in the fashionable fingertip length, has collar of rich nutria and is effectively lined with fancy silk lining.

Sizes range from 14 to 20 and are priced

\$75.00

Other Suits priced from

\$45.00 to \$135.00

Misses' Shop—Third Floor.
Mail orders given careful attention.



Catherine Breshkovsky Hears from America

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY writes June 25th from *Mukatchevo* in Russian Carpathia:

"I was among the meadows and fields of a village where I am spending the summer, when I was called by a woman who shouted, 'Many gentlemen have come to see you. They are waiting for you.'

"As I am so happy as to have many friends in the world I was not at all astonished. But when I saw near my door four American gentlemen, it was like a visit from relations, and I felt quite assured of my future. We had nothing towards it as yet, for the place is very poor, and being so far away from my civilized friends, I could not hope to get any provision speedily. But, seeing young and strong Americans, I guessed at once that there was not starvation in view. In fact they told me that bags of provisions had been sent from America at my disposal, and that I must ride with them in their automobile to receive and dispose of the food. As I am organizing two *Internates* (one for boys, another for girls), the arrival of food becomes a very happy event. Half will go to *Uzhorod*, the other half will remain at *Mukatchevo*, where I write this letter. And with the aid of good people, both *Internates* will begin to function at once. I will send you a photograph when they are organized and finished.

"Dearest Alice, I was greatly rejoiced to hear that you got my article about women's duty. (This article, written to be read to the Geneva Congress, has already been published in the *Woman Citizen*.—A. S. B.) Everywhere I find the same need of women's participation in the question of the education of the young generation. Here the peasants are so happily endowed, the children so fine, and nevertheless so unhappy, only because of their ignorance.

"Pray, write some thoughts of your own on the subject, and repeatedly recall the idea to the ears of your ladies. You know how necessary it is to reiterate the same thing till it is accepted by the public as a truth. Thus I have done all my life, thus you have done all yours, and we can say that our method did not fail. Now, especially, I see that the iron is hot for this new work, for every one sees that nothing true and good can be performed with people who wander in darkness. The world is tired of such a terrible state of life, and must have an outcome, an issue to the light."

THE appeal for Catherine Breshkovsky's orphans, lately printed in the *Woman Citizen*, said that clothing and other gifts for them might be sent to A. W. Robinson, 3 Monadnock St., Boston (25), Mass. Mr. Robinson is about to leave home for a few weeks. Please send the contributions to Mrs. S. Eleanor Gregg, at the same address.

A. S. B.

Lucy Stone's Birthday

ON Lucy Stone's birthday, Aug. 13, about a thousand enjoyed an outing at her old home, on a beautiful hilltop overlooking Boston harbor.

The Lucy Stone home is now in charge of the Morgan Memorial, which uses it for the benefit of city children and their mothers. On the first three days of each week children of varying ages are taken out there to enjoy the swings, sand boxes and other apparatus. They engage in supervised play, and are taught swimming at Tenean Beach. On the next two days, mothers and babies are the guests of the Home. Attendants take care of the babies, and the mothers can enjoy a day of rest under the trees.

On Aug. 13, all the three hundred children of the Morgan Memorial Summer School were invited, with their parents and friends.

Lucy Stone once said, as she walked through the spacious and breezy house with its fine views: "I am glad to think that somebody will be enjoying these beautiful rooms, long after I am gone." If she and her husband know what is going on, it must give them pleasure to see their old home now being helpful to so many poor mothers and poor children. It is of especial value in this hot summer weather.

The Woman's Vote

THE Washington Post, believing that women will vote very generally for President this year, has taken the pains to amass the following figures:

"In the last election women voted for President in the twelve states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. The average percentage of the population voting in these states was .313. In the last preceding election in which men alone voted, that of 1912, the percentage voting was .183.

"The Taft-Roosevelt-Wilson campaign of 1912, with women voting in seven states, showed a voting percentage of .192. The highest voting percentage in the woman suffrage states of the West was that of Montana, being .389. Illinois, in which in 1916 women for the first time east of the Mississippi River voted for President .357 of her population, as against a percentage of .197 in 1912, when men only voted.

"The figures indicate that women take as readily to the ballot box in the East as in the West. The rate of increase hitherto on account of women voting has ranged in the twelve states from the lowest, .107, in Arizona, to .160, the highest, in Illinois. If conditions were practically the same in all the states, with women having nation-wide suffrage, the increase in the vote on their account should be .135.

"But the disposition to vote varies in the different states. The solid South, for instance, has never voted higher than .115 per cent of the population.

"On the basis of these figures the increase in the presidential vote this year should not be much over ten per cent, bringing the grand total to about 20,500,000."

In Memoriam

IN the death of Mrs. Dora K. Crittenden of San Francisco one of the very last participants in the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, was taken away from earth.

Mrs. Crittenden was 95 at the time of her death, which took place a few months after that of Miss Rhoda Palmer of Geneva, New York, who died at 103. Miss Palmer was believed to have been the very last surviving member of that Conference, but Mrs. Crittenden outlived her for six months. Mrs. Crittenden came into her own as a voter much earlier than did Miss Palmer, who cast her first vote when she was 102.

When the Federal Suffrage Amendment passed the Congress of the United States in June, 1919, Mrs. Crittenden at 94 was one of the speakers at a victory celebration in San Francisco. Said she: "I remember when, in 1846, a little Quaker woman named Lucretia Mott, said, 'Women have not had their rights.'" Mrs. Crittenden then reviewed the progress of the suffrage movement through the 70 years in which she had been a part of it.

Shortly after her death the Association of Pioneer Women assembled at the Log Cabin in Golden Gate Park and held a memorial service for Mrs. Crittenden, who was one of the charter members of the organization. A Sequoia tree was planted in her honor, and Miss Mary Crittenden presented a portrait of her mother to be hung in the Log Cabin.

Mrs. Crittenden, who was born in Waterloo, New York, moved to California in 1852. She was an honorary member of the Daughters of 1812, her father having been an officer in the war of that year.

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Women Everywhere

WOMEN voters of Germany, it is confidently asserted by foreign press correspondents, outnumber men. There are 21,000,000 women as against 19,000,000 men eligible to vote.

In many districts it is apparent that conservative parties are getting the bulk of the woman vote. Out of the twenty-three women in the present Reichstag, only seven are represented as women with scholastic training; but universities are reporting a great increase in woman students; and the same is true also of the academies and technical schools.

There is no movement among women in politics to segregate their interests. They are divided among the parties and are betraying a high degree of co-operative spirit and ability.

IN Holland, on the contrary, an independent woman's party sprang up, which is, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, pioneer leader of suffrage among Dutch women, says, a temporary segregation, due to resentment over the control by a few men of the management of the existing political parties. Dr. Jacobs is sure it cannot last.

"Women can never obtain the legislation they desire by working alone," declared Dr. Jacobs. "They must have the co-operation of the men if they are to accomplish great reforms. Furthermore women are not accustomed to giving money, nor, in many instances, have they money to give. Without money to make propaganda they will fail to get enough votes to win for themselves and they will have subtracted several thousand votes from the older parties to no purpose. This is especially deplorable because the votes they will take away will be those of the balanced middle thinkers who are needed to counteract the extreme conservatives and liberals. Women will quickly realize this and they will come the more speedily to the realization through the clashes in personal leadership which are already evident in Holland. It is most important that reforms in political party management be made so that by the next general election in 1922 men and women will be working together to win legislative reforms.

"The women do not need to campaign to get voters to register as in other countries. With us all eligible to vote are required by law to register. Since one must vote, one must become informed concerning the operations of government and the candidates for election. Our suffrage association of 25,000 members has a regular citizenship program with lectures throughout the country for both men and women. We are also agitating for changes in our laws to give wives control of their own property and mothers equal guardianship of their children."

The feminist movement is young in Holland, higher education having been possible to women for a comparatively short time. Dr. Jacobs herself led in the campaign to open Dutch universities to women. Suffrage was finally granted last year, and already 88 town and 36 county councillor posts are held by women. There is one woman in the Dutch senate and one in the national lower house. It must, however, not be forgotten that Dutch women had eligibility even before they had the power to vote.

IT is also stated that women voters exceed men in the Belgian province of Limburg owing to the deportation and executions of the citizens during the German occupation. Women there have the communal vote.

THE familiar face of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt appears as the frontispiece of the June number of *Nuestra Causa*, the woman's paper of Buenos Aires, just received. The same issue contains an appreciative description by Dr. Alicia Moreau of Mrs. Catt and of the National Suffrage Headquarters. She says that so large an organization, supported by thousands of affiliated members, proves the existence of a nucleus of intelligent and resolute women.

"Anyone passing along Fifth Avenue between 5 and 7 P. M.," says Dr. Moreau, "will meet plenty of women of the doll type; but besides them and eclipsing them entirely by their social work, are women like Mrs. Catt, Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Mrs. Raymond Robins, and their many associates in the different social movements."

Dr. Moreau tells how the old suffrage associations are changing into Leagues of Women Voters, and outlines their programs.

Argentina's Three Associations

ARGENTINA has three Equal Rights Associations, the "Union Feminista Nacional," the "Asociacion pro Derechos de la Mujer," and the "Comite pro Sufragio Femenino," of which last Dr. Alicia Moreau is the president. All seem to be doing active work, holding meetings and giving entertainments, and encouraging the women to apply for registration in order to vote. They are refused, but their efforts to register makes propaganda for the cause.

ASERIES of valuable articles on "The Civil and Political Rights of Women in Argentine Legislation," by Julia Garcia Games, has been appearing in *Nuestra Causa*. The latest mentions that women already have municipal suffrage in the provinces of San Juan and la Rioja.

A bill introduced by Dr. Araya is now pending in the National Chamber of Deputies, to give every woman at twenty-two years of age the same right to vote that a young man obtains at eighteen.

Mario Bravo is about to introduce a bill to give the women of Argentina municipal suffrage.

AT a recent meeting in Buenos Aires of the "Asociacion pro Derechos de la Mujer" (Woman's Rights Association), the president, Dr. Elvira Rawson de Dellepiane, proposed that the society should start a school for children in poor health, in each district of the capital, the present schools being too few, and the children having too far to go to reach them. As a medical inspector in the schools, she had been struck by the large number of sickly children in attendance. It was voted to undertake this work.

THE Working Women's Federation in the province De Corrientes, Argentina, has started a paper, *Una Fuerza*, which will appear twice a month. It will be the mouthpiece of the association, and will also advocate equal rights for women.

Equal Rights Association Founded in Paraguay

AMEETING was lately held in Asuncion in which all the ablest women of Paraguay are said to have taken part. The gathering met in the hall of the National College of Asuncion. Senorita Ermelindo Ortiz presided. A member of the

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Chamber of Deputies, Dr. Telemaco Silveyra, spoke, urging the formation of an Equal Rights Association, and Senorita Ortiz followed in the same strain. After a full discussion, in which both men and women took part, the *Centro Feminista Paraguayo* was organized, with thirty-three women and four men as members. Doctora Serafina Davalos stands first on the list. A telegram of greetings and adhesion was sent to the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Geneva.

Municipal Suffrage Sought in Uruguay

IN Uruguay, a Deputy, Alfeo Brum, brother of the President, Dr. Baltasar Brum, has introduced a municipal woman suffrage bill. It is supported not only by most of the women's organizations but by many influential men. It was endorsed at a recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council of Women. The Board is also seeking improved conditions for the women who work in the large stores, and has petitioned their employers to allow them to use the elevators. A. S. B.

A Ministry of Motherhood

THE business of bearing and rearing children is beginning to attract a little of the attention hitherto accorded so willingly to breeding horses or pigs. The new Labor Government of New South Wales has made a ministry of motherhood one of its first acts. This ministry will make provision that working-class children shall obtain the necessities of life and equal opportunities for education.

Under the present wage system of Australia it is reported that the possession of more than two children is practically penalized. The system makes provision for a man, his wife, and two children. The Labor Government has laid it down that the only remedy for this situation is to endow the mothers of large families. There are as yet no positive figures as to the amount of allowance, but it is thought that \$1.68 a week will be given to each additional child over the two already provided for. That is, a woman with a family of eight children would receive a subsidy of about \$10. It is to be hoped that one dollar goes farther in New South Wales than in the United States, otherwise what would \$10 be among six children?

Even at this modest estimate it would cost the Government \$25,000,000 to carry out its scheme, the plan being to meet the expense with a graduated income tax on large incomes.

Mrs. Boole Second on Ticket

MRS. ELLA A. BOOLE has entered the lists against James W. Wadsworth for the United States senatorship from the state of New York. She has been designated already at their unofficial state convention by the Prohibitionists, and also has a sufficient number of signatures so that she is filed with the Secretary of State for a place on the Republican primary ticket. Mrs. Boole has been informed that her name will stand second on the list of candidates for senator. The ticket will read: Wadsworth, Boole, Payne.

Republican women of New York have felt greatly disturbed over the fact that refusal to vote for Wadsworth might spell a Democratic victory. These women will have a solution in Mrs. Boole's candidacy, since she is a strong Republican.

She is vice-president of the National and president of the New York State W. C. T. U. She is well known from end to end of her state, an orator of distinction, a fine parliamentarian, a woman of vigor, maturity and distinction. Mrs. Boole is well informed on legislative matters. She is committed to a program of education, child welfare, public health and morals, and the independent citizenship of married women. Among her other interests are the home and high prices, and the welfare of women in gainful occupations.



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SOME MORE ABOUT OUR DEPENDENCIES; HOW WE CAME BY THEM AND HOW THEY ARE GOVERNED

(Prof. J. W. Garner, University of Chicago)

IF you look at the map of the American empire you will find that the different parts of our national domain, viewed from the standpoint of their political and constitutional status, fall into several categories. First of all, there is that part of the country that has been erected into States, of which there are now forty-eight. In that part of the country the system of federal government prevails, which is another way of saying that a system of local government is combined with a system of central government. Then in the second place you will find a group of territories that occupy a dependent status. Now there are two classes of these territories. First, there are the organized territories—Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines. I mean by organized territories those which have legislatures both houses of which are elected by the people. Then you find you have a second group of unorganized territories, like Guam and Samoa, and the Panama Canal Zone, and the Danish West India Islands, recently acquired.

Now in the third place you have the District of Columbia, the city of the national capital, a territory which falls in a class entirely by itself. And then in the fourth place we have the protectorates, Cuba, Hayti, San Domingo and Panama. Theoretically these are independent states, but actually they are under the protection and guardianship of the United States. The United States is now collecting the revenues in Hayti and San Domingo, and we are practically administering a receivership over those two petty republics. They got badly in debt to European countries and defaulted on the payment of their obligations, and under the Monroe doctrine the United States could not allow the European creditors to come in there and seize their custom houses and sequester their revenues, so under the doctrine of responsibility which Mr. Roosevelt enunciated, the United States simply took over the collection of the revenues, and as they are collected they are applied to the liquidation of the debts due the European creditors.

Then there is Cuba, which under the Platt amendment is virtually under the protection of the United States. The Platt amendment, you will recall, is formally incorporated in the constitution of Cuba. The United States govern-

PARTS of this lecture, which was delivered at the Chicago Citizenship School in February, 1920, by Professor Garner, are omitted, as their substance was given in the brief review of the territorial possessions of the United States printed in the last issue of the Woman Citizen. Students are asked to note the protectorates and receiverships which this country has undertaken. These were not included in last week's study, which adhered to our actual dependencies. Professor Garner's article also throws much light on the growth of the power of the United States in the Caribbean Sea.—Ed.

ment insisted that the Cubans should embody this Platt amendment in their constitution. It provides, in the first place, that the Cuban government may never contract any debt which cannot be paid out of the current revenues of the island, obviously the purpose being to make it impossible for Cuba to get in debt to European powers.

In the second place, the Platt amendment provides that Cuba shall never do anything that will tend to impair the independence of the country. And third, the United States reserves the right to intervene in the affairs of Cuba for the purpose of maintaining a stable government and for purpose of maintaining order and security. And in pursuance of that provision the United States did intervene in 1906, and for something like two years Cuba was actually governed by the United States. Now so much for the protectorates.

Now, if the peace treaty is ever ratified and the United States assumes the obligations under that treaty, which many people think it must assume, we shall have under our jurisdiction Armenia probably, and perhaps other portions of Turkey. These will be known as mandatories. So that you see we have some five or will have some five different categories of territories or possessions either under our absolute control or under our protection and guardianship.

IT is not customary to think of the United States as being a colonial power. And yet the fact is the United States from the very outset has been a colonial power. Our territorial domain to-day is probably ten times what

it was at the time the constitution was framed and adopted. I think it is probably safe to say that no other country has extended its boundaries in the same degree that the United States has.

Concerning the acquisition of Samoa, the United States, Germany and Great Britain had been quarreling for some years over their claims to this group of islands, but happily they settled the dispute in 1900 by a division of the islands, the United States getting one of the most important of them, including a very fine harbor. That was in 1900.

In 1903 or 1904 we acquired the Panama Canal zone in Panama but simply a ten-mile strip across Panama, for which we paid the government of Panama ten million dollars. We have not yet paid Columbia anything for this zone, although a great many people think we should, that we deprived Columbia from preventing the secession of Panama, and I think we did, although I think something can be said in favor of our conduct. Mr. Roosevelt says in his autobiography that he never did anything in his whole official career that gave his conscience more satisfaction than his attitude toward the secession of Panama. But there is now or has been for some time before the Senate of the United States a treaty providing for the payment of twenty-five million dollars to Columbia for our part in bringing about the secession of Panama from Columbia. Whether the treaty will ever be ratified or not no one can tell. No one knows what the senate of the United States will do when the treaty is laid before it.

Now, in 1917 or 1916 we acquired the Danish West India Islands, a small group of islands, for which we paid twenty-five million dollars, and which we refused practically as a gift forty or fifty years ago. If you will take a map of the Caribbean Sea now and look at it you will be impressed by the fact that it has become almost an American lake. There is the Panama Canal zone and the Panama Canal, the Danish West India Islands, Porto Rico, and these protectorates, San Domingo and Hayti.

TURN now to the government of these territories, and let me say at the outset that under the constitution of the United States the whole matter of the government of territories

has been devolved upon Congress. Congress has an absolutely free hand. Congress may establish any sort of government in a territory which it sees fit. It may establish a military government; it may establish local self-government; it may give the people a legislature or not as it sees fit. It may admit them into the Union as a state whenever it sees fit. And I may say here in this connection also that in the government of the territories Congress is not bound by the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that the Constitution does not extend to the territories of its own force. It can only be extended there by act of Congress. Congress in its discretion may extend the Constitution or any part of it to the territories or to any territory. The whole matter is within the jurisdiction of Congress. In other words, the Supreme Court has laid down the somewhat extraordinary principle that the constitution of the United States does not follow the flag; that the American government may go into a foreign country without the Constitution, which to the mind of some of us is a bit incongruous. If I understand anything about the Constitution, my idea is that the government of the United States derives every particle of power it has from the Constitution, and to tell me that the government of this country can go into a foreign territory and leave behind the Constitution, seems a bit inconsistent with our traditional notions of constitutional government.

Now, as a matter of fact, Congress has extended the Constitution to the territories from time to time, at least those portions of it that are applicable to the territories. I may say, however, that portions of it have not yet been extended to the Philippine Islands, so that it is possible to-day for an American teacher in the Philippines or an American editor or an American business man to be put on trial without indictment by a grand jury and without trial by a petit jury. Those portions of the Constitution of the United States have not yet been extended to the Philippines.

AS to the Philippines, the knottiest of all the problems of colonial administration that we have had to solve has been the government of the Philippine Islands, for various reasons. In the first place, the Philippines, unlike Porto Rico and Hawaii, are not a compact territory, but there are in reality a thousand different islands. In the second place, the population does not possess ethnic homogeneity. There are more than twenty different races and tribes speaking as many different languages or dialects, and it frequently happens that the members of one tribe or race cannot understand the language of their nearest neighbors.

That greatly complicated the problem of governing the Philippine Islands, and on the whole I believe I hazard nothing in saying that the United States has dealt with this difficult prob-

lem in a most satisfactory way. Of course there are critics, there are people who think that we haven't done the job as well as we ought to have done it, but from the little knowledge I have of the government of the Philippine Islands, I am inclined to say that it constitutes one of the very finest chapters in American history.

When we took possession of the Philippine Islands more than ninety per cent of the people were totally illiterate. They could not read or write their own language, much less any other. There were no schools in the Philippine Islands, at least no public schools; education hardly existed at all. To-day nearly one million children in the Philippine Islands are attending the public schools, and they have all sorts of schools, they have industrial schools and trade schools, schools for teaching the handicrafts, manual training schools, normal schools, and at the crown of the system is a university at Manila.

There was hardly any system of government in the islands before. Crime was rampant. Within sight of the city of Manila the inhabitants who owned property, who did business, had to pay the ladrones and robbers for immunity and protection. Polygamy, robbery, assassination, slavery, man-hunting, were common features throughout the Philippine Islands. Now all that has disappeared, and to-day order and security reigns throughout the great part of the Philippine Islands. There were no roads there; the only roads were trails through the forest. To-day there is a splendid system of railways and highways connecting up all the important parts of the larger islands at any rate.

The sanitary conditions there were shocking. To-day Asiatic cholera, bubonic plague, and other pests that used to plague the archipelago have all but disappeared. Artesian wells have been sunk in most of the larger towns of the Philippines, and the death rate has been very materially reduced. The forest reserves of the country have been conserved and developed; modern agricultural methods have been introduced; harbors have been built and dredged. In place of the Spanish system for the administration of justice, a modern system of courts and a modern system of American law have been introduced. Gradually we have extended the right of local self-government to these people. In 1907 we allowed them for the first time to elect the lower house of their legislature, and they elected Filipinos, of course. Finally, in 1917, we went to the limit and gave them the right to elect both houses of their legislature, so that to-day the Filipinos have a legislative body of their own.

In the cities and towns of the Philippines to-day the people are absolutely in control. They elect the members of their city councils exactly as we do here in the states. They elect two-thirds of their provincial authorities. More than ninety per cent of the qualified civil service of the Philippine Islands to-day is in the hands of the Filipinos themselves. Most of the judges and the local governors are Filipinos,

and the representatives they send to Washington are Filipinos.

Now I mention these facts to show you, if you do not already know them, that whatever may be said to the contrary, the Filipinos do have a very large share of local self-government. Of course their suffrage is restricted. No man is allowed to vote in the Philippine Islands unless he can read or write Spanish or English, or unless he owns \$250.00 worth of property, or unless he pays taxes amounting to \$15.00 per year. Under those restrictions about three per cent of the population are qualified voters.

What shall we do with the Philippines? May I say just a word on that point? The Democratic party in its national platform in 1916 declared that the United States should withdraw from the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government was established there; and the law of 1917, which provided for a popularly elected legislature in the Philippines, repeated that declaration. Now I speak entirely without any slightest consciousness of partisanship on this subject, but I venture to believe that it would be a mistake for the United States to withdraw at this time from the Philippine Islands.

I MIGHT say a word about the subject of citizenship. For a long time the people of Porto Rico were very much aggrieved because they were not made American citizens. A very famous case came before the United States Supreme Court, brought there by a woman, a Mrs. Gonzales, a Porto Rican woman, who came to the United States and the immigration authorities refused to admit her on the ground that she belonged to a certain excluded class. Well, she said: "You have no right to refuse to admit me, because I am an American citizen; I know no other allegiance than that of the United States. I live under the jurisdiction of the United States, and the American flag is my flag. I am an American citizen." She carried her case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Supreme Court decided that she was not an alien; the court decided that much for her. "Well," she said, "am I a citizen of the United States?" The court said in substance to her, "Dear Madam, we are not called on to decide that question; we have told you that you are not an alien." And then Mrs. Gonzales said in substance in reply: "If I am not an alien and I am not a citizen of the United States, I would like to know what I am." Well, the court refused to tell her.

The Porto Ricans kept agitating, and President Roosevelt took their side, and he recommended that Congress make them citizens of the United States, and so finally in 1917 they were declared to be citizens of the United States.

The Filipinos have not yet been made citizens of the United States. The law says they are citizens of the Philippine Islands, and that they shall be entitled to the protection of the United States.

Now what about the prospect of these insular

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territories for statehood? It would be a guess to say anything on that. But if I may guess, I would say that there is very little prospect that Porto Rica, the Philippines or Hawaii will ever be admitted into the Union as states, partly by reason of their territorial non-contiguity, and partly by reason of different race and language.

PERHAPS I might sum up the difference between the government of the territory and the state. I have tried to itemize these differences. First of all, a territory has no constitution whatever. A territory is completely subject to the authority of Congress, a Congress which is not even restrained by the provisions of the federal constitution.

Second, the constitution of the United States does not extend of its own force to the territories.

Third, the territories are not represented in the National Congress by representatives or senators, but by delegates and commissioners.

Fourth, the territories do not participate in presidential elections. No man in the city of Washington can vote in a presidential election unless he has maintained his legal residence in some state, to which he must go in order to cast his ballot. It is true, however, that the territories and the District of Columbia send delegates to the national conventions for the nomination of president and vice-president. Even the Philippines do that, and I see from this morning's paper that the Democratic party in the Philippine Islands is going to send a woman delegate to the national convention at San Francisco (applause).

Fifth, the territories have only a limited degree of local self-government. The organized territories elect their legislatures now, but their governors and their chief executive officers are appointed by the President of the United States, and so are the judges. Any act of a territorial legislature may be vetoed by the governor, and if passed over his veto, vetoed by the President of the United States. This is the most effective means of control which the United States exercises over these territorial dependencies.

And lastly, in the Philippine Islands at least the inhabitants are not citizens. Now I dislike to call them subjects, because the term is so offensive to people in a Republican country. We associate the idea of "subject" with a person who lives under a monarchical regime, and yet I see no reason why we should not be frank with ourselves and say these people are subjects rather than citizens.

QUESTION: Can any dependency of the United States hope for independence?

PROF. GARNER: Well, I said I would not think there was much hope for the insular territories, at least not of being admitted into the United States.

QUESTION: How about the races? What races do they belong to?

PROF. GARNER: Well, in Porto Rico it is the Porto Rican race, which is the Spanish race. In the Philippines there are a great many races, more than twenty different races, there are Tagalogs and Moros, I could not begin to mention them all.

MRS. CATT: Malays?

PROF. GARNER: Malays, Japanese, a heterogeneous mixture. In Hawaii there are a great many Chinese and Japanese.

QUESTION: I am trying to find out what responsibility we have for our unorganized territories. For instance, the Danish West Indies. The people of the islands thought they were going to be materially benefited by coming under the jurisdiction of the United States, and it seems that that certainty is not true?

PROF. GARNER: Nothing has been done yet, except to pass a law giving the President authority to govern these islands exactly as he governs the Panama Canal Zone. Now later no doubt the people of the Danish West India Islands will be given a measure of local self-government, but as yet they haven't been.

QUESTION: How can the Philippines be assured that the kind of freedom they already have under this administration will not be curtailed in the next?

PROF. GARNER: Well, of course it would have to be curtailed by passing a law. We have a law now on the statute books that gives the people of the Philippines the rights which I have described, and the only way to curtail them is to pass another law. Now whether Congress would do that I very much doubt. I don't believe there is any disposition in either party to curtail the political rights that have been given to the people of the Philippines.

QUESTION: The privileges that the Philippines have, have they been granted under this administration or previous administrations?

PROF. GARNER: Well, those privileges have been granted by all administrations.

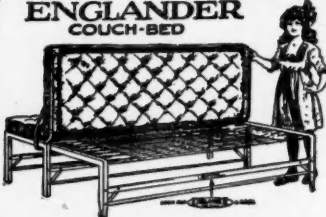
QUESTION: Who started it?

PROF. GARNER: Why, they were started from the very moment of American occupation, and it has been going on ever since, under the administrations of both parties.

QUESTION: What language is taught in the schools in the Philippines?

PROF. GARNER: Well, the English language is the language of the high schools and the trade schools and universities. I suppose in the primary schools they teach the native language. I am not so sure as to that. Mrs. Catt says they teach English in all the schools.

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CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS

3-2-20—400 (2-8211)

ONE
EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.
STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York will be submitted to the people for the purpose of voting thereon at the next general election to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.
FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING TO AMEND SECTIONS TWO, FOUR, FIVE, ELEVEN AND TWELVE OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO DEBTS CONTRACTED BY THE STATE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), that sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 2. The state may [] to meet casual deficits or failures in revenues, or for expenses not provided for, contract debts; but such debts, direct or contingent singly or in the aggregate, shall not at any time exceed one million of dollars; and the moneys arising from the loans creating such debts shall be applied to the purpose for which they were obtained to repay the debt so contracted, and to no other purpose whatever. [] contract debts in anticipation of the receipt of taxes and revenues, direct or indirect, for the purpose and within the amounts of appropriations thereto made; bonds or other obligations, for the moneys so borrowed to be issued as may be provided by law; and shall with the interest thereon be paid from such taxes and revenues within one year from the date of issue.

§ 4. Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, no debt shall be hereafter contracted by or in behalf of this state, unless such debt shall be authorized by law, for some single work or object, to be distinctly specified therein. [No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted to be determined by general laws, which determination shall be conclusive, nor for more than fifty years from the time of the contracting of such debt. A debt hereafter contracted by the state, pursuant to an authorization hereafter made, and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted, may, if provided by the law authorizing such debt, be paid in equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year, and the last of which shall be payable not more than fifty years, after the date of issue of the debt, and the principal of such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. Such law shall if it authorize the contracting of a debt payable otherwise than in equal annual installments impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay, and sufficient to pay, the interest on such debt, and to due, and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof. No law authorizing the contracting of a debt pursuant to this section shall take effect until it shall, at a general election to be held on the second day of November, have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election.] On the final passage of such bill in either house of the legislature, the question shall be taken by ayes and noes, to be duly entered on the journals thereof, and shall be: "Shall this bill pass and ought the same to receive the sanction of the people?" No such law shall take effect until it shall, at a general election, have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election nor shall it be submitted to be voted on within three months after its passage nor at any general election when any other law, or any bill shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may, at any time after the approval of such law by the people, if no debt shall have been contracted in pursuance thereof, repeal the same; and may at any time by law, forbid the contracting of any further debt or liability under such law. [but the tax, if any, imposed by such act, in proportion to the debt and liability which may have been contracted in pursuance of such law, shall remain in force, and be irrevocable, and be annually collected, until the proceeds thereof shall have made the provision hereinbefore specified to pay and discharge the interest and principal of such debt and liability.]

Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, all debts contracted by the state after January first, nineteen hundred and twenty, pursuant to an authorization hereafter, heretofore or hereafter made and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted irrespective of the terms of such authorization, shall be paid in equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year, and the last of which shall be payable not more than fifty years, after such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted, to be determined by general laws, which determination shall be conclusive.

The legislature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt which has been or may be authorized pursuant to the provisions of this section or upon any part of such debt provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be altered upon any part of such debt or upon any other evidence thereof which has been or shall be created or issued before such alteration.

The money arising from any loan (or stock) creating such debt or liability shall be applied to the work or object specified in the act authorizing the same, or for the payment of such debt or liability, and for no other purpose whatever. [No such law shall be submitted to be voted on, within three months after its passage or at any general election when any other law, or any bill shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may provide for the issue of bonds of the state to run for a period not exceeding fifty years in lieu of bonds heretofore authorized but not issued and shall impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax for the payment of the same of the amount of such debt, and the sinking fund created under this section shall equal in amount the debt for which it was created, no further direct tax shall be levied on account of said sinking fund and the legislature shall reduce the tax to an amount equal to the accruing interest on such debt. The legis-

LEGAL NOTICE

lature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt, which has been or may be authorized pursuant to the provisions of this section, or upon any part of such debt, provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be altered upon any part of such debt or upon any bond or other evidence thereof, which has been, or shall be created or issued before such alteration. In case the legislature increase the rate of interest upon any such debt, or part thereof, it shall, if such debt be payable otherwise than in equal annual installments, impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay and sufficient to pay the increased or altered interest on such debt as it falls due and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof, and shall appropriate annually to the sinking fund moneys in amount sufficient to pay such interest and pay and discharge the principal of such debt when it shall become due and payable.

§ 5. The sinking funds provided for the payment of interest and the extinguishment of the principal of the debts of the state heretofore contracted shall be continued; they shall be separately kept and safely invested, and neither of them shall be appropriated or used in any manner other than for [the specific purpose for which it shall have been provided] such payment and extinguishment as hereinafter provided. The comptroller shall each year appraise the securities held for investment in each of such funds, and the rate of interest thereon, and shall report thereon to the legislature. He shall then determine and certify to the legislature the amount of each of such funds and the amounts which, if thereafter annually contributed to each such fund, would, with the fund and with the accumulations thereon and upon the contributions thereto, computed at the rate of three per centum per annum, produce at the date of maturity the amount of the debt to retire which such fund was created, and the legislature shall thereupon appropriate as the contribution to each such fund for such year or at least the amount thus certified.

If the income of any such fund in any year is more than a sum which, if annually added to such fund would, with the fund and its accumulations as aforesaid, retire the debt at maturity, the excess income may be applied to the sinking fund or such other fund as may be determined.

After any sinking fund shall equal in amount the debt for which it was created no further contribution shall be made thereto except to make good any losses ascertained at the annual appraisals above mentioned, and the income thereof shall be applied to the payment of the interest on such debt. Any excess in such income not required for the payment of interest may be applied to the general fund of the state.

The legislature may also by general laws provide means and authority whereby outstanding bonds of the state, for which sinking funds are provided, may be exchanged at par for cancellation, for serial bond of the form authorized under section four of this article, upon such terms and conditions as to interest and otherwise as it may in its discretion authorize or determine except that the debt as thus refunded shall finally mature no later and at no greater comparative cost to the state than the original debt; the determination of the legislature as to such comparative cost shall be conclusive. No further contribution to the respective sinking funds shall be made on account of bonds so exchanged and the amount of any such sinking fund which the amount of the bonds so exchanged shall bear to the amount of bonds outstanding of the same issue may be appropriated, as required, for the payment of the substituted serial bonds.

§ 11. The legislature may appropriate out of any funds in the treasury, moneys to pay the accruing interest and principal of any debt heretofore or hereafter created, or any part thereof and may, if such debt be payable otherwise than in annual installments, set apart in each fiscal year, moneys in the state treasury as a sinking fund to pay the interest as it falls due and to pay and discharge the principal of any debt heretofore or hereafter created under section four of article seven of the constitution until the same shall be wholly paid, and the principal and income of such sinking fund shall be applied to the purpose for which said sinking fund is created and to no other purpose whatever; and, in the event such money so set apart in any fiscal year be sufficient to provide such sinking fund, a direct annual tax for such year need not be imposed and collected, as required by the provisions of said section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof. The legislature shall annually as the same shall fall due provide by direct tax, appropriation or both for the payment of the interest upon and installments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state payable in annual installments, and in pursuance of section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof. The legislature shall annually provide by appropriation for the payment of the interest upon and installments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state except those contracted under section two of this article, as the same shall fall due, and for the contribution to all of the sinking funds heretofore created by law, of the amounts annually to be contributed under the provisions of section five of this article. If at any time the legislature shall fail to make any such appropriation, the comptroller shall set apart from the first revenues hereafter received, applicable to the general fund of the state, a sum sufficient to pay such interest, installments of principal, of contributions to such sinking fund, as the case may be and shall so apply the moneys thus set apart. The comptroller may be required to set aside and apply such revenues as aforesaid, at the suit of any holder of such bonds.

§ 12. Debts heretofore authorized for the improvement of highways shall be created only in the manner provided in section four of this article. No provision of this article shall be deemed to impair or affect the validity of any debt of the state heretofore contracted or any right or obligation heretofore created between the state and any of its civil divisions.

[A debt or debts of the state may be authorized by law for the improvement of highways. Such highways shall be required to be improved under general laws, which shall also provide for the equitable apportionment thereof among the counties. The aggregate of the debts authorized by this section shall not at any one time exceed the sum of fifty millions of dollars. The payment of the annual interest on such debt, payable in annual installments, shall be paid out of the principal of such debt, and the principal of such debt shall be provided by general laws whose force and effect shall not be diminished during the existence of any debt created thereunder. The legislature may by general law require the county or town or both to pay to the sinking fund the proportionate part of the cost of any such highways within the boundaries of such county or town and the proportionate part of the interest thereon, but no county shall at any time for any highway be required to pay more than thirty-five hundredths of the cost of such highway, and no town more than fifteen hundredths. None of the provisions of the fourth section of this article shall apply to debts for the improvement of highways hereby authorized.]

LEGAL NOTICE

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be submitted to the people for approval at the general election to be held in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty, in accordance with the provisions of the election law.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,
Apr. 16, 1919.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.
By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,
Apr. 18, 1919.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. s.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

TWO

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
STATE OF NEW YORK.

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section one of article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TWO

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION ONE OF ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO QUALIFICATION OF THE VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section one of article two of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. Every citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ninety days, and an inhabitant of this state one year next preceding an election, and for the last four months a resident of the county and for the last thirty days a resident of the election district in which he or she may offer his or her vote, shall be entitled to vote at such election in the election district of which he or she shall at the time be a resident, and not elsewhere, for all offices that may be or hereafter may be elective by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people, provided however that a citizen by marriage shall have been an inhabitant of the United States for five years; and provided that in time of war no elector in the actual military service of the state, or of the United States, in the army or navy thereof, shall be deprived of his or her vote by reason of his or her absence from such election district; and the legislature shall have power to provide the manner in which and the time and place at which such absent electors may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election districts in which they respectively reside].

Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, after January first, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, no person shall become entitled to vote by attaining majority, by naturalization or otherwise, unless such person is also able, except for physical disability, to read and write English; and suitable laws shall be passed by the legislature to enforce this provision.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,
Apr. 14, 1919.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 18, 1919.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

THREE

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be

LEGAL NOTICE

held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THREE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO ABSENT VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That article two of the constitution be amended by inserting therein a new section, to be section one-a, to read as follows:

§ 1-a. The legislature may, by general law, provide a manner in which, and the time and place at which, qualified voters who may, on the occurrence of any general election, be unavoidably absent from the state or county of their residence because their duties, occupation or business require them to be elsewhere within the United States, may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election district in which they respectively reside].

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOUR

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section six of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOUR

SECRETARY OF STATE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SIX OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That section six of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 6. Each member of the legislature shall receive for his services an annual salary of (one thousand five hundred) three thousand dollars. The members of either house shall also receive the sum of one dollar for every ten miles they shall travel in going to and returning from their place of meeting, once in each session on the most usual route. Senators, when the senate alone is convened in extraordinary session, or when serving as members of the court for the trial of impeachment, and such members of the assembly, not exceeding nine in number, as shall be appointed managers of an impeachment, shall receive an additional allowance of ten dollars a day.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

FIVE
STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIVE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO APPOINTMENTS OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE TO THE OFFICE OF NOTARY PUBLIC.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment within this state or the senate of the United States, from the governor, the governor and senate, or from the legislature, or from any city government, during the time for which he shall have been elected []; and all such appointments and all votes given for any such member for any such office or appointment shall be void; provided, however, that the legislature may provide by law that any such member may be appointed during such time to the office of notary public.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SIX

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SIX

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTIONS TWENTY-SIX AND TWENTY-SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION TO ENABLE THE LEGISLATURE TO PROVIDE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE COUNTIES OF WESTCHESTER AND NASSAU.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That sections twenty-six and twenty-seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 26. There shall be in each county, except in a county wholly included in a city, a board of supervisors, to be composed of such members and elected in such manner and for such period as is or may be provided by law. The legislature may provide by law for forms of government for the counties of Westchester and Nassau, or either, subject to adoption and approval by the electors of any such county at a general election in an odd-numbered year. Any form of government may include the transfer to the county or the county officers of any functions now exercised by towns or town officers. The law providing for such form of government shall also prescribe the manner in which the county affected may subsequently abandon it, and revert to its former form of government. The adoption of such form of government by the county shall not preclude the legislature from amending or modifying such plan. If under such form of government the board of supervisors be abolished, the powers and duties of the state shall be prescribed by the constitution, or by statute if not provided for by such form of government shall devolve upon the governing elective body in such county. In a city which includes an entire county, or two or more entire counties, the powers and duties of a board of supervisors may be devolved upon the municipal assembly, common council, board of aldermen or other legislative body of the city.

§ 27. The legislature shall, by general law, confer upon the boards of supervisors, or other governing elective bodies, of the several counties of the state such further powers of local legislation and administration as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient [], and []. In counties which now have, or hereafter have, county auditors or other fiscal officers, authorized to audit bills, accounts, charges, claims or de-

LEGAL NOTICE

mands against the county, the legislature may confer such powers upon [said] such auditors, or fiscal officers, as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendments be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SEVEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section nine of article five of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SEVEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION NINE OF ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO PREFERENCES, IN EMPLOYMENT AND PROMOTION, OF SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND MARINES.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section nine of article five of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 9. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers, [and] sailors [from] and marines who shall have served in the army [and] navy [or] marine corps of the United States in [the late civil] time of war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made; provided they were residents of this state at the time they entered said army, navy or marine corps; and provided also that soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the civil war shall have preference over all others on the same list.

Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EIGHT

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

AMENDMENT NUMBER EIGHT

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state], comptroller, [treasurer], and attorney-general [and state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be required: (1) To audit all vouchers before payment and all official documents; (2) to audit the receipt and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) to prescribe such methods of accounting as are necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature shall define his powers and duties and may also assign to him supervision of the accounts of any political subdivision of the state, but shall assign to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incidental to the performance of these functions as any other provision of this constitution is hereby contravened. He [Each of the officers in this article named, excepting the speaker of the assembly,] shall, at stated times during his continuance in office, receive for his services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected; nor shall he receive to his use any fees or perquisites of office or other compensation. [No person shall be elected to the office of state engineer and surveyor who is not a practical civil engineer.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following, and shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive compensation to be fixed by law. He shall be required by law to give security for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the control of the navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of the superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall not report more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by him, subject to modifications by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, and shall be subject to suspension or removal by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature, whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.

LEGAL NOTICE

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Finance; 4. Law; 5. State; 6. Public works; 7. Conservation; 8. Agriculture and markets; 9. Labor; 10. Education; 11. Health; 12. Mental hygiene; 13. Charities and correction; 14. Public service; 15. Banking; 16. Insurance; 17. Civil service; 18. Military and naval affairs; 19. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government, to the several departments, in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new department shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in this article named, excepting the speaker of the assembly, shall continue in office until the end of the terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to the direction of this section, the powers and duties shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of audit and control shall be the comptroller, and of the department of law the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and may be removed by the governor in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All offices for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever, are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purpose hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,

President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

T. C. SWEET,

Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

NINE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in Italics is new; matter in brackets [] is to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER NINE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state] comptroller, treasurer,

and attorney-general [and state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years, except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be required: (1) to audit all vouchers before payment and all official documents; (2) to audit the receipt and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) to prescribe such methods of accounting as are necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature shall define his powers and duties and may also assign to him supervision of the accounts of any political subdivision of the state, but shall assign to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incidental to the performance of these functions, any other provision of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. He [Each of the officers in this article named, excepting the speaker of the assembly,] shall, at stated times during his continuance in office receive for his services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected; nor shall he receive to his use any fees or perquisites of office or other compensation. [No person shall be elected to the office of state engineer and surveyor who is not a practical civil engineer.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following, and shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive a compensation to be fixed by law. He shall be required by law to give security for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction, or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by him, subject to modifications by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. The office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works; but in case of the suspension or removal of any such assistant superintendent by him, he shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be appointed by the superintendent of public works, subject to the approval of the legislature, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners and board of canal commissioners, as now declared by law, until otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Conservation; 9. Agriculture and markets; 10. Labor; 11. Education; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Banking; 18. Insurance; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive

LEGAL NOTICE

utive functions of the state government, to the several departments in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new department shall be erected hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article, by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the term for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and offices now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller; and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor, in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All officers for the weighing, gauging, measuring, cuiling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list for which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly.

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state] comptroller, [treasurer], and attorney-general and [state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor [two years except as provided in section two of this article]. The comptroller shall be required: (1) To audit all vouchers before payment and all official accounts; (2) to audit the accrual and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) to prescribe such methods of accounting as are necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature shall define his powers and duties and may also assign to him supervision of the accounts court, and no more than seven judges shall sit in any

LEGAL NOTICE

to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incidental to the performance of these functions, any other provision of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. He [Each of the officers in this article named, excepting the speaker of the assembly,] shall, at stated times during his continuance in office, receive for his services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected; nor shall he receive to his use any fees or perquisites of office or other compensation. [No person shall be elected to the office of state engineer and surveyor who is not a practical civil engineer.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following and shall be for three years at the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall receive a compensation to be fixed by law. He shall be required by law to receive service for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the repair and navigation of the canals, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The superintendent of public works shall appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by law, subject to modification by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for three years, subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works; but in case of the suspension or removal of any such assistant superintendent by the superintendent of public works, the governor, in writing, the cause of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be appointed by the superintendent of public works, subject to suspension or removal by him. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners and board of canal commissioners, as now declared by law, until otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate; and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be prescribed by law, for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as now exist or may hereafter be enacted; he shall appoint the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of state prisons, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the same by the superintendent. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties now incident to the same, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time, giving to him a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has, in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.

§ 2. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Conservation; 9. Agriculture and markets; 10. Labor; 11. Education; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Banking; 18. Insurance; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Architecture.

§ 3. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government; to the several departments of the state government, subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new departments shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the

LEGAL NOTICE

terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and officers now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller; and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor, in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All offices for the weighing, gauging, measuring, cuiling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever, are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly.

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

ELEVEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article six of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ELEVEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SIX OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF JUDGES AND ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE COURT OF APPEALS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section seven of article six of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. The court of appeals is continued. It shall consist of the chief judge and associate judges now in office, who shall hold their offices until the expiration of their respective terms, and their successors, who shall be chosen by the electors of the state. The official terms of the chief judge and associate judges shall be four years from and including the first day of January next after their election. Five members of the court shall form a quorum, and the concurrence of four shall be necessary to a decision. The court shall have power to appoint and to remove its reporter, clerk and attendants. Whenever and on occasion of a majority of the judges of the court of appeals shall certify to the governor that said court is unable, by reason of the accumulation of causes pending therein, to hear and dispose of the same with reasonable speed, the governor shall designate not more than four justices of the supreme court to serve as associate judges of court of appeals. The justices so designated shall be relieved from their duties as justices of the supreme court and shall serve as associate judges of the court of appeals until the causes undisposed of in said court are reduced to two hundred, when they shall return to the supreme court. The governor may designate justices of the supreme court to fill vacancies. No justice shall serve as associate judge of the court of appeals exceeding while so acting the term of one year, and no more than seven judges shall sit in any

LEGAL NOTICE

LEGAL NOTICE

LEGAL NOTICE

case. The judges of the court of appeals, including those now in office, shall receive for their services the sum of seventeen thousand five hundred dollars per year. A justice of the supreme court while serving as associate judge of the court of appeals shall receive the same compensation as judges of the court of appeals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 21, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 23, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

TWELVE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eighteen of article six of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TWELVE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHTEEN OF ARTICLE SIX OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO CHILDREN'S COURTS AND COURTS OF DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section eighteen of article six of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 18. Inferior local courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction may be established by the legislature, but no inferior local court hereafter created shall be a court of record. [The] Except as herein provided the legislature shall not hereafter confer upon any inferior or local court of its creation, any equity jurisdiction or any greater jurisdiction in other respects than is conferred upon county courts by or under this article. The legislature may establish children's courts, and courts of domestic relations, as separate courts, or as parts of existing courts or courts hereafter to be created, and may confer upon them such jurisdiction may be necessary for the correction, protection, guardianship and disposition of delinquent, neglected or dependent minors, and for the punishment and correction of adults responsible for or contributing to such delinquency, neglect or dependency, and to compel the support of a wife, child or poor relative by persons legally chargeable therewith who abandon or neglects to support any of them. In conferring such jurisdiction the legislature shall provide that whenever a child is committed to an institution or is placed in the custody of any person by parole, placement out, adoption, or otherwise, it shall be so committed or placed, when practicable, to an institution governed by persons, or in the custody of a person, of the same religious persuasion as the child. In the exercise of such jurisdiction such courts may hear and determine such cases, civil or without a jury, except those involving a felony. Except as herein otherwise provided, all judicial officers shall be elected or appointed at such times and in such manner as the legislature may direct.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

THIRTEEN
STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THIRTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE FOREST PRESERVE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section seven of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. The lands of the state, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as now fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be leased, sold or exchanged, or to be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the timber thereon be sold, removed or destroyed. Nothing contained in this section shall prevent the state from constructing a state highway from Saranac Lake in Franklin county to Long Lake in Hamilton county and thence to Old Forge in Herkimer county by way of Blue Mountain lake and Raquette lake.

The legislature may by [general] laws provide for the use of not exceeding three per centum of such lands for the following purposes: for the construction and maintenance of reservoirs for municipal water supply, or the canals of the state and to regulate the flow of streams, and may further provide for the development of water power and for rights of way for electric transmission lines, all of which are hereby declared to be public uses. Such reservoirs, water power and transmission lines shall be constructed, owned and controlled by the state, but such work shall not be undertaken until after the boundaries and high flow lines thereof shall have been accurately surveyed and fixed, and after public notice, hearing and determination that such lands are required for such public uses. The expense of any such improvements shall be apportioned on the public and private property and municipalities benefited to the extent of the benefits received. Any such reservoir shall always be operated by the state and the legislature shall provide for a charge upon the property and municipalities benefited for a reasonable return to the state upon the value of the rights and property of the state used or leased and the services of the state rendered in the construction, control and operation of said reservoirs, water powers and transmission lines, which charge shall be fixed for terms of not exceeding ten years [and be readjustable at the end of any term]. Any such water power may be leased for terms not exceeding ten years. Unsanitary conditions shall not be created or continued by any such public works. A violation of any of the provisions of this section may be restrained at the suit of the people at the consent of the supreme court in appellate division, on notice to the attorney-general at the suit of any citizen.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 20, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 23, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOURTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eight of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOURTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 8. The legislature shall not sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the Erie canal, the Oswego canal, the Champlain canal, the Cayuga and Seneca canal, or the Black River canal; but they shall remain the property of the state and under its management forever. The prohibition

of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal [in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained] between Rome and Mohawk. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 15, 1920.
This bill was duly passed a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 23, 1920.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. S.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FIFTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old matter to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eight of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIFTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 8. The legislature shall not sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the Erie canal, the Oswego canal, the Champlain canal, the Cayuga and Seneca canal, or the Black River canal; but they shall remain the property of the state and under its management forever. The prohibition of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained; nor shall such prohibition apply to that portion of the existing Erie canal in the county of Herkimer between the easterly portion of the village of Mohawk and the county boundary line between the counties of Herkimer and Oneida. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Mar. 11, 1920.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 15, 1920.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. S.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

pending for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States, at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, as hereinafter provided. Such bonds when issued shall be exempt from taxation.

§ 2. Sale; interest. The comptroller is hereby directed to cause to be prepared the bonds of this state to an amount not to exceed forty-five million dollars, such bonds to bear interest at the rate of not to exceed five per centum per annum, which interest shall be payable semi-annually in the city of New York. Such bonds, or the portion thereof at any time issued, shall be made payable in twenty-five equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable one year from the date of issue, and the last of which shall be payable twenty-six years from the date of issue. The comptroller is hereby charged with the duty of selling such bonds at not less than par to the highest bidder after advertising for a period of twenty consecutive days, Sundays excepted, in at least two daily newspapers printed in the city of New York and one in the city of Albany. Advertisements shall contain a provision to the effect that the comptroller, in his discretion may reject any or all bids made in pursuance of such advertisements, and in the event of such rejection, the comptroller is authorized to readvertise for bids in the form and manner above described as many times as in his judgment may be necessary to effect a satisfactory sale.

§ 3. Commission to distribute proceeds. The proceeds of such bonds, after appropriation or appropriations therefor by the legislature, shall be made available by a special commission created by the legislature for such purpose, to the persons entitled thereto, under the provisions of this act, on application within a time to be prescribed by the legislature.

§ 4. Disability fund. The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment and administration of a fund to be used for the amelioration of the condition of residents of this state who are suffering disability incurred in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the date when they were honorably separated or discharged from such services, and shall authorize any person who so desire to assign to such fund the bonus to which he is entitled under this act.

§ 5. Bonuses to certain persons who were in the service of the United States in the war with the German empire and its allies. Every person, male or female, who was enlisted, inducted, warranted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, for a period longer than two months, and who at the time of entering into such service was a resident of the state of New York, and is a resident at the time this act takes effect, and who was honorably separated or discharged from such service, or who is still in active service, or has been retired, or has been furloughed to a reserve, shall be entitled to receive from the proceeds of such bonds as a bonus the sum of ten dollars for each month or major fraction thereof that such person was in active service, of not exceeding a total of two hundred and fifty dollars. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who at the time of being separated or discharged from such service, or at the time of being retired or furloughed to a reserve, or at the time of his death in the service, was an officer in the army or marine corps above the grade of captain, or in the navy above the grade of lieutenant, senior grade. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who being in the military or naval service of the United States subsequent to the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, refused to accept of political or other grounds to subject himself to military discipline or to render unqualified service, or whose only service was in the students' army training corps, or who received from another state a bonus or gratuity of a like nature provided for by this act. The husband or wife, child, mother, father, brother and sister in the order named and none other, of any deceased person, male or female, who was enlisted, inducted, warranted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States as provided in this section, shall be paid the sum or allowance that such deceased person would be entitled hereunder if such deceased person had lived.

§ 6. Payment exempt from taxation and execution. All payments or allowances made under this act shall be exempt from all taxation, and from levy and sale on execution.

§ 7. Submission of law to people. This law shall not take effect until it shall at a general election have been submitted to the people and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election; and the same shall be submitted to the people of this state at the general election to be held in November, nineteen hundred and twenty. The ballots to be furnished for the use of voters upon the submission of this law shall be in the form prescribed by the election law and the proposition or question to be submitted shall be printed thereon in substantially the following form, namely: "Shall chapter eight hundred and seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty,' be approved?"

STATE OF NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ss.:
I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original law.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

[L. s.]

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE.
"Shall the proposed amendment to Sections Two, Four, Five, Eleven and Twelve of Article Seven of the Constitution, in relation to debts contracted by the state," be approved?"

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE.
"Shall chapter eight hundred seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of

LEGAL NOTICE

the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty, be approved?"

Connecticut Women Owe Freedom to Tennessee Men

"THE outstanding thought in women's minds today is thankfulness and re-lite," said Miss Katharine Ludington, President of the Connecticut Women Suffrage Association, after receiving news of Tennessee's ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. "A seventy-year struggle to make America a democracy in fact as it was in profession, is successfully ended. Now we shall be on our guard to see that our possession of the franchise is made secure—and that the necessary facilities are provided for the registration and the vote of the new women citizens. Governor Holcomb has promised that after the 36th state ratified, he would call a special session of the legislature to provide these facilities, so Connecticut women are safe on that score."

"We shall immediately turn our attention to providing schools for the new women voters and making plans for the formation of a League of Women Voters.

"As to which of the major parties did the most toward our enfranchisement, I suppose there will always be a controversy which can only be settled by an accurate study of their records over a great many years.

"One thing is clear—that at the last both parties contributed to putting ratification through in Tennessee, and thus finally met the acid test of sincerity which suffragists have been holding before them.

"For a long time it looked as if neither party wanted us voting in November. This deadlock was broken at last. When we learn which side broke it, we shall know which party actually took the decisive step in our enfranchisement.

"As to Connecticut—The leaders of the Connecticut Republican party have remained obstinately and uncompromisingly opposed.

"It is due to them that we Connecticut women must always remember that we owe our enfranchisement to Southern men—that we have come into the electorate by a back door with no act of welcome or honor on the part of the men of our own state. When our legislature meets to complete the details of our admission, they will undoubtedly ratify—but this will be a graceless act with none of the significance which it would have had if Connecticut had been the 36th state. And the members of the legislature will remember that they owe this unjust position in which they find themselves to the leaders whom they have repeatedly put back in power. The Republican party of Connecticut must bear this responsibility. Their opportunity has passed and the story is ended."

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A Look Askance at Wadsworth

SAYS a Brooklyn, N. Y., Republican writing to the New York Tribune:

"It is natural for Senator Wadsworth (needing their votes) to pose as the people's friend. But the people may be pardoned a little skepticism. Some of them remember his opposition while in the New York Assembly to the 5-cent fare bill, to the income tax, to the direct primary and his fight against the proposed investigation of Wall Street at a time when the methods of cheating and despoiling unsophisticated speculators were rife. That he fought valiantly for corporations such as the Genesee River Company, the Economic Power and Construction Company, working against bills that would force them to give up extraordinary and unjust privileges they had gained and that he was friendly toward the Ryan-Belmont merger will not make any particular hit with the people. With a little effort the people will remember, too, his fight against the reapportionment bill drawn up by the Tully committee when at a cost to the state of \$2,000 a day, he delayed action, not because the bill was not all that could be desired, but because it did not permit the Senator's father to shut out of reelection by adroit manipulation of districts an excellent Senator, Mr. Stevens.

"These actions brand Wadsworth as a certain type, and as a United States Senator he has run true to form. He voted for the Shields water power grab bill, he was considered enough of a friend of the meat packers to be asked by the president of Swift and Co. to give advice and assistance to his counsel, Henry R. C. McManus, when the Borland resolution for the investigation of the meat packers was pending, and he opposed the taxation of war profits.

"Upon all of these things the people look askance. Mr. Wadsworth's wooing of the average run of voters will be successful only with those who know nothing, read nothing and hope for nothing in the way of betterment of general conditions."

OWING to the illness and absence of Miss Rose Young, the Woman Citizen's Editor-in-Chief, certain special features scheduled for the magazine must be held over for her return.

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Subscription Department

THE WOMAN CITIZEN
171 Madison Ave. New York City

Federal Amendment Calendar

It Takes Thirty-six States to Ratify. Thirty-six Have Ratified

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3 Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2 Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0 Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0 Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York	House, yes, 137; no, 0 Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6 Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44 Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47 Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas	House, yes, 96; no, 20 Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5 Senate, yes, 45; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4 Senate, yes, 29; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15 Senate, yes, 28; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 1, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes, 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6 Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire	House, yes, 212; no, 143 Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California	House, yes, 73; no, 2 Senate, yes, 39; no, 0
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68 Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Dec. 1, 1919—North Dakota	House, yes, 102; no, 6 Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota	House, yes, 52; no, 0 Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 12, 1919—Colorado	House, yes, 58; no, 0 Senate, yes, 31; no, 0
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island	House, yes, 89; no, 3 Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25 Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0 Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0 Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 27, 1920—Wyoming	House, yes, 44; no, 0 Senate, yes, 24; no, 0
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada	House, yes, 27; no, 0 Senate, yes, 11; no, 0
Feb. 9, 1920—New Jersey	House, yes, 34; no, 24 Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho	House, yes, 53; no, 0 Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona	House, yes, 30; no, 0 Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Feb. 19, 1920—New Mexico	House, yes, 36; no, 10 Senate, yes, 17; no, 5
Feb. 27, 1920—Oklahoma	House, yes, 84; no, 12 Senate, yes, 25; no, 13
Mch. 10, 1920—West Virginia	House, yes, 47; no, 40 Senate, yes, 15; no, 14
Mch. 22, 1920—Washington	House, yes, 90; no, 0 Senate, yes, 40; no, 0
Aug. 18, 1920—Tennessee	House, yes, 50; no, 46 Senate, yes, 25; no, 4

Where Ratification Carried by a Unanimous Vote

In Both Houses—Honor Roll

Michigan South Dakota
 Kansas Colorado
 New York Oregon
 Nebraska Wyoming
 Utah Arizona
 Washington

In One House

Illinois Senate
 Iowa Senate
 Montana House
 California Senate
 Indiana House
 Nevada Senate
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THE Woman Citizen

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Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

SEPTEMBER 4, 1920

No. 14

Youth and Fall

For the Miss

Beautiful Fall attire, infused with radiant loveliness of youth now graces the Misses' Salon. Picturesque, yet practical Coats, the jauntiest of Suits and gayest of Frocks are here in all the lovely, rich Autumnal shades.



For the Girl

Simplicity and charm embodied in adorable little Coats, fresh, frilly Frocks that launder beautifully and party Dresses that are quite the loveliest ever designed. Then, too, there are new versions of the Middie and plaited Skirts to go with it—also Bloomers.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

SEPTEMBER 4, 1920

NUMBER 14

Two Greetings

THE Federal Suffrage Amendment has been ratified by the necessary thirty-six states. The certificates so announcing are on deposit in the office of the Secretary of State and he has proclaimed the fact.

Are the women of the nation then free to vote in November? Yes, provided they meet the qualifications for voters within their respective states.

Is it possible for any state to refuse its women the vote in November?

Not honorably. Some state election board may claim that the time for registration has passed or that there is no poll tax assessed upon women.

Then a special session of the Legislature should be demanded in order that any legislation necessary may be enacted.

Every qualified woman should understand that she is a voter, the equal before the law of any and all voters.

Women are no longer subjects of the nation; they are sovereigns. They possess the only legitimate tool with which to maintain the institutions of which they approve and to destroy those of which they do not approve.

The vote is the emblem of your equality, women of America, the guarantee of your liberty.

That vote of yours has cost millions of dollars and the lives of thousands of women. Money to carry on this work has usually been given as a sacrifice, and thousands of women have gone without things they wanted and could have had in order that they might help get the vote for you.

Women have suffered agony of soul, which you can never comprehend that you and your daughters might inherit political freedom.

That vote has been costly. Prize it.

The vote is a power, a weapon of offense and defense, a prayer. Use it conscientiously, intelligently, prayerfully.

Understand what it means and what it can do for your country. No soldier in the great suffrage army has labored and suffered to get a *place* for you. Their motive has always been the hope that women would aim higher than their own selfish ambitions; that they would *serve* the common good.

The vote is won.

Seventy-two years the battle for this privilege has waged, but human affairs with their eternal change move on without pause.

Progress is calling on you to make no pause. Act.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

IN the spirit in which Dr. Shaw used to draw herself up to her fullest height—which in inches was not so very great—and say with exultation in her voice, tears in her eyes, and a little whimsical smile on her lips at her own emotion—"I am a voter!"—In that same spirit I now say to all of us, "We are voters!"

Let us be thankful she was herself a voter before her wonderful spirit passed out.

Let us be thankful we are voters today in this world of turmoil and unrest. There has not been a time in our generation when such opportunities have been presented to the voters, such need for wise judgment and final intelligent action based on careful investigation and sober thought.

The hard fought battle in Tennessee, coming as it did after easier victories and apparently widespread success, has made us realize anew what it has cost to win suffrage. We stopped in the full tide of victory, in our eager beginnings of participation in a partisan election, to find in operation all the world old influences of ignorance and bitterness and prejudice. Into the scales against them, we have poured lavishly our heritage of splendid lives dedicated to the enfranchisement of women, our history of women's achievements, our showing of women's abilities, our confidence in the public's eventual sense of right and justice. With all this goes the record of fifty years of splendid organization work on the part of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

That is our heritage as members of the League of Women Voters.

We have reached the goal of voting set by the older organization, only to find new standards of service and citizenship established firmly for us by this last stage of the suffrage struggle. To overcome these forces of ignorance and prejudice and bitterness still potent in public life, we must bring into play education and spread of information on public affairs and above all friendly interchange of ideas and opinions between classes and widely separated groups.

There is great need for an organization like ours, which urges that women unite, never as a separate woman's party, but as a group of new voters, who because of their previous experience and interest have a definite contribution to make to society.

In urging our members to join the political party of their choice, we also urge men to take into all parties the women's point of view—a woman's specialized knowledge and sympathy—above all keen remembrance of the wonderful history of the suffrage struggle.

Let us in grateful recognition of what we owe to those women who have made today possible, dedicate ourselves anew to the service of women and through them of humanity, let us take our full share of responsibility.

Let us take the hard work with the pleasant—take our places in the ranks, keep our serenity unruffled under criticism, our interest keen, and our determination firm to give our very best as individuals and as an organization to the government of society.

MAUD WOOD PARK,

THIS is the Woman Citizen's annual Educational Number. The great call to education for service comes now to all American women. From now on facilities for such an education will be a large part of the work of this magazine.

The Odyssey of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

THE thirty-sixth ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment ensuring enfranchisement to all the women of the United States passed the Tennessee Senate on Friday, August 13th, by a vote of 25 to 4. It passed the House by a vote of 49 to 47 on Wednesday, the 18th, Speaker Walker changing his vote from the anti to the pro side in order to hold back the ratification resolution and give the anti the power to reconsider. This gave the resolution a vote of 50 to 46, the constitutional majority needed.

Power to reconsider was held by the anti-suffrage forces until Saturday, the 21st.

Thirty-seven anti-ratification legislators had run away to Decatur, Alabama, in order to break the quorum in the Legislature and defeat ratification. Friends of suffrage brought up a motion to reconsider on the 21st in order to get it out of the way. The motion was defeated, as was expected, and a motion to send the ratification back to the Senate was immediately passed.

This completed ratification by the two houses of the Legislature.

Immediately anti-ratificationists got out through the Court of Chancery a writ of temporary injunction served on the Governor, speaker and legislators to restrain them from certifying the ratification. The Supreme Court, however, on the 23rd, issued a writ of *certiorari et supersedeas* enabling the Governor and state officials to act.

At 10.07 on the morning of the 24th the Governor signed the ratification resolution. It was mailed on the same day to Washington, where Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, received it on the morning of the 26th.

Secretary Colby Describes the Signing

"THE package containing the certified record of the action of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee," said Mr. Colby, "came in on a train which reached Washington some time during the early morning hours. I was awakened by Charles L. Cooke of the State Department at about a quarter to 4 o'clock this morning, who said that the packet from the Governor of

Text of the Proclamation Signed by Secretary Colby Certifying Ratification of 19th Amendment

WASHINGTON, Aug. 26.—Following is the proclamation certifying the ratification of the Suffrage Amendment, signed by Secretary of State Colby today:

Bainbridge Colby,

Secretary of State of the United States of America.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, That the Congress of the United States at the first session, sixty-sixth Congress begun at Washington on the nineteenth day of May in the year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, passed a resolution as follows:

To wit:

Joint resolution.

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

ARTICLE.

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

And further, that it appears from official documents on file in the Department of State that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 26th day of August, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

opinion that it would be becoming for me to resort to undue eagerness to avoid an opportunity for judicial interference, I saw no reason whatever why I should conspicuously loiter."

"Then," the Secretary continued, "that about concludes the odyssey of the morning's proceedings."

"You remember," he continued, "the simple way in which the late Admiral Dewey went about the opening of his battle at Manila Bay, how he waited until morning to enter Manila Bay, went up on deck, wiped the egg stains of breakfast from his moustache, observed the disposition of the enemy's ships and of his own, which had crossed the mines during the night, and then taking out a cigar, turned to one of his captains and said: 'When you are ready, you may fire, Gridley.' So I turn to the women of America and say: 'You may now fire when you are ready. You have been enfranchised.'"

EX-PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT has recently clarified the action of the Tennessee House in its vote of reconsideration. After giving the sequence of events as here stated, he proceeded with an explanation of its significance in the *Public Ledger*, as follows:

"The question of reconsideration and of certificate is merely a matter of rules. By a viva voce vote the House directed the officers of the House to certify to the Senate that the House had passed the resolution. The record does not disclose whether

Tennessee had arrived.

"He brought it to me in about ten minutes. There were some legal matters connected with the ratification that I wished to have examined by the chief law officer of the State Department, so I sent the papers to F. K. Nielsen, the solicitor of the State Department, with instructions to bring the papers to me at my home at 8 o'clock this morning.

"I had received a large number of messages asking me to act on the amendment with insistent promptitude. Fear was strong in some minds that the 'antis' would effect some sort of injunction from the courts to interfere with my proclamation of the completion of the act of ratification.

While it was not my

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at this vote a quorum was present or not. The presumption is that it was.

"Even if in so doing the House was breaking its own rules as to reconsideration and a certificate, it does not destroy the validity of the certificate. Those who attack the record cannot deny the truth of the certificate that the resolution did pass the House and the Senate with constitutional quorums and constitutional majorities. Their complaint is that after a constitutional passage resolution, there being a motion to reconsider and the rules of the House requiring a vote on it before its passage could be certified to the Senate, no valid vote was had on its reconsideration.

"But these are merely rules of procedure that the House may suspend or ignore without violating any constitutional duty or limitation. Moreover, the certificate of the officers appointed by law to make such certificates, especially the Governor and the presiding officers of the two houses, is likely to be given conclusive weight by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Thirty-six legislators went out of the state to avoid being brought into the House to make a quorum for the vote on reconsideration. This was a disgraceful and an anarchical method of opposing legitimate action by a minority of a legislative body.

"Every presumption and intendment which can be safely indulged should be used to defeat such a conspiracy. The curious provision that a quorum must be two-thirds of all the members of a house, although a majority may pass a bill, lends itself to such abuse. The history of the state shows that unscrupulous minorities of both parties have done just what these anti-suffragists have done. It should be a flaming lesson as to the demoralizing effect, as a precedent, of every flagrant defiance of lawful authority and every refusal to 'play the game' of government according to rule.

"The legislative refugees in Decatur, Ala., are poor losers. In their desperation they are willing by a scaly trick to involve the whole country in the throes of the dangerous uncertainty as to the result of a Presidential election. Fortunately, they are likely to be entirely blocked in their scheme."

BY official statement from the State Department in Washington to Miss Caroline I. Reilly, headquarters secretary of the National League of Women Voters, assurance of the legality of the women's vote is established. The statement given out by Miss Reilly is that the "Secretary of State's proclamation completed the ratification, and that no further notification is necessary. All the women of all the States have now the right to proceed with their registration. If any objection is raised by any officials in the states, the women should telegraph direct to the State Department at Washington and receive official assurance."

Further help to doubting Thomases is given in the statements of two great authorities. Said Ex-President Taft:

"It follows from this authoritative construction of the Fifteenth Amendment that the Nineteenth Amendment as passed does not need any affirmative action by the states to give women the right to vote at once. It is self-executing. It by its own force amends every election law of every state so as to include in the state electorate women as well as men, where only men were given the right to vote before."

Judge Hughes says:

"To say that any state legislation thereafter adopted would prevent this result, or that any state legislation would be necessary to accomplish this result, would be to make the operation of the ratified amendment dependent upon state action, and thus to deny the inherent power which that amendment as a part of the supreme law of the land will have."

"Government by Injunction"

THE high-handed tactics of the anti-suffrage minority in the Tennessee Legislature have given the women of the United States an object lesson on "government by injunction."

When anyone is doing something or is about to do something of which a judge disapproves, that judge can issue an "injunction" forbidding him to do it. If he persists in doing it, he becomes liable to punishment, not for the action itself, but for contempt of court.

A judge who claims to have been treated with contempt is the sole arbiter in his own case. The person who is charged with contempt of court has no recourse to a jury.

This power of injunction is obviously open to great abuse. It has its legitimate place. Theoretically it is supposed to be used only when some action of doubtful legality is likely to cause irreparable damage to property unless it is stopped at once, and then it is used to block such action temporarily until it can be determined whether the dispute is legal or illegal.

For instance, suppose there is a row of fine shade trees on the boundary between two men's yards. The exact boundary line is in dispute, and each man claims that the trees belong to him. One man starts to cut them down. The other man could go to the law to prove that the ground on which the trees stand is his, but before the suit could be decided the trees would be cut down and the damage would be irreparable. Under the circumstances he would get an injunction forbidding his neighbor to proceed with the cutting down of the trees until the question of ownership could be decided. This would be quite right and proper. But the irresponsible power given to judges to punish alleged contempt of court has tempted many judges to stretch their right to issue injunctions far beyond the original privilege.

Several years ago the papers reported the case of a judge who was induced by a jealous husband to issue an injunction forbidding the man of whom he was jealous to come anywhere within sight of his wife. Of course, no judge would have issued such an injunction in behalf of a jealous wife.

But the most frequent complaint of the abuse of the power of injunction has been in connection with the labor disputes. In Chicago a judge issued a sweeping injunction against some young girls who had gone on strike to remedy intolerable conditions, forbidding them to state their side of the case in the newspapers or even to tell people by word of mouth about the hardships they had been forced to undergo. Again and again when strikers have taken some action which they regarded as perfectly legal a judge has issued an injunction forbidding them and they have been punished not for the action itself, but for contempt of court, and again and again the action which the strikers wanted to take and from which they were enjoined later has been pronounced by the courts to be legal but only after it was too late. The strike meanwhile had been broken and broken owing to a judge having arbitrarily forbidden the workers to do what they had a legal right to do. Often the injunction has been invoked for the express purpose of depriving working people of a trial by jury to decide whether they were guilty of technical wrongdoing in alleged contempt of court. When this happens in cases involving many thousands of men and women, and when their daily bread and butter hangs upon the issue it is naturally a potent cause of "unrest."

When an insignificant judge in Tennessee seeks to over-rule the Governor, a majority of the State Legislature and even the Secretary of State of the United States by the use of the injunction, the suffragists are filled with indignation and disgust.

It will enable them to understand how millions of working people feel on the subject of "government by injunction."

A. S. B.

Out of Subjection Into Freedom

By Marjorie Shuler

THE Tennessee ratification is certified. The proclamation has been issued at Washington. The women of the United States at this minute have the right to vote. And by a *coup de grace* on the part of Alfred H. Roberts, governor of the state of Tennessee, for which the women of the nation should ever be grateful.

For by one smashing blow, a blow directed with the aid of the highest court in Tennessee, Governor Roberts defeated the plan of the anti-suffragists to keep the Tennessee ratification in the state courts until November and thus prevent the women of the nation from voting in this presidential election.

When on August 21st Judge Langford of the Chancery Court granted an injunction against Governor Robert's certifying to the Tennessee ratification, there were few persons in the state who did not realize that the injunction had no foundation in law. The state law expressly states that the governor may not be enjoined from performing any of his duties and the Supreme Court of Tennessee has upheld this opinion in several recorded cases. There were those who urged the Governor to disregard the injunction and forward the certificate at once.

But Governor Roberts as a former judge has a high personal regard for the law and the suffragists themselves, regardless of the lawless tactics of the opposition, the strike of anti members of the legislature, the attempt of the antis to prostitute the law to delay the proclamation of ratification, were as eager as the Governor to perform their part legally.

So the antis apparently had the field from August 21st to August 24th and they busied themselves arranging a speaking schedule through the state by which to inflame the mind of the public and gain sentiment for their side of the case.

Meanwhile the leading lawyers of Tennessee, whose service have been freely given to the suffragists throughout the campaign, offered themselves again to defend the suit. Attorney General Frank Thompson disappeared. All of the assistant attorney generals disappeared. The hearing on the injunction against the Governor, the secretary of state of Tennessee, the speakers of the two houses and the clerks of the two houses was set for September 6th.

Everything looked very black for the suffragists and as rosy as their own red roses for the antis.

Then from his hiding place there emerged the state attorney general with his plea in hand, a plea which was heard by Judge Lansden, chief justice of the supreme court, on Monday evening, August 23rd. The plea was granted and there was issued a writ of *certiorari et supersedeas*, which had the effect of dissolving the injunction of the lower court. Even then the Governor waited for a seemly hour to act and on Tuesday morning, August 24th, at seventeen minutes past ten o'clock, in the presence of interested suffragists he signed the certification and sent it immediately by mail to Secretary of State Colby at Washington.

Directly Mrs. Catt, without whose guidance during the weeks before the session was called and during the actual fight itself,

The Suffrage Map Early in August, 1920



victory never could have been won, started for New York. With her were Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice chairman of the national Republican executive committee, and Miss Charl Williams, vice chairman of the national Democratic committee, whose loyal devoted service were important factors in gaining ratification, Miss Williams having served as chairman of the steering committee on which were united the various groups of Tennesseans working for victory. The fourth member of the party was Miss Marjorie Shuler, who had been director of the publicity campaign.

THE last person to bid them farewell on the evening of the 24th at Nashville was Mrs. Guilford Dudley, third vice president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who had been an indefatigable worker for ratification, and at Chattanooga they spent four hours with Mrs. George Fort Milton, president of the Tennessee League of Women Voters, the organization which started the campaign and which, with Mrs. John M. Kenney as chairman, was the first to open headquarters in Nashville. Mrs. Leslie Warner acted as chairman of the committee appointed by Governor Roberts in his great desire to do all in his power for success, and Mrs. James S. Beasley acted as chairman of Republican Women's Committee for ratification.

The party arrived in Washington on Friday morning, August 27th, a few hours after the receiving of the certificate by Secretary Colby. There had been some talk of a ceremony at the time of the signing, but with the threat of an injunction against the federal secretary of state and the certificate in hand Secretary Colby decided upon immediate action, a decision in which Mrs. Catt, on behalf of the National Association, heartily concurred. The proclamation was therefore signed and issued early on Friday morning, beginning the day of glorification. Mrs.

Catt and Mrs. Helen Gardener, fifth vice president of the National Association, who had made the plans for the reception of the party in Washington, together with Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the national League of Women Voters, who had been chairman of the committee which secured the passage of the amendment by Congress, were received by Secretary Colby and heard him read his proclamation.

Then Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Gardener were received by President Wilson, the first time that suffragists have been thus honored since the illness of the President.

In the evening came the big mass meeting, an outpouring of thanksgiving which was part of the great miracle; for Poli's Theater was packed from the topmost gallery to the lines of standees on the floor, an audience assembled on thirty-six hours' notice.

Like a row of graduates with great bunches of roses in their arms and against a beautiful background of flags and flowers, sat those who had come from the battlefield of Tennessee and heard the call to service for the women of the nation from Secretary Colby. "Let party serve you but not dominate you. Do not let party feeling cast a film before your eyes. Be loyal to public sentiment. Vote your convictions. Be good Americans, keep open and unbiased minds."

"I confidently believe," said the Secretary, "that every salutary, forward and upward force in our public life will receive fresh vigor and reinforcement from the enfranchisement of the women of America. To the leaders of this great movement I tender my sincere congratulations. To every one, from the President, who uttered the call to duty, whenever the cause seemed to falter, to the humblest worker in this great reform, the praise not only of this generation but of posterity will be freely given."

This is What Tennessee Did to the Suffrage Map



Bringing the Victors Home



MRS. CATT GREETING NEW YORK WOMEN ON HER RETURN FROM TENNESSEE.

THERE is an old book called "The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth." Now in old days a "progress" was the stately march of royalty from one place to another.

And so when Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Upton and Miss Williams and Miss Marjorie Shuler and those who had been with them in the hard fight, swept up from Nashville, Tennessee, to national suffrage headquarters at New York by way of Washington and the national headquarters of the League of Women Voters, they performed a "progress" with enough royal trappings to grace a sovereign.

Stories of the pause in Washington, where the President of the United States was thanked in person, and where hundreds of people turned out to greet Mrs. Catt and her party, are told in two other pages in this magazine. The success of Washington's fine demonstration belongs in large part, says Mrs. Maud Wood Park, to the marvellous executive ability of the resident group at the League of Women Voters, led by Miss Caroline I. Reilly, Executive Secretary. What they did in thirty-six hours would fill pages.

But what happened in New York when Mrs. Catt came home, belongs to everybody from the Governor of the State through the police force and the Old Guard of suffragists and hundreds more to the manager of the building where the offices of the "National" are stationed.

Mrs. John Blair began it. In fact, she staged the scene of Mrs. Catt's homecoming as much as one person can stage a scene into which all the actors are bursting spontaneously and from which nothing but the police could keep them.

Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, away off in Newport, Rhode Island, helped, too. She was sending a telepathic thought back to New York, where it met Mrs. Blair's plans in full swing. Mrs. Whitehouse's letter to Miss Rose Young the *Woman Citi-*

zen's editor-in-chief, said what was in the hearts of thousands of women on the day of victory:

"How glad I feel and how I wish Susan B. Anthony and dear Dr. Shaw could know it, and here on earth I keep thinking of Mrs. Catt and all she has done for this great moment. How many women when they vote next November will stop to give a thought to her and the rest, dead and alive, who have worked and suffered?"

"I wish we could have some public demonstration in honor of Mrs. Catt. Can't we? Just to remind women what we owe to her."

And there was such a demonstration—so public that the world participated, yet so intimate and tender that it seemed a glad home-coming of friends, only the friends happened to represent a few millions of people.

ALFRED E. SMITH, Governor of New York state, went in person to the Pennsylvania Station to greet Mrs. Catt—no perfunctory performance on his part, either, for he stood on the corner of 31st Street and Seventh Avenue with no visible impatience for one hour waiting for a much delayed train.

When Mrs. Catt drove out from the station, the Governor was the first to step forward. "Mrs. Catt," said he, "I am here on behalf of the people of the state of New York to convey congratulations to you for your great victory for the motherhood of America."

Mrs. Catt, remembering that New York was one of the first ratifying states, its Legislature generously called into session by Governor Smith in order that the example of the Empire State might stimulate swift enactment of the Amendment, reminded Governor Smith that his own assistance had hastened the triumph.

Then Mrs. Blair stepped forward with the biggest suffrage bouquet ever seen. It was made of blue delphinium and yellow chrysanthemums which Thorley had been at great pains to match exactly with the suffrage colors, and it was tied with a yellow ribbon on which the Tiffany studios had painted in blue: "To Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt from the enfranchised women of the United States." A bouquet from 27,000,000 women!

And all this time the 71st Regiment Band was playing "Lo, the Conquering Hero Comes," except when everyone stood at attention to hear the national anthem.

Then an "army with banners" swept up from the side streets, the "Old Guard" of women who had fought and won the great Empire State victory—the "Big Bertha" of state-by-state victories. Mrs. Frederick Edey, standard bearer for a dozen parades, was carrying the "National's" own banner; Mrs. Thomas Wells New York state's white and gold victory pennant. Mrs. Edward Dreier was also banner bearer.

TO quote from a correspondent of a New York evening paper, who caught admirably the spirit of the occasion:

"Banners waved. Brass bands blared. Women split their gloves in noisy tribute. Men removed their hats, as much in respect to the glowing yellow flag of suffrage as to the Stars and Stripes, which gave it glorious setting.

"Once upon a time, and not so long ago, there would have been sneers and ribaldry and facetious remarks. Yesterday there was admiration plus applause. No thing in the world is so approved or appreciated as Victory.

"A small squad of suffrage workers led the march of triumph. Their step was steady. Their cheeks were flushed with excitement. Their heads were high.

"Carrie Chapman Catt, destined to go down to posterity as the woman who delivered millions of women from subjectry to citizenry, rode in an automobile behind the stalwart leaders. There was nothing of the dominant sex about her. The tired lines etched deep in her face were belied by the shine in her dark blue eyes.

"She wore a smart gown of black taffeta, with a small white lace collar and a becoming black hat, wreathed in pastel roses. On her knees rested a great sheaf of yellow chrysanthemums.

"If any heckler among the men folk crashed the side lines in expectation of seeing a straggling army of collar and tie females he must have suffered bitter disappointment.

"The marchers wore as many feathers and frills as would frequenters of any society bazaar. Perhaps the doubter caught a glimpse of that grandmother with the mourning veil caught back from her snow white hair, or of the nifty little 'flapper' with the serious expression in her brown eyes and the happy smile, in place of the drug store dowry of her pleasure-seeking sisters. Or maybe he stood at attention as Mrs. George Wheelock carried the flag of the Legion of Honor, with an escort of sailor and marine in the midst of the parade."

Then along came Connecticut women proclaiming "Tennessee men have given Freedom to Connecticut Women"—an impressive statement.

Said Miss Katharine Ludington, president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association and Regional Director of the National League of Women Voters:

"THIS is a day of mixed feelings for Connecticut women, rejoicing, of course, predominating, but it will be hard to forget that our own state did nothing toward our enfranchisement, the school vote, given 25 years ago, being the only measure of suffrage ever extended by Connecticut to its women.

"Connecticut would have set the women of the country free by becoming the 36th state to ratify the amendment, instead it appears to be still an open question whether we will get a special session in time to clarify our position as voters and provide the necessary facilities for handling the large influx of new voters. We believe that the Governor will do this and that his delay merely means that he has waited to receive official notification from Secretary Colby. But there is no question that among the women who are present at this great celebration, Connecticut women stand in a peculiar position. No women have worked harder than we. No women have received less."

INTO the Astor Gallery of the Waldorf Astoria women swept like a wave. They flowed in like a tide until there were no more seats, until there was no longer any standing room—unless the police and the fire laws were set aside.

The meeting at the Waldorf was presided over by Miss Mary Garrett Hay, vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and leader of the city League of Women Voters.

The speakers were Miss Charl Williams of Tennessee, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the New York State League of Women Voters; Miss Marjorie Shuler, who had been Mrs. Catt's right hand in Tennessee, throughout the hard weeks of the strenuous campaign; Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio, vice-chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Republican party, and Mrs. Catt.

MISS CHARL WILLIAMS, who led the fighting along the line in Tennessee, said: "I am happy mine should be the state to turn the balance. It was the solid South, a Democratic state, that finally brought enfranchisement to women. I wish I



THE OLD GUARD BRINGING HOME THE CHIEF.

could draw a picture for you, our leaders trudging up and down the steps of the state Capitol in the terrific August heat, forgetting everything but the struggle. For weeks I have haunted hotel lobbies until two and three o'clock in the morning. During the three final nights I did not go to sleep at all. And I can't sleep now for remembering that we have won."

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, one of the wittiest of suffrage speakers and one of the Tennessee veterans, said: "The opposition down in Tennessee accused me of being an Amazon. I did not know what an Amazon was, so I looked it up, and I like it. I found an Amazon was a tall, strong, lithe woman who can put up a winning fight. Also I learned she is thin. If I am ever written down in history I wish to be listed as an Amazon. Far be it from a Republican to boast, but I cannot refrain from mentioning that of the fifteen Republican members of the Tennessee Senate every one voted on every roll call and every vote was the right vote."

"And right here I want to publicly give credit to those stalwart mountaineer Republicans of the Tennessee Legislature who stood pat on suffrage from start to finish and who made suffrage possible. Had it not been for their faithfulness and their devotion to what they believed was right suffrage would never have won out in Tennessee."

In her speech at the New York meeting Miss Marjorie Shuler acclaimed forty-nine men as holders of the trenches in Tennessee. They held through the most terrific onslaught ever suffered by any soldier who has gone forth to fight for a principle. "I wish," said she, "I could carry you back to the dramatic moment when the Senate vote stood 48 to 48, and the brilliant young statesman, Banks Turner, hurled from trembling lips the magic word that won the drive. And through all that seething aftermath of threats, of pleas from the friend he holds dearest on earth, of promises and protestations, be it said to the everlasting glory of Banks Turner, of Tennessee, that he stood firm."*

Mrs. Frank Vanderlip, chairman of the New York State League of Women Voters, gave an address of pride and welcome. She said: "In the name of the women of New York state and of the nation I bring to Mrs. Catt, our beloved leader, gratitude and homage based on deepest affection. We are proud to have served her and to have served with her. Twice in a comparatively short while it has been my good fortune to feel that surge of splendid victory, that exultation which carries us to the mountain tops. The first time was on Armistice Day. The second time was when a reporter called me up and told me suf-

(Continued on page 374)

* Two previous issues of the *Woman Citizen* carry a continuous account of the Tennessee campaign as Miss Shuler saw it. A third chapter in today's issue concludes the story.

The Book of Their Appreciation

ON the afternoon of August 26, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, head of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Helen H. Gardiner, vice-president of that organization, were received at the White House by President and Mrs. Wilson.

Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Gardiner presented to the President a memorial of appreciation in the form of a bound volume, a page coming from each state Association, acknowledging the work he did for suffrage.

This is a rare book, but a single copy of which exists, and is in appreciation of the signal services performed by President Wilson to the suffrage cause. It is the book of thanks of suffrage workers.

The Committee into whose hands the preparation of the book was given, was composed of Mrs. Stanley McCormick of Boston, first vice-president of the National American Woman suffrage Association, and Miss Esther G. Ogden, president of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company. The Committee was appointed by the officers of the National suffrage association, and Miss Ogden in an interview has just described this unique volume. "It is," said she, "a work of art, and of genuine skilled craftsmanship. Every part of it is made by hand. Even the paper is handwrought. The cover is of hand-tooled brown calf, with Mr. Wilson's monogram, specially designed for the book, worked out in gold. There is nothing else on the cover, which was made by the Eugene Lewis Company. The Marchbanks Press printed the book, all type being handset. There is not a stick of linotype work in the book. Goudy type is used throughout with illuminated head pieces at the top of each state's page. These are done in blue and gold, colors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the various states follow each other alphabetically. The headpiece of the Kentucky women's page is a cut of Lincoln's birthplace.

"The book is presented in especial recognition of President Wilson's speech before Congress on September 30th, 1918, he being the only President of the United States who, while in office, worked personally for the enfran-

President Wilson to the Women of America

"Will you take the opportunity to say to my fellow citizens that I deem it one of the greatest honors of my life that this great event, the ratification of this amendment, should have occurred during the period of my administration."

"Please say also that nothing has given me more pleasure than the privilege that has been mine to do what I could to advance the cause of ratification, and to hasten the day when the womanhood of America would be recognized by the nation on the equal footing of citizenship that it deserves."

chisement of women."

A copy of the President's speech is included in the back of the book.

The "Appreciation" written by Rose Young, Chairman of Publicity, for the National Woman Suffrage Association, is signed by every member of the National Board. A copy of it is here given.

In addition suffrage leaders from each state have written appreciations of their own. These vary in form, some being letters, some telegrams.

Maryland offers a poem, a few lines of which are quoted:

"He holds the banner high, and pleads that all
Shall aid by voice and vote to see

Our young Republic truly noble, free."

In the New Jersey women's tribute they take pride in claiming Mr. Wilson as a fellow citizen.

Other states are quoted here as representing the extreme limits of the compass:

"Suffragists of Maine thank you for your abiding aid," says the extreme Northeast. "All women are beholden to you, for even the opposed and indifferent are benefited by the the juster laws and improved economic conditions which result from suffrage agitation."

This from Alabama: "We wish to thank you, Mr. President,

in the name of the women of Alabama. It does not lie in our power fully to express our appreciation of your splendid words. To our minds, they constitute a supreme appeal for freedom and justice; an appeal which deserves to rank and will rank in history with the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Speech, and all the other great pronouncements of liberty."

And from Utah:

"This discrimination against women appealed to your keen sense of justice, and in spite of taunts of foes and so-called friends you courageously asked the Senate of the United States not to allow the oldest democracy in the world to lag behind the older countries in enfranchisement of women."

The messages are signed by women of all parties. They express the gratitude of women as women irrespective of partisan lines.

In Appreciation

Mr. President:

IN 1916 you told the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at their Convention that you too had caught the suffrage contagion. You had come to fight with us, you said. From that day to this, through crisis after crisis in the suffrage struggle, you have proved yourself an able and fearless ally, a wise and effective coadjutor.

Again and again you have used in behalf of the suffrage cause those great gifts that preeminently qualify you to interpret and clarify and bring within grasp of the ordinary mind the Truths of Democracy.

To every part of the country your voice has penetrated with its advocacy of the suffrage evangel. In every part of the country there has been a reaction of far-reaching benefit to the suffrage cause, and everywhere the hearts of the women of the country have been stirred to profound gratitude.

It has been the privilege of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to assemble, through its State branches, a representative testimonial that will, we trust, indicate the strength and extent of this feeling, and we hand you this Book of Tribute, Mr. President, in the hope that it may serve to make articulate our deep and abiding appreciation of your inestimable service to the suffrage cause.

Carrie Chapman Catt, President,
Katherine McCormick, First Vice President,
Mary Garrett Hay, Second Vice President,
Anne Dallas Dudley, Third Vice President,
Gertrude Foster Brown, Fourth Vice President,
Helen Gardener, Fifth Vice President,
Emma Winner Rogers, Treasurer,
Nettie Rogers Shuler, Corresponding Secretary,
Justina Leavitt Wilson, Recording Secretary,
Jane M. Brooks, Director,
Edna Fischel Gellhorn, Director,
Ethel Gist Cantrill, Director,
Marie Stuart Edwards, Director,
Jessie J. Hooper, Director,
Henrietta Livermore, Director,
Esther G. Ogden, Director,
Florence L. Piersol, Director,
Maud Wood Park, Chairman, Congressional Committee,
Rose Young, Director of Publicity.

“Leadership Power in Motion Pictures”

A FEW years ago in Boston, a young man busy with editorial work on that great publication for young people, *Youth's Companion*, saw very clearly that the thing which worked to advantage and had been thoroughly tested out, was the thing to have reported for others to imitate and follow. Accordingly, he journeyed around the country in behalf of his publication, seeking information about the notable things that had been done successfully by individuals, made tests himself in order to prove the facts, and then got these individuals to write stories about their achievements for his paper.

Possibly it was the result of his practical demonstration of the educational value of things done rather than things merely talked about that gave him the inspiration for fetching motion pictures into his arsenal of effective weapons for overcoming ignorance, indifference, and social inertia. At any rate, he began to develop the idea of selecting from motion pictures then in existence, the best things for social education, and combining them into programs for the use of special groups, and a result of this illuminated beginning grew the *Community Motion Picture Bureau* which finally did the war work for the American soldiers and sailors and practically all the Allies. And Warren Dunham Foster, the young man who conceived the idea, is its President and has been from the beginning.

The *Community Motion Picture Bureau* with a far-flung organization ready to institute selected motion picture programs on all the five continents and the island countries of the world, has found that it cannot depend wholly upon films already in existence but must make its own records of achievements by which civilization makes headway. Only in this manner can it faithfully report successes whereby civilized people entrench themselves in evolutionary progress. To be specific, take the housing question. Community Productions, Inc., has made eight reels covering the housing question pretty thoroughly. These now comprise the best and most complete evidence of modern practical housing in the world. Among Warren Dunham Foster's particular interests during his editorial service in Boston was the improvement of housing, and he was appointed by Governor Foss to be one of the first commissioners of the new Homestead Commission organized in Massachusetts under a special act of the Legislature and continued by Governor McCall in that position until the new Homestead Commission had done some very important pioneer work, especially in making a report on housing conditions all over the world. It was easy, accordingly, for the President of the *Community Motion Picture Bureau* to see that where pamphlet reports might not be read, motion pictures attractively arranged would reach thousands of people in every part of the country and could be shown over and over again in the same locality until many groups with political power could be given adequate information on housing questions which they would not be apt to acquire in any other way.

THIS information is particularly valuable to new women voters who may not yet have any great technical knowledge of the fundamental problems underlying reform in housing, although they are undoubtedly representative of the largest property holding group in the world. It is well known amongst economists that women have now come into possession of over fifty per cent of the property of the world and especially of real estate, because of their numerical preponderance over men as well as their longer average lease of life and their greater caution in holding and administering property. However this may have come about and whatever reasons for its continuing, nevertheless, it is true that the responsibility for improvement in conditions of living, so far as property ownership is concerned, must be placed pretty squarely upon the shoulders of women. Reforms in this matter must also be brought vigorously to the attention of women voters. How to do this is a great problem because of the technical questions involved and the fact that the majority of

women do not care particularly to go into long discussions of technical questions. The motion pictures, however, show multiple family housing to replace the slums and in such an attractive fashion, with a sufficient amount of titling to show the economic successes of this kind of housing, as to enable every woman and even mixed audiences of ordinary voters to understand within a few minutes' time what it would take a speaker of great ability an hour to prove without the help of motion pictures.

The *Community Motion Picture Bureau* has also produced a film of the so-called single-family type of housing as illustrated in the development of large areas in the sub-



WARREN DUNHAM FOSTER

President *Community Motion Picture Bureau*, 46 West 24th Street, N. Y. City.

urbs of our cities and particularly under the expert direction of leading architects who built the war villages. The Bureau has also produced pictures of English garden cities including Letchworth, Port Sunlight and Bourneville, with much data as to the reasons for the successes of this type of development. Particularly is the fact brought out that in the English garden cities, the death and sickness rate is low, reaching, in Letchworth, the almost unprecedented minimum of 4.8 per thousand. Added to these reels are two taken by the Bureau's California staff on the California Land Settlement, showing the work of the state in developing territory for settlers and building adequate housing for them in advance of the occupancy of their allotted farmsteads. Finally, it has produced a short drama in two reels entitled "The Home Keeping of Jim," which shows the evil effect in many destructive ways upon the life of the family through bad housing and how improvement in painting up and cleaning up a wretched old house, immediately had a reconstructive influence upon the life of the family occupying it and every one of its members.

These eight housing reels are ready for use in women's clubs and other civic organizations as the basis of an educational movement which will lead to extensive reforms. It is by the produc-

(Continued on page 386)

Making the Plaything Fit the Child

By LOUISE CONNOLLY

Educational Expert at the Library, Newark, N. J.

ALBERT DE PATHON is a successful salesman. Never mind what he sells. Given the specialty it would be easy to trace him. He has filled several positions of honor in the advertising men's club of his home town, and in two national bodies. He has read everything published in English and several French pamphlets on salesmanship, and he has contributed a series of articles on the psychologic reactions of "prospects" to obvious integrity in the salesman.

It will rightly be inferred, then, that he has read modern psychologies, especially as they treat on the "values of suggestion" and the "efficacy of the will."

Albert de Pathon is an uncle. There are parents; there are grandparents; there are aunts. But for thoughtful, concentrated consciousness of consanguineous obligation, commend me to an uncle. Not every uncle. There are scornful uncles, abstracted uncles, indifferent uncles, antagonistic uncles, even jealous uncles. But my contention is that conscientious uncles feel their responsibilities with peculiar intensity, and that many uncles are, however they may display camouflage, in fact conscientious. This thesis could be maintained with much evidence from history, poetry and fiction—the three great sources of evidence on social questions.

Moreover, Albert is a godfather as well. When Albert Edgar de Pathon Smythe attained his sixth month Albert Edgar de Pathon went two hundred miles out of his way on an important business trip, and paid the extra expense himself to be present at the christening, and with much more inner solemnity than when he gave his twin sister, Alberta, away to his bosom friend Jean Smythe, he took upon himself vows about the rearing of Albert Edgar de Pathon Smythe.

Last spring Mr. de Pathon was again, at considerable inconvenience, visiting the home of his namesake, in order to celebrate that young gentleman's first birthday. He had arrived the day before, on March 4; and had spent several hours in his nephew's presence, observing baby's development, listening to tales of baby's handicaps, peculiarities, and prowess, and forecasting baby's future.

Moreover, he had handed to baby's mother a check on the Merchant's Bank of the city wherein were his headquarters for a "cool five thousand," as a nest egg for baby's educational expenses at "the alma mater, I hope," from which he and Alberta had graduated together eight years before, and he had said a few brief words to his brother-in-law in regard to the investment thereof.

Now he stood on the corner of Broad and Main Streets, deep in thought, jostled by the crowd, vainly exhorted by the policeman to move on, vainly importuned by the news boys to "buy a piper," vainly ogled by the bold, glanced at by the discreet, or ignored by the haughty of the opposite sex.

HIS problem was: What would a baby boy, plainly precocious, like to have on his first birthday?

Not clothing. Personal consciousness, desire for approval, in fact, vanity, had not so far developed. Even if it were a fundamental characteristic of the human male—which de Pathon quite sincerely believed it was not.

Not food. Baby culture seems to have been systematized almost to an art, governed by principles almost scientific, in the line of feeding.

Evidently toys. Toys, practically considered, are objects to be handled by the very young. These afford them pleasure, hold their attention, hence keep them quiet, and have few qualities by which in handling they can become detrimental to the well being or the personal appearance of their owners. "It must not," said de Pathon, self-communing among the multitude, "have hard corners or angles, be easily broken, be small enough to swallow, be in itself, or be covered with, anything dissolvable, be likely to get away, or be prone to harbor injurious microbes. This is no easy problem. I suppose, however, that it has been studied—and solved—by experts."

Then he said to the adjuring policeman, "Where's the best toy store in this town?"

"One block ahead, turn to your right, two blocks down, left far corner," said the officer, who was evidently an expert in at least one branch of his profession.

Mr. de Pathon found himself in a pretentious but dignified department store. He mounted by elevator to the fifth floor, traveled therein as directed, and entered the abode of make-believe. There were painted horses, swinging birds, swan wagons, patent swings, cats, dogs, birds, beasts and dolls, all speaking the same language, all wearing agreeable expressions and expressing themselves in airy squeaks. And there were dolls of every tribe and nation.

ONCE more de Pathon stood transfixed.

"Toys," he reflected, "may be also educationally considered. In this view a toy is an object with qualities attention to which will give a growing, but inexperienced, mind impressions of value as the basis for future comparison, or in the handling of which the powers of the owner may be developed. Plainly, then, as different powers ripen for development at different stages of growth, there are toys adapted to the various ages of children. And saleswomen like these must know what they are. This business is a cinch."

He addressed a blonde, wearing a locket, behind one of the counters. "I want," he said, "a toy suitable for a boy baby one year old, and rather precocious."

The blonde assumed an interested manner and produced a figure arrayed like Uncle Sam. She wound him up with a key, and he executed a sprightly dance. "I don't think," said de Pathon, "that this particular boy would be able to appreciate the significance of that costume. And considering the late sacrifices of his family for patriotic purposes, I think that, if he could, he would scarcely approve of its application."

The blonde produced a gentleman playing a tin hand organ. "Only three dollars," said she.

"Too many dangerous adjustments," said de Pathon.

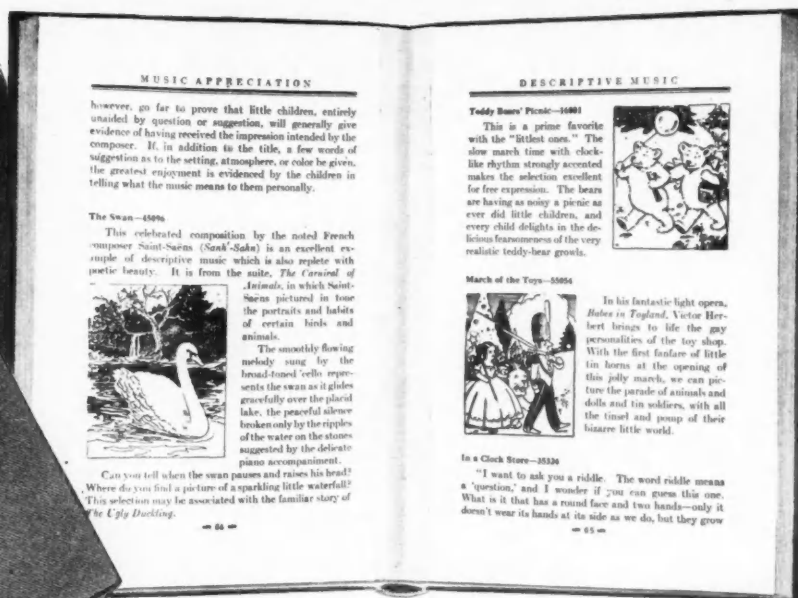
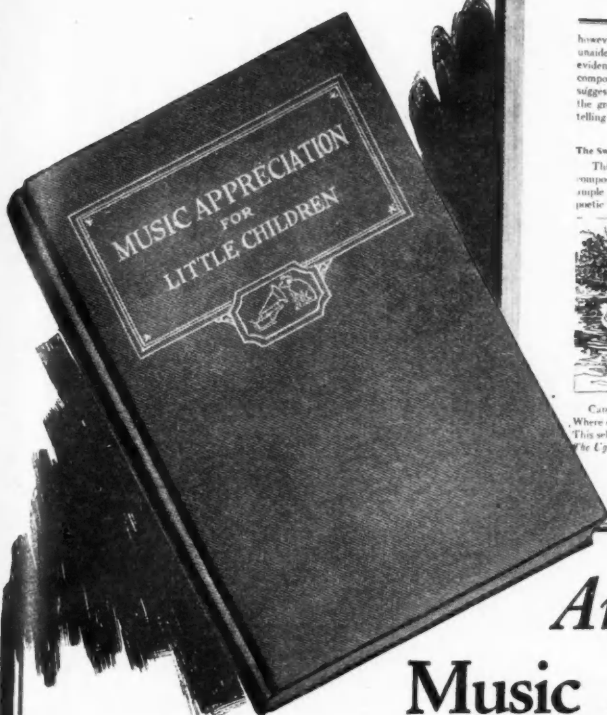
The blonde produced a sand mill. "Get into his eyes," said de Pathon.

The blonde sighed. "Perhaps he would like a ball," said she in a tone of pathos.

"He has nine at least," said de Pathon, and moved to the next counter.

The next counter was presided over by a red cheeked brunette with whitened chin and nose. She offered animals covered with hair or wool, with limbs that could be adjusted at any angle, so that according to the whimsy of the adjuster many strange con-

(Continued on page 368)



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Making the Plaything Fit

(Continued from page 366)

tortions were produced. "I can see advantages in these," said de Pathon. "An animal artist in embryo would get a very rich repertoire of memories out of them, or a future writer of weird tales might stock up wonderfully. How do you clean them?"

"Clean them?" said the brunette.

"When he wipes up the floor, you know—after the little dog," said de Pathon.

The brunette looked dubious. "I suppose you might dip them into gasoline," said she.

For an hour or more the anxious godfather moved about among the fantasies prepared by the manufacturers of America, offered by salesmen trained in the "psychology of the prospect," and sold to civilized parents by young women most of whom were, if one might judge by their glances and costumes, engaged in Youth's Quest, and therefore, let us hope, on the highway to virtuous parenthood themselves. And nowhere did he find any trace of a consciousness on the part of anyone that his problem was a problem, or that anyone knew its solution.

There were no seats in the toy department excepting a few round stools immediately in front of the counters where presided the young priestesses most of whom had already sought in vain to mediate his prayers. He remembered that to reach toys he had traversed shoes. So he went to the shoe department and took a seat.

"What can I do for you?" said an elderly man of generally hirsute appearance.

"Nothing," said de Pathon in that alert and semi-confidential manner which a trained salesman never loses. "I am not looking for shoes; I am seeking wings."

"In love?" said the elderly shoe-fitter.

"No," said de Pathon, "it's a baby." And he confided his troubles to the shoe clerk.

"Get him a doll," said the shoe-clerk. "Get him a good, substantial doll."

"What's the psychology of that?" said de Pathon.

"There isn't any psychology," said the shoe-clerk. "I've raised seven children without any psychology, but I've got some experience. It's experience does it. The older children teach you how to raise the younger if you have sense enough to reflect on your experience. That's why youngest children are generally the cleverest, and that's why they are always called spoiled. The parents learn to let 'em alone. I've had experience and I know that boy babies should have dolls."

"Why?" said de Pathon.

THE experienced parent glanced around the shoe department, pulled out a little combination stool and inclined plane, seated himself thereon, and began to undo de Pathon's shoe. His colleague in experience, knowing business methods, readily yielded his foot to the subterfuge.

"Because," said the experienced shoe-fitter, "boys really like dolls just about as well as girls do. And yet before they are half through wanting to play with them they get ashamed of liking them. 'Sissy boys' they would be called. Therefore their doll playing should be pushed in as soon as possible, or they lose something. I don't know what psychology would call what they lose. But they oughtn't to lose it. I'm sorry you can't be suited today. Call again," and he fastened de Pathon's shoe and rose.

"You bet I will," said the customer. "Hand us your card."

The lady at the doll counter welcomed de Pathon back with a languid smile.

"It's a doll I want," said he.

"So your little boy wants a doll," said she.

"It isn't *my* little boy," said he.

"Oh!" said she. And in an instant, before his eyes, she slid from languid to languishing.

Within a very few minutes de Pathon had formulated and filled his requirements.

"Who says a good salesman isn't a good buyer?" said he, displaying his purchase at the dinner table. "And who says that the careful study of adult psychology with a view to selling doesn't create power to understand genetic psychology from the educator's standpoint? Look at this. He has so far had dolls absurdly featured and dressed, and too small to seem to him simulacra of persons. It's as difficult for him to believe these rubber or celluloid caricatures created in his own image as it would be for him to think of himself as created in the image of God. Now this baby"—holding his purchase aloft—"is large enough to look like a baby—another baby. Yet it is small enough to be governed by his will. He can cause it to stand up, or lie down, to dance with joy or to hide its head in sorrow as he desires. He can't do that with anybody else, except in the most indirect and irrational way. It's an important step in his development. I tell you Godpapa knows."

Alberta praised, and Jean chaffed. Jean's mother smiled at all three as one who regarded them all as infants.

Next morning at 6:30 a procession wended its way to de Pathon's bedroom. Jean bore the baby. The two women followed, Alberta holding behind her the doll.

"Here he is," cried Jean, routing Albert up. "He was born at 6:30. He's a year old. Here's the doll. Present it. Let's see the genetic, psychologic, physiologic, sociologic reactions."

ALBERT I put up his knees to make a back and Albert II was seated on his godfather's chest. There he sat and smiled upon his circle of courtiers. The doll was gently inserted from the left side, into his field of vision. His gaze wandered to it, paused, became fixed. His brows were corrugated as attention became concentrated, and a look of astonishment changed to interest, to rapture. He put out his hand, drew it back, put it forth again, hesitated, and touched the other baby's baldish head. It was cold. And hard. He drew back, in fright, and put up his lip.

"Nice baby! Pretty baby!" said Alberta, patting and loving the doll. "Hug the nice baby."

Albert II put out his hand again,—two hands this time,—clutched the doll, drew it to his breast, passed his right hand over its hard, cold head, lifted its arm to his own neck, planted a wet kiss on its unresponsive forehead, and burst into glorious, crowing laughter.

"It beats Charlie Chaplin," said Jean. "The darling!" said Alberta. "He sensed the whole thing," said Grandma. "You just bet he did," said Albert I. "He's the wise guy. He takes after his uncle. Who says you have to be a parent to gauge the infant mind?"

* * * * *

Within an hour Alberta entered the breakfast room, bearing the soul-sufficing doll. "O wise and puissant uncle," said she in scorn. "Thou who knowest the infant mind. Omniscient chooser of properly graded toys! Behold the death trap you have bestowed upon my innocent and inoffensive offspring. Your well-adapted doll is pinned together with large headed, sharp-pointed, death-dealing pins!"

NOW A. E. de Pathon, knowing that the Newark Library and Museum keep, between them, an educational adviser supposed to know much about pedagogic authorities and especially about extra-school room agencies, and most especially about visible and tangible instruction, came to me. He means to follow his first five thousand with other financial gifts according as he

(Continued on page 373)



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Co-operation, the Peaceful Revolution

By Mrs. A. D. Warbasse,

Educational Director of The Co-operative League of America
Introductory Note

AT the Conference of the Food Supply and Demand Committee of the League of Women Voters in Chicago on February 12th, among other resolutions the following was adopted:

"That aid be extended to all branches of the League of Women Voters in spreading knowledge of the methods and benefits of legitimate Co-operative Associations and that endorsement be given to suitable national and state legislation favoring their organization and use."

Co-operation has been called the "Magna Charta" of a new economic world." The new day has seen the inauguration of a policy that is determined by "social need rather than private profit." In the reconstruction programs both of the Interchurch World Movement and the National Catholic War Council, the establishment of Co-operative Societies is urged as the obvious and direct means of eliminating some of the too many middlemen, of preventing speculation and profiteering in food products and "moralizing industry." Though Co-operation in this country has been long in coming there are in the United States today 3,100 co-operative stores. Of these 2,500 have been established in the last four years. Thirty-three states of the Union have provided special laws facilitating the institution of Co-operative Associations.

The Food Supply and Demand Committee is indebted to Mrs. Agnes Warbasse for the accompanying article on "Co-operation, the Peaceful Revolution." As Educational Director of the Co-operative League of America, Mrs. Warbasse is devoting her talents to spreading information concerning this most timely and important subject. The Food Committee is grateful for her generous assistance.

MRS. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN.

Chairman of the Food Supply and Demand Committee.

PART I

THERE is no question about it; we cannot have things as they were. Only those with the minds of an ostrich can bury their heads, in the faith that the present maelstrom of forces is but a sand storm, that if we but bide our time all will again be well as before. Thoughtful women realize that they must prepare to meet one of the greatest economic crises in all history. The present competitive system cannot last much longer. The people are revolting against slums, profiteering and political corruption. The question is how are we to bring about the changes demanded.

It is at this juncture of despair that some one may arouse our interest in the Co-operative Movement—and we ask what is the Co-operative Movement? Where and how is it working? Why do we not hear more about it? Then some one adds the gripping appeal of self-interest. They say, "The Co-operative Movement is the solution for the high cost of living!" So, of course, we want to know more about Co-operation!

Housewives the country over feel keenly the decline of the purchasing power of the dollar. According to the latest Federal report the increase in the cost of living has amounted to 103 per cent since 1913. Wages have not increased at that rate. But even if they had, wise folks are noting that as wages increase so do prices. Increasing wages is not a real remedy. It is not the amount in the pay envelope that counts, but what it can buy. A solution must be found that lessens waste and increases the buying power if it is to be of real value. This and much more the Co-operative Movement can and does accomplish.

What Is a Co-operative Movement?

Co-operation is not a new-fangled idea. Co-operation is not an experiment. It is a supremely practical method of dealing with theories. Theories that are as old as human morals. It differs from most of the present economic movements because it has *both a vision and a method*.

The vision that it holds out is that of the day when all of the necessities as well as the comforts and recreations of life shall be produced and distributed for *use* and not as a means of enriching a small group of profiteers. It substitutes the ideal of service for the many, for that of profit for the few. It believes that by mutual aid, not by struggle and cut-throat competition, shall the world progress. Many a person comes forward these days with a tale of what is wrong, and many another tells what should be done to make things better, but Co-operators not only see what is wrong and hold forth the goal, but they show us the steps to take to reach that goal.

How Co-operation Works

The method by which the version of the Co-operative Commonwealth can be brought about is the Rochdale method.

The name Rochdale comes from a little town in England where seventy-five years ago twenty-four poor weavers worked out those principles of self-help by which Co-operation is carried on today in every country in the world.

The Rochdale Method

To begin with, a group of people who know each other, neighbors or members of some social or labor group, unite and (1) each subscribes for a number of shares sufficient to capitalize a society. Shares are of a low denomination and may usually be bought in installments, so that membership is never prohibitive. In order to insure comparative equality, the number of shares that may be held by any one member is usually limited. (2) The organizing groups elect from their members a board of directors to conduct for them the affairs of the organization. (3) The board secures a site, a manager, employees, equipment, stock, etc. (4) Usually they begin with a grocery store, although co-operative bakeries, laundries, restaurants, banks and housing enterprises may be launched in the beginning instead of a store. The purpose is to meet the greatest need of the group with the most economy and efficiency.

In *each* of these enterprises, however, the society is conducted along the following Rochdale Principles. To follow them usually means success; to depart from them invites failure.

1. At the regular meeting of the Society each member has one vote, regardless of the number of shares held. This is quite different from profit-making stock companies, where a member with ten shares has ten votes, the shares of stock carrying the voting power. In Co-operative Societies, no matter how much money is invested in stock, each member has one vote. Not dollars, but human beings, vote in Co-operation. This insures democratic control of the group's capital and prevents domination by moneyed interests.

2. Capital receives not more than the fixed legal rate of interest. This too differs from private business, which assigns to invested capital all the profits that can be possibly squeezed from the producer and the consumer. Co-operation recognizes that capital is a working tool. Capital is necessary. So Co-operation pays capital its hire—a fixed interest, not more. There is no speculative use of capital in Co-operation. It never becomes a power for evil.

3. Goods are sold at current retail prices, not at cost. The profits in Co-operative Societies are distributed to the members quarterly in proportion to their patronage, never in proportion to their shareholdings. The people who patronize the business make the profits possible by their trade. Their trade represents



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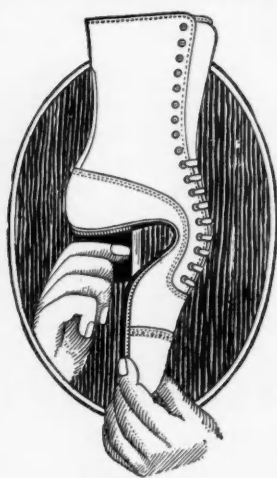
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Cantilever Shoe Shop, Room 501, 30 East Randolph St., Chicago.

Cantilever Shoe Shop, 1300 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

Cantilever Shoe Shop, 86 Pratt St., Hartford, Conn.

Jordan Marsh Company, Boston.

their human needs. In private business profits are divided according to amount of capital invested. Money makes money.

Following these methods of administration—methods quite novel in economic history—the store is conducted just as any other store. Goods are bought at wholesale—from a Co-operative wholesaler if possible, or from a Co-operative farm organization. There is no waste of the middleman's profits or from expensive competitive salesmanship and advertising or from overstocking and expensive buying. The Consumers in the Society make known their needs—through their votes they can express their preferences or their disapproval of articles furnished. Since there is no private profit to be sought, the members have the assurance of quality. No one induces the consumer to purchase things he does not want. The clerks are there to merely serve the members. Much waste of time and of stock is eliminated.

The Co-operative Wholesaler

As soon as sufficient reserve fund has accumulated from a portion of the profits always set aside for expansion and development, Societies join together to finance a central purchasing agency developing into a wholesale warehouse. In Co-operation Societies must work together just as must individuals. Isolation, self-centered development apart from others, does not make for growth in Co-operation. All this time, as the Co-operative store and the wholesale are growing and serving the members, they are learning how to meet the problems of business. They are training themselves to administer collective capital. Success of their organization depends entirely upon them; on their efficiency and their ability to meet the same problems that private business presents, but more especially on their unselfish service in the interest of the whole group. It is remarkable how the mystery surrounding business begins to fade away with the knowledge and experience the people gain in these enterprises. As a result, a new confidence in themselves and a new confidence in the powers of the people to run their own affairs develops.

When enough experience in administering the local stores and the local warehouses has been developed and when enough of a surplus has been accumulated to finance them, Co-operative factories are acquired. This is the next step in the production and control of the people's needs.

Other Co-operative Undertakings

THEN comes the Co-operative administration of lines of transportation and the means of communication. At the same time that the stores, warehouses and factories are being developed, the people are proceeding to organize their own Co-operative homes, Co-operative banks, Co-operative medical care, recreation and education.

Co-operative Ownership of Natural Resources and Land

The final and last step in the progress of Co-operation toward its goal is when the ownership of natural resources and of the land is achieved. When the tea that is raised on a Co-operative tea plantation of Ceylon is served to the British Co-operator as he sits in his little home made possible by the Co-operative Housing Society, with bread from his Co-operative Bakery and jam from the Co-operative Jam Factory, what a feeling of security and satisfaction he must have—for he knows that no economic waste nor privilege has tainted that cup of tea from the source of supply to the lips of the consumer. Milk farms, dairies, fruit orchards, currant, coffee and tea plantations, coal mines, palm olive groves, wheat fields, etc., steadily contribute their products to the factories, warehouses and stores of the Co-operators. This is an achievement made possible by the methods of organizing the consumers planned and marked out by those twenty-four weavers of Rochdale.

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Co-operation a Gradual Process

ALL this takes time. Slowly, peacefully and without social shock Co-operation is training its own workers in the routine of actual service. Experience proves in Co-operation, as in any other permanent movement, that success cannot be achieved with a rush. Societies that are formed by a big "drive" and with little understanding grow up like weeds and like weeds perish for lack of deep roots and for lack of cultivation. The belief in Co-operation must be rooted deep in the hearts of men. The knowledge of the methods must be cultivated by patient study. The experience in Co-operation must be secured from daily work. Co-operators must stand up against all kinds of difficulties of merchandising, of marketing, of boycotts of banking and credits and of knocks from within and without the movement. Co-operation cannot be achieved with a wave of the hand or a bit of oratory. Success comes from intelligent, loyal, painstaking efforts. This is the kind of Co-operative success that has grown and endured as political parties, platforms and promises pass and are forgotten.

International Co-operation

The International Co-operative Alliance brings together the societies of every country in its bond of fellowship. It promotes international Co-operative trade, seeking to develop the peace of the world by breaking down barriers of economic rivalry—so potent a cause of wars. The international Co-operative Alliance was the first to reunite in its Congress after the Great War delegates from both enemy and allied countries. At present it is working hard to develop greater Co-operative trading, believing that Co-operators in all nations, animated with the same motives and using the same methods, are the most effective agents to bring about an economic league of nations.

(Continued on September 11)

Making the Playthings Fit

(Continued from page 369)

prosper—and remains single. That he knows how to do. But he wants also to figure in his godson's eyes as "the fellow who knows what boys want." He is willing to accept a list of proper gifts at proper ages. But he thinks that he is intelligent enough to know why. And hence he asks for books, magazine articles, pamphlets containing the psychology of playthings. He says there must be parents intelligent on the subject but on the road he doesn't meet them. He is willing to pay for a post-graduate course for Alberta, although it is late for her to take it. Or he is willing himself to take a correspondence course. He is very gravely in earnest. Perhaps other Alberts, Edgars, and Albertas figure in his visions. Perhaps he has gone off on a fad, curious for a bachelor. Perhaps he has visions of dealing some day in toys based on real knowledge of the "prospect."

I have given him such a list of authorities as at once occurs to me. But I am also at work for two young women who want to study law. Shall they go to college first? Why? How? To what college? And the young girl who must make her living and get a year's high school work so as to enter a nurses' training school. And the two children who insist on making over ninety-five per cent in all their studies and so keep both their parents tutoring them all of every evening. What shall the parents do? And the father whose boy has flunked at two classical colleges, and now wants to try at the Tech? Shall he? Or shall he be set to work? Also, what is the best preparation for aeroplane engineering, and how do you get it?

Hence "the writer," as well as Mr. de Pathon, will receive gladly from readers of this essentially true story suggestions as to how a parent, a toy dealer, a saleswoman, a toy maker, or a conscientious uncle is to know what sort of playthings fit all manner of children.

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Bringing the Victors Home

(Continued from page 363)

frage had won in Tennessee. Both times I sat down and had a comfortable cry."

WHEN Mrs. Catt arose the audience arose as one woman to greet the one who had brought the hosts through to their final award. There was a thunder of applause enough to please those who like thunders; but there was something deeper and more tender than applause in the reception given Mrs. Catt. It was that reverent thing called consecration for want of another term, which has been a part of the suffrage fight—a thing unique in political struggles.

When the women greeted their returned leader their cheers were for the sacrifice and the endurance, for the splendor of service, for the high, fine courage which had gone to the making of victory. There was implicit in their enthusiasm the resolve that the endurance and devotion symbolized in Mrs. Catt and her present guard of workers should not perish from the earth. There was promise in it too that the justice, so dearly paid for, should go marching on.

Mrs. Catt then gave fearlessly the thrilling story of a fight which has brought into the open the forces which have so long opposed women.

"This is a glorious and wonderful day," said she. "Let us give honor to that honorable gentleman, Governor Roberts, of Tennessee, without whose help and sympathy the fight might still be waging on other fronts. For many a day we have marched up the long hill together, you and I. Now we will all go our separate ways, holding in our hearts tender memories of our comrades in the great war.

"Never in the history of politics has there been such a force for evil, such a nefarious lobby as labored to block the advance of suffrage in Nashville, Tenn. In the short time, five weeks perhaps, I spent in Tennessee's capital, I have been called more names, been more maligned, more lied about than in the thirty previous years I worked for suffrage. I was flooded with anonymous letters, vulgar, ignorant, insane. Strange men and groups of men sprang up, men we had never met before in battle. Who were they? We were told this is the railroad lobby, this is the steel lobby, these are lobbyists from the Manufacturers' Association, these come from the aluminum interests, this is the remnant of the old whiskey ring. Even tricksters from the United States Revenue Service were there, operating against us, until the President of these great States called them off. They strove to weaken the purpose of younger men of the Senate, notably a boy of twenty-six years from the mountains of East Tennessee, by third degree methods.

"They appropriated our telegrams, tapped our telephones, listened outside our windows and transoms. They attacked our private and public lives. I will not tell you to what depths they finally descended when the desperation of defeat was upon them. It is a story to sicken the heart.

"I had heard of the 'Invisible Government.' Well, I have seen it work. I have seen it sent back into oblivion. I have lived to realize the big, beautiful dream of my life—the enfranchisement of women.

"Now that we are to have the vote, let us remember we are no longer petitioners. We are not wards of the nation, but free and equal citizens. Let us practice the dignity of sovereigns. And wherever we vote, whatever our party affiliations, let us vote against every man of any party we indorse if he does not represent the people. We have proven, in Tennessee, this is a government of the people, not an empire of corporations. Let us do our part to keep it a true and triumphant democracy."

"Carrie Chapman Catt is today," said one present, "the foremost feminine figure in the finest nation on the face of the earth. Her homecoming was Armistic Day in the woman's war for freedom so gallantly waged and won."

IMPRESSIVELY at some one's request the whole audience arose and stood in silence for a minute in memory of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and then again for another minute in memory of the first great pioneers. Mrs. Edward Drier reminded the audience of another gallant leader prevented from being present—Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse—and the following letter was ordered sent to her:

"In this hour of our great national victory our thought turns to you in love and gratitude for the gallant part you played in the victorious New York campaign of 1917. Without that New York victory there could have been no national victory in 1920. May you soon be restored to health and able to resume your place in the front rank of the triumphant woman movement."

From Mrs. Catt in person went the following greeting to Miss Rose Young, chairman of publicity, and one of those without whose help victory would have been long delayed: "My beautiful home-coming and the splendid celebration of victory for us all had but one blemish and this the knowledge that you could not be in it because you are ill."

Another incident of the welcome to Mrs. Catt was the presentation of a priceless book, bound and made especially for her and including tributes from each state suffrage president. It was presented by Miss Esther Ogden, former head of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, and one of the directors of the national association.

Miss Ogden in her presentation speech read the foreword, written by Mrs. Stanley McCormick, first vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Each one of the national officers associated with Mrs. Catt in the last years of campaign has inscribed a word of tribute to her in the pages of this book.

One of the happiest events was the presentation of a laurel wreath to Mrs. Catt by Mrs. Jacob Baur from the women of Chicago. Mrs. Baur offered it with a poem, showing how much thought had gone into this gift.

A daring gift was an enormous bouquet of red roses from the Republican women, who thus put into the hands of Mrs. Catt the anti-suffrage symbol—no longer potent.

EVEN to the building which houses the National American Woman Suffrage Association the victory celebration extended. Here Mrs. Catt was met by the manager, Mr. Berry, who greeted her at the door with an eloquent tribute and a gigantic bunch of marigolds from the building employees. Elevator girls had been on the alert for days with one of their cars specially decorated to carry Mrs. Catt to the fourteenth floor.

Those who won this fight are many, and not the least are they who stuck at their posts and did their bit in little ways. Significant of the cooperation of the office force is the incident of one girl who in the rush of last minute events took telephone messages with one hand and her two ears while she cut stencils with her free hand and the use of her two eyes, all at the same time.

There were others who wouldn't quit for needed vacations and others who stayed by the staff in humid heat, and so the long, long tale of suffrage devotion goes back endlessly for seventy years, woven out of the lives of little and great, dependent on every sort of service from every type of woman—a fabric so compact that in its making women have learned what comradeship means, just as truly as they have learned what leadership means.

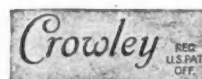
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What Shall Be the Status of the Nurse?

ONE of the results of the overseas work of nurses has been to throw them off their job. Not that there was a paucity of cases needing them, nor that they are poorly paid. They are just "off it." As two of them said recently: "After seeing the way boys bore their sufferings in hospitals in France, do you think we can ever again sit around and coddle people who are just as able to get up and do a day's work as we are?"

That was part of their revolt. It was not all of it. A frequently appearing resistance is observable among the more highly educated women who went into the nursing profession with a glow of altruism, and after a number of years are slipping out of it into administrative posts. For one thing, all nurses look alike apparently to the general public. The girl who started off with a college education doesn't get any further in general bedside practice than does the one who barely got through high school. There are not enough grades to R.N. It means "Registered Nurses," and it carries only that much prestige. What is over the girl earns as an individual.

Writing in the *American Journal of Nursing* for August, 1920, on "The future of nursing service and nursing education," Dr. Christopher Parnall, Medical Superintendent and director of the University Hospital of Ann Arbor, Michigan, indirectly gets at one of these problems, which is fretting the minds of superior women nurses.

"There are those, I know," writes Dr. Parnall, "who feel that perhaps we have already gone too far in the preparation required of a nurse and that the standards we have set are accountable for the shortage which now exists in the ranks of the nursing profession. Contrary to this somewhat widely held opinion, it is my belief that revision of our standards of nursing and our curricula must be upward rather than downward. High requirements are not of themselves the cause of the shortage of nurses.

"NURSING within the last twenty years has attained the dignity of a profession.

"Is it not probable that both medicine and nursing are entering a new era, and that the present, however uncomfortable it may be, is only a transition period? In his presidential address to the State Medical Society, Dr. Charles H. Baker stated that there were eighty communities in Massachusetts without the services of a physician, although all of these communities had had one or more physicians within the past few years. Fewer doctors are being graduated each year and, on the basis of past conditions, there is a great shortage of doctors even at the present time.

"Medical practice is changing in character

and nursing is undergoing a similar transition. High grade medical service, including diagnosis and treatment by specialists, is often beyond the pecuniary resources of the average individual, especially when he has had the misfortune to have his earning power curtailed or destroyed by any long period of illness or of sickness in his family. So that it is quite as true that medical service is unavailable to those who are unable to pay large fees as it is that nursing care is not within their means.

"As the private practice of medicine will to a certain extent become supplanted by group practice in numerous community health centers, so private duty nursing must inevitably give way to a plan of practice which will permit one nurse to care for a large number of patients. The visiting nurse, attached to the health center, under the direction of the medical group, will enter what has formerly been considered a field held solely by the doctor. It is altogether probable that the practice of medicine and nursing of the future will come together in the hospital as a center. Preventive medicine will flourish and will appeal more and more to the professions of medicine and nursing and to the public as the logical direction in which progress in the saving of life must develop.

"To meet the requirements for nursing service in the future, nursing education must undergo a considerable transformation. It is only within recent years that training schools have become anything more than convenient excuses for the enrollment of young women for exploitation in the service of hospitals. Training schools have been established by hospitals merely as a means of securing nursing service at low cost. The obligation of the hospitals to give something in return has been altogether too lightly regarded.

"In a general way we may conclude that there is at least a tendency for the development of two classes of nurses just as there are two classes of physicians. As we have practitioners of medicine on the one hand and specialists and teachers on the other, so in nursing, we shall have a class, more particularly rendering the usual bedside service heretofore expected of the nurse, and a second group taking up special lines including nursing education.

A Correction

August 12, 1920.

The Woman Citizen, New York City.

IN your issue of August 7, 1920, page 265, bottom of first column, in the list of members of the Steering Committee, you give the name of "Mather of Illinois." This should be Madden (Martin B.), there being no member in Congress by the name of Mather.

Very respectfully,

EDNA DUCE, 113 H. O. Bldg.,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

More Reasons to Vote Against Wadsworth

WADSWORTH possesses, as *The Sun* says in an editorial of August 26, "fine lineage, liberal education and wide experience," and I agree that his record was splendid on preparedness legislation, army reorganization and the League of Nations. But he is a Federalist, not a Republican.

This was a very good doctrine in years gone by. But any individual or party that continues to live in that atmosphere rides for a fall.

We wanted General Wood nominated. Wadsworth apparently did more than any other New Yorker to hold our delegation from Wood. A man that wilfully disregards public sentiment must be retired to private life, and every effort should be made to defeat him at the primaries.

Either Charles E. Hughes or Elon Hooker is the logical nominee on the Republican ticket for the Senate.

J. H. PINCKNEY.

New York, Aug. 26, 1920.

A Wrong Guess

SO Mr. Munsey is for Senator Wadsworth. Well, then, I am not for Mr. Munsey.

If he thinks that this "Barnes-tagged, anti-suffragist apostle of the limousine-life" is the kind of person the people of this state want to be their United States Senator, he has another guess coming.

The immortal Roosevelt picked this young man up out of obscurity and tried to make a public servant out of him, but gave it up as a bad job, saying that Wadsworth was worse than useless, that he was a dangerous man for the people.

So what Roosevelt couldn't do Mr. Munsey is going to do, is he? Well, I guess not. Wadsworth has been for Barnes, for the party gang and the silk stocking life always, and it's too late for him to mend his habits now. He's going to be beaten, you see.

Either Payne or Lunn is infinitely to be preferred. They have the ability to sense the public's will and the courage to fight for it. They are not frightened when the Big Boss says: "Boo! I'll bite you!" the way friend Lon Hooker was.

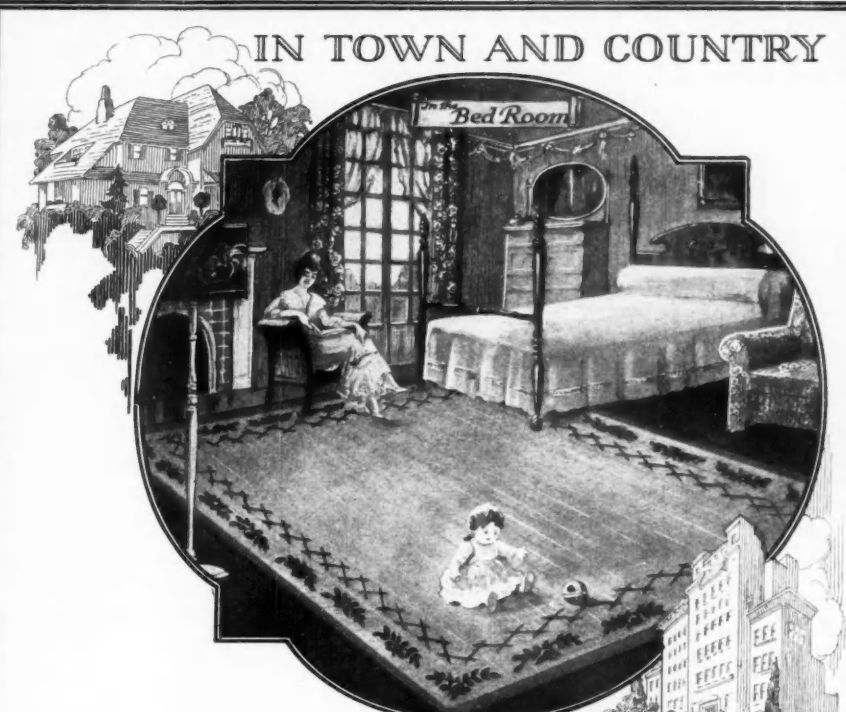
The people are heartsick of the graft and injustice of entrenched privilege. More power to the men who dare speak out in the open for the "square deal" in matters of government!

JOHN H. ROBBINS.

New York, Aug. 26, 1920.

NEXT week some more reasons for not voting for Mr. Wadsworth will be given. There seem to be many.

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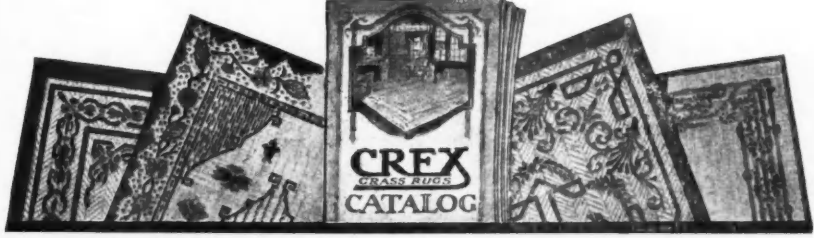
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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY AMERICANIZATION?

A GREAT deal of the language used at the present time about Americanizing America, or Americanizing people in general, I do not understand.

I belong to a long line of American ancestry, and I have a perfectly clear concept as to America in general, and what America stands for; but my own concept of it is perhaps not yours, and we may have a great many differences among ourselves as to what we want America to be. We have had from the beginning. My own ancestors divided from some of your ancestors perhaps in the struggle as to just what America should become. We are still divided somewhat among ourselves as to which direction America is to go. Of course in the long run what America becomes is much more a matter of the future than it is of the past; and it is very much more in the hands of the future than in the past, because after all the past has been such a very short period. But so much has been accomplished in the short period that we can of course expect very much more to be accomplished in the future.

There are certain things we have got to face without any shame, without any feeling of national disgrace. One of those is that we have always had a complex population. The percentage of those who spoke English in 1790, is smaller than the percentage that speaks English at the present time in the United States. Into the development of the country has always gone the effort and the genius and the understanding of a very mixed and diverse population, in which the Anglo-Saxon has been one element, but by no means all; and I say it with Anglo-Saxon ancestry on both sides—by no means the only, or not necessarily the most important element in the development of the greatness of the United States.

We find, then, all kinds of points of union. We are not of one race; we are not of one religion; we are separated by a continent in breadth; by all the diversities which every kind of climate brings us. It is one of the things that is our strength, to my way of thinking. We have in the United States the representatives of all the people of the world practically. That is both its strength and its weakness. I have no desire to minimize some of the difficulties which come from a complex population. Those are ours to meet and solve.

In the last few years, and specially during the war when nationalism was somewhat un-

Lectures Delivered at the Citizenship School in Chicago

By Miss Grace Abbott

Executive Secretary, Illinois Department of Immigration
and

Miss Frances Wetmore

Supervisor of Foreign Born Classes in Public Schools of Chicago

BEFORE going forward into a contemplation of America's policy abroad, it is well fully to understand her policy at home. In view of what we have seen as to the complex character of the American population, and also in view of political pledges concerning "one hundred per cent Americanism," the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course pauses here to let two immigration officials give some idea of America's problems in relation to its new comers.—Ed.

"Americanization, to give the term its most comprehensive meaning, is the business of making good American citizens, the business of making everyone who inhabits America acquainted with both physical and spiritual America, to the end that the acquaintance may result in a sturdy loyalty to American institutions and American ideals."—From the Bulletin of the Department of the Interior.

duly emphasized, there was an attempt made to say that any diversity or any differences were inevitably evidence of a wrong way of living or wrong way of thinking, and there was an attempt to follow the Russian or the Prussian method of assimilation by force, by suppression, by determination. That method of course has been tried over and over again and has always failed, and it would of course be a very serious thing for the United States to undertake to adopt it.

To some extent that kind of thing has developed here in connection with an absolute insistence upon the English language, and too much importance being laid upon it as a sort of test of the righteousness or the sincerity or the usefulness of a person. No one wants to deny—I least of all—the value of the common medium of expression, but a knowledge of the English language is not a guarantee of good citizenship. However English is the common language of the United States; it is one of the few things that is common, and it is something that in the interest of everyone should be acquired as

rapidly as possible. But when it comes to acquiring it at the cost of ordinary legal independence in our actions and relations between one another, we have acquired it at too great sacrifice for ourselves for the future, and I am quite sure that any small gain in the way of an absolutely forced learning of the English language is entirely lost in the net result of Americanization. And the same is true about insistence upon citizenship.

Those of us who have been working for citizenship in the United States appreciate to its full its value, and we are very eager to have others appreciate it, but the last thing we want is that some employer shall say that at the cost of dismissing a man, he must become an American citizen. It is a cheapening of American citizenship.

THERE is a very definite set of problems that comes with the foreign born in the community, and those problems have to be taken up one by one and solved in an intelligent and sympathetic and understanding way. Anything that we try to do in the community needs to be done with the interests and the needs of the entire community in mind. Insofar as we fail to take into consideration the needs of the entire community, we have of course failed in the program that we are trying to put across. There are a great many people who realize that when it comes to a somewhat definite exceptional aim, such as the Liberty Loan program.

There is no use trying to put across a Public Health Program and imagine if it is drawn up and its publicity is given on the basis that we are a homogeneous population that it will accomplish what we desire or will reach the community that we have in mind.

If we plan a recreation program which has in mind the type of recreation that American mothers approve of, and do not consider in any way the type of recreation which a foreign born mother approves of, or which is connected in any way with the background from which she comes, the whole scheme is not going to succeed with the group of people you want to reach.

If you are trying to start a public employment agency for the group that is most exploited in the community, if there is no one in the agency who can speak the language of the immigrant group, who is able to understand

the type of industry they are fitted for, the experience or lack of experience they may have had, and who is prepared to advise them about employment with a full knowledge of the facts before them, your efforts will be a failure.

In our schools, what we want to do is to make them serve in the largest possible way the educational needs of every group of people in the United States.

I want to speak of a serious situation that is before us at the present time, that is the industrial situation. I think it is a thing we are going to have to meet more or less, in the questions that come up, for many years. I need not tell you that perhaps eighty per cent of the employes in the stock yards, the steel mills, the iron mills, the mines, the clothing industry, and every basic industry are of recent immigration. Of course inevitably with that situation, any movement for a better working condition or better housing condition or better conditions generally, is going to seem as though it were a foreign born movement against the native born. The attempt to make the steel strike for instance seem to be a strike of the foreign born against the native born was after all the result of this situation.

Mr. Gary said over and over again during the war, his factories were manned with one hundred per cent. American workers; and certainly the output during that period indicated that they were. And yet they were one hundred per cent Americans in spite of the ignorance of the English language, and lack of opportunity to learn to read and write, and in spite of bad homes and bad surroundings and poor wages; and when they asked for better hours and better wages and an opportunity for collective bargaining, they did not by that act change from being one hundred per cent Americans in their attitude and spirit into dangerous foreigners who were trying to injure the well being of the American people.

We have people who think the country is absolutely in danger of being ruined because of the foreign born. We have another group who point to this, that or the other distinguished foreign born citizen, and so it all takes care of itself.

One thing I think it is extremely important we should realize in any work we do is that we are not going to be stampeded into any general conclusion with reference to the alien born in our midst, and that we are going to give them the opportunity for self expression, for freedom of opinion, and the right of development in this country, and do any good that we can contribute to it.

WHAT we must preserve for the future of the United States is the very best thing that anybody can show us for our community or for our nation. And after all this is it seems to me, what the government is

working toward. Anything is American that is for the good of this country, and anything that is not for the good of the country is not American, and the test of that, it seems to me should be the test we are making. Don't let us act on the theory that conditions in America develop one set of conditions that is foreign, and another set that is American. The injustices run through both groups, and the remedies will have to come from both. (Applause.)

I FIND myself sometimes wondering to-day just what the foreign born think of our sudden interest in their welfare, because up until a few years ago the Americans took less interest in their foreign born neighbors than to-day. The foreign born were more or less neglected in our midst, as far as the Americans were concerned, and someone who has had friendly dealings with them has called them our "Non-participating group in American Civic Life." If that is true of the foreign born as a group, it is especially true of the women of foreign born parentage, of foreign birth.

A woman came to me the other day and said: I should like very much to learn English, if some American would speak to me in English, which was to me very enlightening. But we have not taken the interest until recently that we should, in our foreign born neighbors. We have rather neglected them, it seems to me. The opportunity has not been given them to learn English or this American life, or the customs. Perhaps you know that only two per cent of our foreign born population ever attended the night schools until recently.

As Miss Abbott has said, the learning of English is not the sum total of Americanization. But the common language tends towards better understanding of all that we love. And we should have an attempt in every community to teach this common language to our foreign born friends.

We have had in existence four types of classes of study groups among foreign born; The first, a very interesting group or class is our mother's class in public school buildings. In these classes for mothers we have the care of the child under American conditions taught to the foreign born women; how to cook American dishes, how to sew American garments, and while she is learning this touch of American life, she is learning the English language in a very interesting way.

We have also the factory classes for the men and women in industry; and our largest group of classes today is in the industries. We have a large number of classes, and we have them at the time the men and women asked for them, either at the noon time where we ask the firm to allow an extra noon hour for the classes, or immediately after work; wherever we can have the best opportunity to meet the men and women. To show how that adjustment of time works in the industrial

life, two or three years ago we opened a class in an industry, one of our large industries where, by the way, there are 1,031 non-English speaking men, by actual count—we opened a class, and the first night fifty-four men attended the class. The employers put it at half past seven in the evening. The men were to go home and return to the class. At the end of two weeks we had four men in that class. I said: "Let's have it during the day while the men are not tired, make it a little easier." We started with about fourteen, and in two weeks we had ninety in the class. That only goes to show the importance of the adjustment of time in relation to the foreign born classes.

We also have a large group of classes in the different institutions of Chicago. We have for two years had a class for foreign born women in the Bridewell. We have classes in the hospitals for the returned soldiers who do not speak English and institutions of that type. Our newest group of classes is in office buildings of Chicago. There we meet the janitors and janitresses and scrub women, a group of people who have little time at their disposal; that has given an opportunity of meeting people that to me has proved a most interesting group or class. Possibly the history of one these classes will explain many of our problems, so I will trace the development of one class, if I may, for a few minutes.

One of our classes met in this big concern. The manager of the building said: "Now, every non-English speaking man and woman must attend that class." So the watchman came with us, the policeman of the store, and they all came up to that class. Very soon the manager of the building, whom they called the Big Boss, said "there was five men making trouble; they did not want to come to the class." I said: "I don't much blame them, do you?" Well, he didn't know why. I said, "Now if you will just let us try this thing out in another way we will see what we can do. If we are of any good at all to you or any of these people who are to meet in the class, we can make it interesting enough so that they will want to come. We will try to give them the thing they want and need." He said: "That sounds rather constructive, we will do it." I assure you it did take some weeks to overcome the first impression.

At Christmas time however we had a little Christmas party for these foreign born friends, and we had some Polish music. There was not a dry eye among the Poles when the music was ended. That touched their whole life; that was something they had evidently been longing for in this new American surrounding.

The manager had asked me what he could do? I said: "We want some refreshments and we want a piano," both of which he provided. When it came time to serve the refreshments the manager of the building served the scrub-

(Continued on page 384)

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For a Better To-morrow

Residents of New York and its vicinity need nothing to remind them of the impressive international conference of women physicians which was held in the Young Women's Christian Association, last October. Women doctors from all the allied and some of the neutral countries assembled under the hospitality of the "Y" to confer together on the making of a better world. Representatives from the WOMAN CITIZEN had the pleasure of attending some of the sessions of the conference, but in the midst of it the printers' strike cut off all possibility of adequate presentation of this enterprise—one of the most effective post-war movements instigated and carried on by women.

The impulse to this conference was furnished by the experience of women doctors in training camps, Dr. Anna M. Brown, presiding officer, thus explained it:

"The work of the Social Morality Committee, which welcomes you as guests to this conference, began actually in 1913, when a commission was appointed to discover whether there was some better way than had yet been found to awaken among women and girls an appreciation of their responsibility for sex irregularities and for those questions that had come to be social problems. When the war came and we found ourselves under obligation to expand to meet the conditions which were created by the excitement of war, we soon realized that there was more than one set of problems to deal with. The examination of the men who enlisted and were drafted showed how great a need there was for a better physical status than that which had been recognized by America. When women by thousands and tens of thousands were enlisted or drafted into industries or other new occupations, it was regrettable that there was no way of making physical examinations in their case in order to discover what their physical rating was. Our work in the realm of social education was in the nature of instruction to women and girls on the necessity

for discretion in their behavior toward the men who were in training and who gathered in large cantonments and training camps, were away from all the restraints that ordinarily guided them in their behavior toward other people. We could not but recognize that when our boys were going overseas there should be some common ground of thinking among the women of the countries to which they were going and the women of this country; but when we broached the subject, the men in charge of the Government program warned us that no suggestion must in any way be made to intimate that social conditions abroad were not perfectly all right, lest we be misunderstood and there should be resentment toward our attitude. We were not persuaded that that was the case. We could not believe that the women of other countries were not in exactly the same position that we were in ourselves, obliged to deal with a difficult set of problems for which, so far, no solution had been found.

"We, therefore, planned, away back before we knew the war was to stop, to bring about such a conference as is gathered here today. We planned that we would somehow get together the women of the world by representation and with them undertake to study the questions which have become of such vital moment to women everywhere."

THE *Proceedings of the International Conference of Women Physicians* are now published in six volumes by the *Women's Press*. The volumes cover quite generally the larger groupings of subjects discussed, such as General Health, Industrial Health, Health of the Child, Moral Codes and Personality, Adaptation of the Individual to Life, and the Conservation of Health of Women in Marriage.

These five volumes should be on hand for study and reference by all social workers; they are so full of needed information.

There was one part of the discussion last year from which the lay public was necessarily excluded. These were the special sessions devoted to the study of social morality. This was not because of an effort to keep out the men and women of the great city of New York; but it was justly inferred that the doctors could discuss more freely if they were not limited by an unprofessional public.

Volume Five of the report—Adaptation of the Individual to Life—is the one most intimately concerned with the theories of psychoanalysis as a method of finding out the subconscious life of individuals and of helping them to adapt themselves to the world about them. Any reading of this volume, however slight, gives a thoughtful person a renewed sense of the possibilities of good when men and women shall get together and without false modesties lay aside the silences of generations and tell the human truth; for men doctors and women doctors here in session were found reverently discussing the basic facts of life.

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The report of the conference sums up its hope for future benefit for mankind from this frank international, interracial interest exchange of views as follows:

"1. A greater sense of the well-being of the individual. We have learned the value of the mere life of a person, perhaps, but not so much the value of the complete fulfillment of that life. Women with their capacity for interesting themselves in the usual and commonplace are fitted naturally to develop a scheme of health betterment which will reach down to every boy and girl, man and woman and stimulate to self-responsibility in regard to physical well-being.

"2. A steadily increasing emphasis on the preventing rather than the curing of disease, the maintaining of vigorous bodies rather than the reconstructing of weaklings.

"3. The refusal of women to regard any woman as an outcast for any reason whatsoever. Prostitution cannot, for the woman, ever be a necessary evil. To regard it as such divides women abnormally into two classes which may become, in individual instances, competitors of each other. Women are ready to recognize that every woman who has intercourse without love and for material advantages is a prostitute at heart. The common humanity and, hence, the potential possibilities of prostituting their love are present in all women, uniting them in spite of gross and apparent outward differences among them.

"4. A recognition on the part of all that any permanent cure for the evils of prostitution or venereal disease will be brought about by education based on sound understanding of the problems involved. No permanent results will follow legal edicts; they suppress, but cannot eliminate. The abolishing of prostitution will take place in the exact proportion in which the desires and convictions of individuals are aroused in bringing it to pass and the outward conditions of life are adapted to the inner needs of human beings."

Still Rejoicing

GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX was one of the first persons to congratulate Mrs. Catt after the proclamation of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Secretary of State. His telegram which was sent to Poli's Theatre in Washington, read:

"I appreciate the opportunity of taking this means of joining in the meeting on suffrage ratification. It is good to know that finally that which was looked upon as a privilege has been established as a matter of right."

FROM Scotland, Glasgow's Equal Citizenship Society sent congratulations.

The Swedish auxiliary sent most hearty congratulations from Anna Wicksell, its president.

From the International Alliance came this: "Rejoicing with you" signed Bergman, Macmillan, Wicksell, Holmgren, Whitlock, Petrini.

Lady Aberdeen sent her "warmest congratulations."

From Paris, France, "Affectionate enthusiastic felicitations for end of strife," were received from Madame Dewitt Schlumberger, president of the L'Union Francaise pour le suffrage des Femmes.

"Chaudes felicitations" was the greeting of Emilie Gourd, speaking for Swiss Suffragettes.

From Mr. and Mrs. William Jennings Bryan came another: "Accept our hearty congratulations upon the great victory won for the suffrage amendment by your splendid leadership. I am sure that the women of the land will by the wise use of the ballot hasten the triumph of every righteous cause and justify the labors of all who have contributed to this epoch making reform. You and your coworkers have justly earned the joy that now so abundantly rewards your patient and unselfish efforts."

One of the pleasant evidences of a new day was shown by the fact that John Wanamaker used paid advertisement space in the newspapers to express his rejoicing over the woman's victory. Said he, in part:

"For many years past the old men, the rich men, the slackers, who never voted on a rainy day, have left the elections in the hands of the millions of young men of the cities, States and Nation.

"The coming to the front—and staying there—of the noble women of each State has brought on this day of a just and righteous freedom which has dawned upon the United States.

"It ushers in the new era devoutly prayed for."

A much prized message came from Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina:

"Permit me to congratulate you on the great victory which you have achieved and upon the superb generalship by which you have brought this final success to your cause.

"You have led one of the greatest movements in all history and with a courage and an adaptation of means to the end, which has been surpassed by no leader of a great movement.

"Unlike the great leader of the Israelites, you have been permitted to enter the Promised Land.

"When Lincoln, the leader of another great movement for humanity, lay dead, Edwin M. Stanton said: 'He now belongs to the Ages.' You now belong to history and will take your place among the great leaders who have achieved success for a great cause.

"Your title to fame is secure. Henceforward nothing can touch it. It will grow greater with the passing of the years."

Among the interesting cablegrams received since the proclamation by the Secretary of State are these from London:

"All here rejoice greatly over your well earned victory, you have fought a good fight"—Millicent Garrett Fawcett.

"Heartiest congratulations, good wishes"—Corbett, Ashby, International Woman Suffrage Alliance.



MISS FURMAN, in charge of our Women's Department, can tell women who may be away from home how we can take care of securities, collect income from whatever source and credit it to your checking account.

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The Book Stall

Women of Queen Elizabeth's Time

THE *Working Life of the Women in the Seventeenth Century*, lately published by Harcourt, Brace and Howe, N. Y., is a noteworthy book, dealing with aspects of the woman question that almost all historians have overlooked. The author, Alice Clarke Shaw, Research Student of the London School of Economics and Political Science, "by painstaking investigation has ascertained and brought out some of the underlying causes that led to the serious change for the worse in women's condition in England in the Seventeenth Century in the days of Queen Elizabeth." As the author truly says, historians have paid little attention to the circumstances of the women's lives, because it has been assumed that women remain about the same under all circumstances, whereas in fact women of the same race vary immensely from century to century as their environment varies.

This book deals with the changes in women's character and status wrought by the changes in their methods of work.

Organization for production is of three types:

(1) *Domestic industry*, where the goods produced are for the use of the family, not for sale.

(2) *Family industry*, where the family is the unit for the production of goods to be sold or exchanged, the family owning the stock and tools and themselves doing the work on their own premises, the father, mother and children often working together, and the proceeds belonging practically to the family as a whole and

(3) *Industrialism*, where the employer owns the business and pays individual wages to the individual workers.

In Queen Elizabeth's time most of the women

were occupied in domestic industry or family industry. They were producers side by side with their husbands and a widow generally carried on her husband's business after his death. The wives of the nobility managed the estates when their husbands were away, often for long periods; and even the wives of the poorly paid day laborers could earn a living for themselves and their children by spinning. The English women of Elizabeth's time were hardy, active and courageous.

As machinery came in, the old forms of industry gradually gave place to modern industrialism and the transition time brought terrible sufferings to farm laborers' wives. Their husband's wages were still too low to support them; and they could no longer support themselves. Enormous numbers of these starving women and children became public charges. Even those who had work were inefficient because underfed. Under the new conditions women were more and more crowded out of the skilled trades—not so much by masculine jealousy as by the changed economic order. Meanwhile, the wives of the rich had less and less to do with their husband's business, and sank into idleness and frivolity.

The author considers the effect of the changed industrial conditions upon woman's capacity as producers, upon their motherhood, and upon their general standing and moral influence in society. She finds that the hard and varied work which they did in Elizabeth's time did not seem to impair their motherhood, as they had large families of energetic children; but when the conditions changed so that great numbers of women were unable to support themselves, starvation impaired both their fertility and the health of their offspring.

The exclusion of women from skilled industry and from a share in their husband's work meant also a lessening of their educational opportunities and a consequent lowering of their character and their good influence upon society.

The author says:

"The general effect upon women of this exclusion, which ultimately limited their productive capacity to the field of household drudgery, or to the lowest paid ranks of unskilled labor, belongs to a much later period. But one point can already be discerned and must not be overlooked. This is the alteration which took place in a woman's productive capacity when her labor was transformed from domestic industry to wage-earning, under the conditions prevailing in the seventeenth century. When employed in domestic industry, the whole value of what she produced was retained by her family; but when she worked for wages her family only received such a proportion of it as she was able to secure to them by her weak bargaining power in the labor market. What this difference amounted to will be seen when it is remembered that the wife of a husbandman could care for her children and feed and clothe herself and them by her domestic industry, but when working for wages she could not earn enough for her own maintenance."

The coming in of the "mechanical state" caused the individual to be looked upon as the *unit*, instead of the family, and this meant the male individual—with disastrous results. "We may even ask ourselves," says the author, "whether the instability, superficiality and spiritual poverty of modern life, do not spring from the organization of a state which regards the purpose of life solely from the male standpoint, and we may permit ourselves to hope that when this mechanism has been effectively replaced by the organization of the whole, which is both male and female, humanity will receive a renewal of strength." She adds that this increased strength may enable them to grapple successfully with the blind force of industrialism—"that force which, while producing wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, has hitherto robbed us of so large a part of the joy of creation."

This is a very bare summary of a book that is full of rich and various meat. A. S. B.

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The Children and the Theatre

EVERYONE who is interested in children's dramatic work will welcome the selected *List of Plays for Children* compiled by Kate Oglebay for the Community Theatre Exchange of the New York Drama League. The list includes reference books, books on costumes, books of stories suitable for playing, and dramatic readers besides plays published singly and in groups. Each book is briefly described and the publishers and price given.

The Community Theatre Exchange is a new and very interesting phase of the work of the Drama League. It is maintained for the purpose of giving advice and information, supplying directors, coaches, designers and lecturers to those who are producing plays; to students of the drama the exchange supplies lecturers on drama and the theatre, courses in reading and the study of plays, and critical bibliographies of plays and books on drama. To those who desire technical training the exchange offers advice as to courses and teachers, as well as opportunities for employment along such lines. The Exchange has at its command the assistance of a corps of consulting experts, each one a recognized authority in his own field.

For those who are not acquainted with the very worthwhile work of the Drama League the aims of the organization may be stated briefly. In the bulletin the League announces that it is a clearing house of dramatic information for the playgoers, the playwright, the student and the teacher. It aims to reach the

playgoer through a fortnightly review of the New York theatre called the *Drama Calendar*, and the reader through the pages of the *Theatre Arts Magazine*. For the student the League offers a Sunday afternoon lecture series.

Last year the League experimented in the field of young people's performances in the firm belief that the best plays—and not necessarily plays intended for children—are quite within their comprehension, and that from the standpoint of psychology an audience mainly made up of children has an advantage over an ordinary audience. The League bought the entire playhouse for a matinee for Abraham Lincoln, for George Washington, for the Piper and for Walter Hampden in *Hamlet*. From a financial standpoint the experiment was successful for the house was filled each time although there was no reduction in the price of seats except in certain cases. The children were most enthusiastic and the players in each cast felt their sympathetic appreciation.

The League hopes to continue the young people's performances during the coming season.

The *List of Plays* and the books described in it, as well as other information may be obtained from the Drama League, 7 East 42nd St., New York City.

Drama to Teach Citizenship

THE drama as the medium for teaching the processes of government and legislative procedure has been adopted by the Committee on Education for Citizenship of the Boston League of Women Voters. The first of a series of plays which the League will present is entitled "Senate Bill 575" and deals with the problem of child labor. Miss Eugenia B. Frothingham, the playwright, has made the little drama of double value through authoritative data on the question involved.

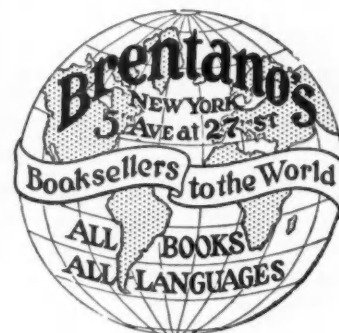
Hammock Stories

FOR the hottest days of all, Mr. C. C. Hotchkiss's *The Ivory Ball* (W. T. Watt and Co., N. Y.), is almost too strenuous. It will require an extra pitcher of iced—whatever it is these days—to get one past the chapters where the characters are spread all over the South-west deserts panting with thirst. An awful idea for an August day. Then there are hot moments when Laurens, who is rapidly pursuing a Chinese mandarin gentleman,

(Continued on page 385)

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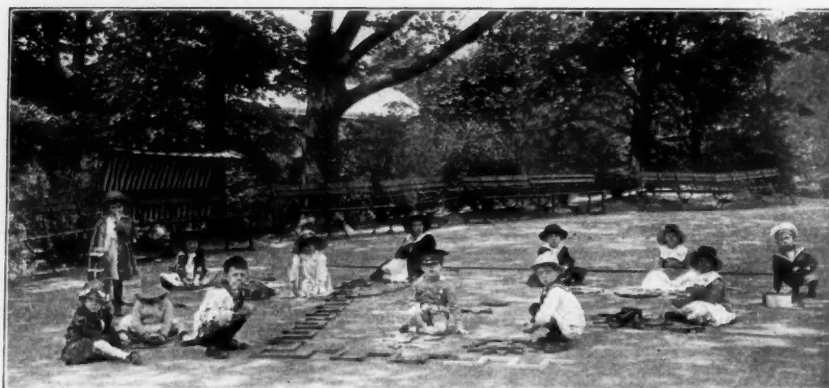
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An Out- Door School



Within the City Limits

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AN out of door school in the heart of New York City with cable cars clanging by the front door sounds like an anomaly. But it is no anomaly; it is an adaptation, showing the resourcefulness and sympathy of a woman educator. What she has done is to tackle New York's problem where she finds it.

It is not just the problem of the child—although that would be supreme with her—it is the problem as well, of the mother and of the home.

How can a tender growing thing like the soul of a little child expand in the tight packed town? is the question she has been asking herself, and in seeking answers she has attempted something individual and different.

There are three ways in which her philosophy is unique, and several points of contact where it meets the demands of the moment. New York is a congested city. It needs space. So this out of door school in a business block carries the school to the space which is found in Central Park, not more than a stone's throw away, provided the stone is thrown by an expert and without kimona sleeves. There, classes are held for very little children, their being very little is point two in the philosophy of this educator, who seeks to gather them under her wing from three years old to eight.

It is part of her educational creed that children are not started early enough in the public schools of the city.

PPOINT number three in her philosophy is that the mother needs to have a place where she can put her child when she herself cannot give it all the care it needs. In the modern flat life of today, the modern mother has no place for servants in her close quarters. She must therefore have her children with her at every moment. She is often restrained from civic duties by the fact that there is no one with whom to leave the children if she wants to go to a political club or a social committee. She does

not even have room enough or leisure enough to smooth tired lines out of her face. And no child is the better for being constantly with a tired mother.

To free the mother is a part of the out-door school plan, because she too needs that outside life, and the outside life needs her. No scheme of education which does not include the new demands which society has justly laid upon the mother in the home, can succeed in the opinion of the head of the Out Door School.

To meet this need, she has also planned a Good Time Club to which children may come after school hours when the mother is a business woman, perhaps, or when she is not well, or when a newer baby claims her.

THESE are some of the ways in which the care of little children can become expert and collective with no wrenching of family ties.

And the small child is taught to find his way about in this out-of-doors world. Every day when it is not impossible weather, he is taken to the park for his class room work.

For the kindergartners, nature herself furnishes a big table of earth or sod, and kindergarten gifts big enough to show on park spaces are used instead of small blocks on small tables. Reading classes are held out of doors, story telling groups find a happy setting for a favorite tale.

This is not so much a new movement as a new use of existing facilities, an effort to fit the needs of mother and child for the betterment of both, a recognition that woman has more to give to husband and children, when she has time to receive something herself and not give constantly out of an empty life.

Adapting Art to Life

THE School of Fine and Applied Arts in New York City is meeting one of the big

needs of the day, that is the need for a trained group of men and women to adapt art to life.

Its scope includes artistic posters, interior decorating, costumes and advertising. That is, it seeks to make our every day world in which we must all live three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, look a little less like an accident and more like an intention.

Nothing so impresses upon the public the fact that here is a field where missionary zeal is desired, than a survey of the garden variety of posters set up in public places and which frequently discourage the public from ever wanting to know anything further about the product.

Last year the School of Fine and Applied Arts had six hundred men and women students.

Education for Society

MISS EILEEN EDNA POWER has the honor to be the first woman elected in England to one of the Albert Kahn Fellowships, which have been increased to one thousand pounds each for the current year. The object of the Fellowship is to enable the Fellow to travel for at least twelve months in foreign countries in the interest of sociological study.

Americanization

(Continued from page 379)

women and the janitors and janitresses himself, which seemed to me rather a rights step in a democratic way. A few nights ago this manager of the building was ill, and the lesson that night suggested by the teacher was the writing of a letter in English. When they got through, every member of that class had written a letter to the manager of the building and asked that it be sent.

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Hammock Stories

(Continued from page 383)

named Chow T'su, seems to need more air than he can get in an Orientally draped room at the top of a house.

This is a tale of priceless loot from a Chinese temple which has found its way into Mexico and the U. S. A. just in time to make a regular photoplay scenario about one John Laurens, and a lady who first appears in the guise of a youth. Nothing is lacking to this smashing romance but probability.

IF the day prove too hot for the complex difficulties of Chow T'su and his knockout ivory trinket, why not try Douglas Grant's *Single Track* (W. T. Watt and Co.), which has the advantage of being located in Alaska. Here is nothing occult nor yet old-worldish. It is a plain American roughhouse story in which the plot goes through enough knockdown and dragout episodes to please even the insatiable American demand for such incidents. The inevitable incognito rich girl is on the scene, the war is brought in just enough to make a popular background, and the story races to its predetermined happy conclusion at the rate of a mile a minute.

IT is hard to be patient with the slow movement of Anne Douglas Sedwick's "The Third Window." (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

This is said to be Mrs. Basil de Selincourt's first novel since 1913. It is a subtle character study, not so firm in its outlines as "Tante" and morbid, very morbid. It is one of these attenuated soul plays in which one personality spreads a miasma over another. Inconspicuous Cicely Latimer in her weather-beaten mourning, her bleached personality, her awful intensity abides in the back ground of this story and dominates it.

It is not the morbidity of Cicely that frets the reader, however, it is the endless conversations of the lovers about Antonia's love for Bevis and whether it is or it isn't disloyal to her dead husband Malcolm. They talk about nothing else, that is Antonia talks of nothing else. Bevis, who has some real troubles, such as an artificial leg and a generally battered up constitution due to the late unpleasantness in Europe, gets so worn out with Antonia's fidgeting over her soul and splitting hairs about loving Bevis more than Malcolm or Malcolm more than Bevis, that one marvels at the poor man's patience. Antonia seems to the reader but a poor sort of a companion anyway, her mind being so cobwebby and devoid of fresh air and sunshine.

Meanwhile the morbid Cicely is tuning up the idea that Malcolm, himself, is about to take a hand in the discussion and appear some fine night in the garden to reproach Antonia. An

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unpleasant idea, which Malcolm, who seems to have been a gentleman when on earth, would never have thought of himself. As for Antonia, her none too vigorous mind is altogether too much overwrought by her hysterical and introspective state to know whether she really saw her husband out of "the third window" or only saw what Cicely's mind willed she should see.

The tragic results were just the same in any case. Of course, one could not help but be a little relieved that Bevis should at last break loose and tell Cicely what he thought of her. It must have done him good after all those drab-toned dialogues with Antonia, who was as well off dead herself as mulling about forever over her languid emotions. If only Cicely had put herself out of the way too and left what physical fragments of Bevis there were to readjust themselves as well as possible to the world of living beings it would have been a good idea; for Cicely was one of those creatures who live in half worlds of their own, where neither living nor dead can commune in peace.

If one likes morbid psychology "The Third Window" oozes it.

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A Challenge to New Voters

AUGUST 18, 1920, records a never-to-be forgotten day in the annals of the American Woman.

On that day, throughout the length and breadth of these great United States of America, in the ratification of the Federal Amendment by Tennessee, automatically the enfranchisement of the women of these states, became an established fact and the morning of August 19th dawned upon a new era.

I appeal to my sister citizens to join hearts and hands and solemnly covenant that this new era shall be a great era—the greatest perhaps, the world has ever seen.

I appeal to these new citizens, not as women, but as world-builders, to recognize that this call to larger service is most sacred and inspiring and if it is true, as it has been claimed, that women is more spiritual than man—let them prove here and now, the truth of this claim—in all that it connotes.

Let the citizens of this new era turn their backs—resolutely upon the tawdry, cheap game of "politics", which has degraded and demeaned our great country and made of it, in this last year, an object of severe ridicule, before the peoples of the world. Let them address themselves seriously and conscientiously to the great problems which challenge the

thinkers of the world, in this critical hour, studiously seeking to solve them, by the application of the majestic, scientific laws of Political Economy and practical disinterested statesmanship, realizing that the *real* law, underlying every phenomena is *one* with the moral law.

Let these new citizens go forth to struggle for the right with the same intrepid spirit that our brothers and sons displayed in the bitter, bloody years just gone by.

Let no fear of contumely, ridicule, even persecution deter them, nor must they falter when assailed, but stand unflinchingly for the right.

May these new citizens repudiate narrow creeds or concepts or any issues, which bring prosperity—for a privileged class, while struggle, conflict, perhaps destitution wreck the lives of those less fortunate.

May the spirit of tolerance mark our new citizens. May they spurn petty personalities and prove themselves superior to prejudice, hostility to opponents or unworthy policies, directed toward class, party or individual aggrandizement.

The women of the United States have today the greatest opportunity for noble, disinterested, international, humanitarian service which has ever been opened to any group before in the

history of the world for Fate has clearly designated the high destiny of this country of ours. The magical word of "Brotherhood" has been spoken.

This word has had its sacred baptism of blood, poured out from the hearts of our sons in those cruel fields in France.

Let these new citizens in to it, that the great sacrifices shall not have been in vain, but consecrate the best powers of their being to constructing a new world—which shall be based, as a gifted Christian has expressed it, upon "the leadership of Virtue and the equalization of education."

GERTRUDE WINDER HAYWOOD.

Leadership in Motion Pictures

(Continued from page 365)

tion of such evidence and in many fields of the educational work that the Community Motion Picture Bureau is beginning a great work of evolutionary improvement in social groups, working out in practice the implication involved in its name "Community," which the United States Government has now given its full protection over in connection with motion pictures, this right being based upon the Bureau's long and successful use of this name in motion picture work.

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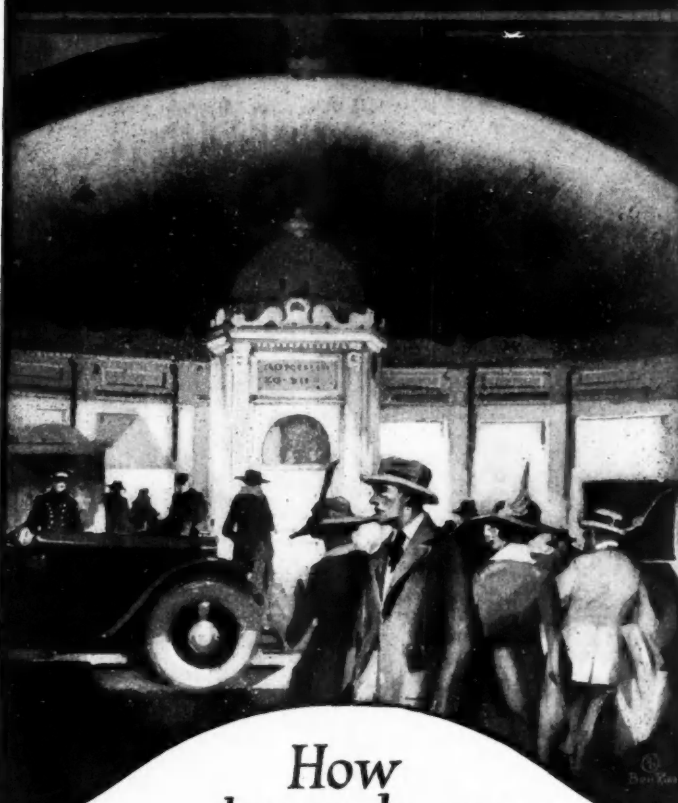
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September 11, 1920

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As an Act of Gratitude

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Harriet Taylor Upton

Mrs. Upton will have another message to women in our next issue

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Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

SEPTEMBER 11, 1920

No. 15

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

SEPTEMBER 11, 1920

NUMBER 15

The Legal Tangle

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS are still hoping that some technicality may defeat the Federal Suffrage Amendment. It is a vain hope, as all Americans who have followed the campaign of ratification well know.

The antis announce that by injunction and mandamus proceedings against election officials they will keep women from voting if they can. As injunctions are not difficult to obtain, they may succeed so far as to bewilder the public minds. The facts out of which they must bring their threatened legal attacks are as follows:

(1) There is a conflict between the Tennessee and the Federal Constitutions. The Federal Constitution describes the method by which a constitutional amendment shall be ratified. The Tennessee Constitution takes exception to this method and declares that an election shall intervene between the submission of a Federal amendment and its ratification by the Legislature of that State. The legislators of Tennessee take an oath to uphold two constitutions—the Federal and the State. The Federal Constitution declares that it is the supreme law of the land and all decisions handed down since the beginning of the Federal Supreme Court have upheld this claim. Therefore, it was not strange that Mr. Frierson, acting Attorney General for the Nation, and Attorney General Thompson, acting for the State of Tennessee, together with many prominent lawyers within the State of Tennessee, plus Chief Justice Clark of North Carolina, and Charles Evans Hughes of New York, pronounced opinions to the same end; that is, that there is a conflict and since there is, the Tennessee Constitution must give way to the Federal Constitution.

The first claim made by the antis is that the opposite of this fact is true. Unless the Supreme Court of the Nation shall reverse all the decisions which have preceded it, the antis have not a shred of hope of winning their claim.

(2) No one questions the action of the Tennessee Senate. When the vote was taken in the House upon ratification, it stood 49 to 47. The speaker of the House changed his vote from No to Yes, making 50 Ayes to 46 Noes. The speaker then moved to reconsider. According to the printed rules of the House in Tennessee, a motion to reconsider any ordinary measure may be made by any person voting aye. That person then controls the right to bring the motion up at any time within three days. That is, no other person may bring it up. On each one of these three days, the House met with full quorum present and the speaker did not bring up his motion to reconsider because the majority were suffragists and would vote it down. At the end of the session of the third day, the suffragists carried a motion to meet on Saturday morning. According to the custom, but not the printed rules of the House, it is possible after the three days for any member to call up a motion to reconsider; therefore the suffragists intended to bring it up on Saturday morning and vote it down. At that time, however, thirty-eight anti-suffragists, seeing that they were helpless against the suffrage

majority, fled from the city and from Tennessee and spent a week in Alabama in order to break a quorum. During this time the Attorney General plus several other important lawyers in the State rendered two opinions. First, when a Legislature has taken favorable action on a Federal Amendment it has exhausted its power to act and no motion to reconsider was applicable even for the limit of three days. Second, even had a motion to reconsider been applicable in the case of a Federal Suffrage Amendment, that power was exhausted according to the printed rules of the House when three days had passed; for no custom of the House could be held to have legal value.

(3) When the suffragists were assured that ratification was absolutely complete, and the certificate so announcing had gone to Washington and the proclamation had been issued by the Secretary of State, some of them went home. It was then that the filibustering absentees returned and with the suffragists remaining made a quorum. They then voted to rescind the action of the Legislature in ratifying and will now claim that this was the actual opinion of the Legislature. The truth is that when the first action was taken, 96 of the 99 elected members of the House were present. One of the three not present was delayed at home by the dangerous illness of his wife, another by the serious illness of his baby and the third member had resigned, thus leaving a vacancy. The two absentees would have voted for suffrage had they been present and actually did return and so voted later. It was a full and complete House when the vote was taken and that majority continued for the three days when the motion to reconsider was really pending.

There are no other facts involved in the situation. The Certificate, sent to Washington, is usually signed by the speakers of the two Houses. In this case it was not so signed but was merely the certified copy of the minutes of the two houses showing the action taken. As it is not necessary that the speakers should sign the certificate, the report sent to Washington lacked no legal factor.

A careful understanding of the above facts will reassure any suffragists who makes herself familiar with them. The suffragists will welcome the appeal of the anti-suffragists from court to court, and finally to the Supreme Court of the Nation. Certainly every American citizen wants to know that ratification has been legal in every respect. The Supreme Court of the Nation meets in October and without doubt it will make an early place on its calendar for the decision of this question. C. C. C.

Register as an Act of Gratitude

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, chairman of the National League of Women Voters, is calling upon all the women of the country to register and vote. Said Mrs. Park:

"The dramatic victory in Tennessee emphasizes anew the hardships and the endurance which have gone into the winning of suffrage. Hundreds of women have expressed by letter and telegram and poem and jubilation their gratitude to Mrs. Catt and the leaders of the suffrage movement. There is just one

way to make that gratitude an effective thing. Use your vote now that you have it. Don't let the travail and struggle of seventy years go for naught in this year of years, when great questions are being settled.

"If you are glad you have the vote, be glad enough to put yourself to the trouble of registering and voting. If you are grateful for the gift of the ballot, use it.

"Uphold the cause for which women have sacrificed themselves, and prove that sacrifice worth while."

Not So Very Blind

LAST week's cover illustration, "Are you politically blind?" met with a swift retort from Mrs. George Gellhorn, of St. Louis, vice-chairman of the National League of Women Voters and acting director of organization and citizenship schools, who wired at once: "I say women are not so very blind. Leagues of women voters are organized in every state of the union, except Connecticut, Delaware, Virginia, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Florida, West Virginia and Illinois, the last named to form a league on October 8. Citizenship schools are booking up from Coast to Coast."

While the whistles and bells of St. Louis were proclaiming ratification on August 28th, the women from nine states of the Union were completing a week's intensive training in organization and citizenship, preparing to leave immediately for various sections of the United States to carry the gospel of good citizenship to the new woman voter.

When the women throughout the country became convinced that, in spite of irritating delays, the thirty-sixth state would ratify in time for them to vote at the presidential election, November 2nd, the citizenship department in St. Louis was swamped with requests for field directors to establish and conduct citizenship schools through the various states.

As a result, Mrs. Geo. Gellhorn, vice-chairman of the National League of Women Voters and chairman of the citizenship department, under whose active leadership many successful schools have already been held, issued a hurry up call to the state presidents to send their best qualified women to a training school to be held the week of August 23rd. Because of the short time permitted between the call and the opening of the school and because of the increased cost of travel, it was expected that only those states within a short distance of St. Louis would respond, but when the school opened Monday morning the distant states of Wisconsin and Virginia answered "present," in addition to Arkansas, Oklahoma, Illinois, Indian, South Dakota and Missouri.

The training school was conducted by Miss Marie B. Ames, of St. Louis, national field director, who for the past year has conducted most successful schools in many of the states. In addition to the lectures in civil government ample time was allowed for instructions in the organization of leagues and citizenship schools, including the consideration of league and school programs, in publicity and money raising. Under the subject of "legislation" the Gronna, Smith-Towner, Shepherd-Towner and Kenyon-Fess Bills were discussed in detail, the students taking this opportunity to deliver short addresses explaining the provisions of the bills. Instructions were given as to the most effective way in which the new woman voter may help in securing this needed legislation in the next session of Congress. Several sessions were devoted to the development and organization of political parties, to conventions and primaries and to campaign and election day methods. Friday afternoon and Saturday morn-

ing written examinations were held and following the grading of these papers certificates will be issued to those successfully passing the examinations.

"It is very apparent from the number of requests coming to this office," said Mrs. Gellhorn, "that there is a need for Citizenship schools throughout the country, and I earnestly hope that within the next two months the message of good citizenship will be relayed to every nook and corner in the United States, resulting in a 100 per cent. vote of the women on November 2nd."

"A WOMAN living here has registered to vote, thereby assuming the responsibility of citizenship. This is a Michigan idea, approved at organization headquarters of the National League of Women Voters, 610 Century Building, St. Louis, Missouri. It is printed on window cards in the national colors and distributed widely.

"There is something really upstanding about such a sign as that," writes Mrs. Gellhorn. "I believe the moral effect of seeing these words in one window after another will be very great."

It shows what a high regard the National League sets on the duties of citizenship and how hard it is trying to arouse women everywhere. "Women of the United States are now entitled to enjoy the responsibilities and opportunities of full citizenship on the same basis as men. It is squarely up to the League of Women Voters to take the next steps, Education and Legislation."

Just One Suffrage Memorial After Another in Wyoming

FROM the eastern to the western boundaries of Wyoming, ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment found a jubilant welcome. To Cheyenne, the birthplace of woman suffrage, to Laramie, where sat the first woman jury, to Jackson's Hole, where the entire city administration from the Mayor to the Chief of Police is of women, word came to ring the bells.

At the old South Pass City, where the bill for suffrage was first conceived, wild flowers were placed on the monument marking the site of the office of the first woman justice-of-the-peace, Esther Morris, a woman largely instrumental in having the suffrage bill introduced.

There is no church at the old South Pass, "and no bell to be rung," writes Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, of the University of Wyoming, "except one adorning the neck of an assertive Jersey."

Remember Your Primaries

THE following state primaries are still to be held. Don't forget that you are now an enfranchised citizen:

Colorado, September 14.
Illinois, September 14.
Louisiana, September 14.
Massachusetts, September 21.
New Jersey, September 28.
New York, September 14.
Utah, October 19.
Vermont, September 14.
Washington, September 14.
Wisconsin, September 14.

Suppose They Had Been Suffragists

"Aren't you thankful those men who went to Alabama were not 'mere' women?" asks one far away suffragist.

Some Women of Chile

NOW that woman suffrage is an accomplished fact in the United States, the international suffrage organization will probably turn its attention to Central and South America. This is about the only large part of the civilized world where women are still debarred from voting.

There has been an active suffrage movement for some time in Argentina and Uruguay, and it is now stirring also in Chile. That country ought to be a good field for it, for it has had some noble and remarkable women. A friend of mine, a very intelligent Chilean woman, has given me an account of several.

The pioneers of the higher education in Chile were Mercedes Marin del Solar and Rosario Orrego de Uribe. The former, born in 1804, was only able to get, as she said, "the stingiest kind of an education," such as was given to girls in those days. From her youth up, she was an untiring advocate of better educational opportunities for women. She was much criticized as being "mannish" and having "the brains of a man." Her struggles are vividly described in her autobiography. She says she was always averse to making any great pretensions as a student:

"From a very early age my parents made me understand that whatever knowledge I might acquire through my reading, it was necessary for me first to learn to hold my tongue. Reflecting upon all the opposition that existed at that time to giving even an elementary education to girls, and doubtless also exaggerating it through over sensitiveness, I came to the conclusion that a literary woman in these countries was a sort of strange phenomenon, if not a ridiculous creature, and that for me to cultivate my mental faculties exacted to a certain extent a sacrifice of personal happiness."

She wrote only when so deeply moved that she could not help it. The following incident illustrates her character: In 1859, after one of the many South American wars, forty-nine young men of the best Chilean families were condemned to death as traitors, because they had taken the losing side. After exhausting in vain every other means to save them, Senora Mercedes Marin del Solar took a step unprecedented for a Spanish-American woman. She went into the Chilean Congress while it was in session, and asked leave to speak. When warned that she would endanger her life, she answered: "I risk only one life, and I have the chance of saving forty-nine." She was given twenty minutes. "It is worth learning Spanish only to read her twenty minutes' speech," said my friend. When she left the House of Congress, she carried with her the pardon of the forty-nine political prisoners. She did not live to see what would have rejoiced her heart—the opening of the University of Chile to women in 1886. She died in 1868.

HER colleague, Rosaria Orrego de Uribe, survived into the Twentieth Century. "I lived opposite to her for years in Valparaiso," said my Chilean friend, "and I can see her yet, fighting with a teamster in the street for beating his horse." She was noted for her independent ways. She was an able writer, a poet of merit, and for many years edited the "Revista de Valparaiso," besides writing for many of the leading papers. In the early sixties, she took part in the struggle for the opening of education not only to women but to the common people. To those who opposed public education for the poor, on the ground that the educated criminal is the most dangerous, she answered:

"Nonsense! Knowledge is a two-bladed weapon; it may be the dagger of the assassin, or the knife with which the father of a family distributes bread to his children. He who knows how to read is in a position to read what he likes. As Aesop said of language, 'It may be a curse or a blessing.'"

Liberal-minded men helped the women in their struggle for education. Juan Canas, statesman, author and poet, wrote "Woman! Why, she is the monument of civilization; more, she is the rock upon which civilization rests." Vicuna McKenna, statesman and historian, who has been called the Alexandre Dumas of South America, held women in high esteem, and saw hidden virtues even in those who had fallen lowest. In 1756 he wrote:

"You are beginning to educate your sons, forgetting your daughters, when you should have done the contrary. Is not the woman the mother of her son? Teach her, and do not worry about her son!"

Education in Chile is now open freely and without charge to everyone, from the lowest grade up through the University. Moreover, if a poor child, boy or girl, shows remarkable gifts, he or she may be sent abroad, at government expense, to receive still further education. One of the most distinguished women physicians in Chile today, Dr. Ernestina Perez, was the daughter of a poor washerwoman, a little girl whose Indian blood showed in her face. She was so bright that the government sent her to Europe to complete her studies.

The Chilean woman has achieved success as an educator, but it is as a philanthropist that she excels. During the war of independence, from 1812 to 1818, Antonia Salas de Errazuriz did extensive work in the hospitals and prison camps, turned her beautiful suburban home into a hospital, nursed the sick and wounded with her own hands, and paid the cost out of her own pocket.

In all this she was aided with heart and hand by Josefa Aldunate de O'Higgins. Josefa and her brother, Bernardo O'Higgins, the great liberator, were children of Ambrose Higgins, a little Irish boy who was employed in Dublin as a letter-carrier by Lady Bective. The Peruvian postmarks filled him with romantic dreams. He was afterwards sent to an uncle, a priest in Cadiz, to be educated, found his way to Peru, and later to Chile, obtained a commission in the army, and rose to be Viceroy. He then prefixed an O to his name thinking it more aristocratic. Josefa was exiled to Peru, nursed her brother there till his death, then returned to Chile and was active in hospital work till she died, at a great age. She was the Clara Barton of Chile.

SENORA JUANA ROSS DE EDWARDS was another big-hearted Chilean woman. As her name indicates, both her own grandfather and her husband's were English; they were two of the foreigners who fought for the independence of Chile. She built schools, churches, asylums, hospitals, and improved tenements for the poor. She built and maintained in Valparaiso one of the finest maternity hospitals in the world. She helped the convents that did educational work, the "sheltering homes" for persons in temporary need, the Little Sisters of the Poor, and many private charities, giving sometimes a quarter of a million dollars at a time. When the bursting of a large reservoir above Valparaiso swept a hundred people out to sea, and left hundreds more homeless and penniless, she took the survivors into her own palace, filling every room and corridor with beds; and afterwards she set them up again in business, investigating every case separately, and supplying the seamstress with a new machine, the carpenter with tools and each with money for the first month's rent. She was very unostentatious, and never wore a hat or bonnet, but covered her head with a lace veil, and wore cotton handkerchiefs instead of silk, preferring to save the difference and give it to the poor.

One day, when she was just leaving her house, plainly clothed as usual, she met at the door two gorgeously dressed English-

(Continued on page 401)

Co-operation, the Peaceful Revolution

By Mrs. A. D. Warbasse,

Educational Director of The Co-operative League of America

PART II

Co-operation in the United States

AMERICANS have been slower than almost any other nation to realize the value of Co-operation. There have been many natural reasons for this. Our people have until recently had the pioneer spirit. They have forged ahead individually trying to better their condition by moving from place to place seeking new fields of work rather than improving their condition right on the job. As John Graham Brooks so well puts it: "The very violence of our material prosperity, the extent and variety of unexhausted natural opportunity, with the habit thus engineered, have until recently made the economic modesties of the Co-operative movement seem rather ridiculous to us. The savings were so meager, the troubles so many. It is now certain, however, that in this country Co-operation is to have its first real chance."

The days of pioneer individualism have passed and the welfare and progress of most of us are linked up with the welfare of our neighbors. Within the last three years a marked increase in members and in interest has developed. Today there are at least three thousand Consumers' Co-operative Societies with over a million members doing a business of at least one hundred million dollars a year in addition to twelve thousand agricultural societies, Co-operative Consumers grain elevators, packing plants and marketing associations, whose annual business amounts to many hundreds of millions. These, however, do not even make a dent in the vast profit-making business that still dominates our economic life.

The Co-operative League of America was recently organized to serve as the center of information and education on Co-operation. Until its founding four years ago, Co-operative Associations sprang up here and there and blossomed into being or faded away with no one to advise them on right or wrong methods, no one to point out the experiences that make for permanency and success, no one to warn them of the mistakes which lead to failure. The League not only gives this information through personal advisers, but prints literature and pamphlets, issues magazines and books on all aspects of Co-operation, selling them at cost to all who seek sound information. To those who are wise enough to base the new economic structure on the knowledge and the collective experience of others the League is a guide and counsellor.

Failure is easy, but is no longer necessary. Success may be safely predicted if the members, directors and managers are loyal to the idea, well informed and follow the tested Rochdale methods. Co-operators do not experiment. The information is now available and societies are prospering in proportion (1) to the efficiency of their bookkeeping system and to the real democracy of their control and administration; (2) the closeness with which they are living up to Rochdale methods and ideals.

Does this method of bringing about the better day when all the necessities of life shall be produced and distributed for service and not for profit seem too slow? The Co-operative method will be the quickest in the end, because it is the surest. No new social order can be erected on a permanent basis unless it is based on a technique and an understanding of the means of putting it into effect. The people must be ready for the administration of the new system they create. It is easy enough for women to say, "give us the vote and we will bring about a better order of society." Nothing is easier than voting except talking. The hard thing is to carry out the program we vote for. Voting does not give us experience in administering the needs of the Co-operative commonwealth.

A popular slogan of the industrial revolutionists is "Workers of the world unite and take over the industries." But the mere act of uniting is not sufficient to assure the efficient systematic production and distribution of the industries that the workers of the world would "take over." The old system might be overthrown in a night, but next morning would they find a substitute ready made? No. Nothing but chaos and confusion. It is only by the fundamental process of training people in the schools of experience that we can substitute a new world for the old. No permanent change can come faster than the people themselves are able to see it through.

Another fallacy of this program is due to the fact that a vast number of the "workers of the world," the women home makers, have already taken over their "industry," though they have never united as an organized force. Although they are producers along lines of great human needs, they are not recognized among organized workers of the world. As consumers, however, organized in the Co-operative Movement, their ideals and points of view can be represented. There they take their part in bringing about the need economic changes in Society.

And so it is in these somewhat humble beginnings in this country that today we find the people are carefully working out the principles and the methods which when universally applied will bring about the Co-operative Commonwealth. For this reason the Co-operative Movement is wholly constructive.

Co-operation in Europe

IT IS encouraging to know that the Co-operative movement is being carried along with magnitude as well as with zeal in some countries. In England one third of the population are Co-operators. They did a trade in 1919 of about one billion dollars. The thirteen Co-operative Wholesale Warehouses distribute the products of sixty-five factories which make boots and shoes, cutlery, ironware, soap, tobacco, jams, pickles, bacon, cocoa, paints, brushes and brooms, flour, crackers and candy and even automobiles. The wheat that goes into the manufacture of flour is largely grown on the wholesale society's land in Canada and is transported to England in the society's own ships. The Co-operators own about thirty thousand acres of fruit and pasture land in England. Their policy is said to be to buy up every acre of tillable land offered for sale in England and place it in use for producing fruit, vegetables and dairy products for the consumers.

The membership of this great body of consumers is largely from the wage-earning class and it is from their ranks that the directors, managers and officers of their enterprises are drawn. Tom Killon, the former president of the British Wholesale went to work at the age of nine years. He had thirty thousand people under his direction in factories, mills and warehouses when he resigned at middle age. In 1918 the business he directed amounted to \$400,000,000. He received a salary of \$3,500. It is interesting to note in Great Britain that while Co-operative labor get slightly higher wages than is paid in private business, yet its managers and leaders have established standards of remuneration for themselves that would be scorned by captains of industry. The manager of St. Cuthbert's Society, Edinburgh, for example, received a salary in 1900 of \$1,750 a year. In the twenty-six years of his service he returned to his membership over twenty-one million dollars in savings. If he had himself

(Continued on page 402)

Playing the Classics

By ALTA E. THOMPSON.

*"Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold,
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;
Round many western islands have I been
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold."*

THERE are people who shake their heads dubiously and say that the classics have no appeal for the modern child. They remind us of the perfunctory way in which literature is so often taught, and they call to attention the wretched expurgated editions which are so easy to obtain. They seem to consider that the conditions so often existing are the natural outcome of the times, and that the beautiful stories which filled us with joy have lost their power to charm. Unfortunately, teachers there are who rail at the requirements, which through rare good judgment are demanding more and more attention to the classics. Despite previous neglect of literature, and no matter what the conditions are socially, the famous stories which have lived for years still cast their spell unless they are introduced so stupidly, or are so cut and disguised that children have not the opportunity to feel their thrill and enjoy their beauty.

To be sure there are many distractions in the complex life of today which make consecutive reading difficult. But given an opportunity to browse among good books and freedom to choose, children will respond to the best in literature. For the modern child, mere appeal is not enough, he wishes to live and feel the stories he has read. Left to himself, his expression will take the form of dramatics, and frequent attendance at moving pictures and plays only gives zest to this very natural form of self-expression, and ideas to supplement his own interpretation.

Teaching the classics is really a misnomer. The teacher's business is not to thrust the story down the children's throats but to spread the feast as invitingly as possible and allow the children to partake as freely as they will, giving them time to digest and enjoy. Compulsion, enforced opinions, and lock-step methods are entirely out of place. If anything so hard and fast as a plan may be suggested, it will be to first create the proper atmosphere for the story by bringing together pictures, books and any other material which will help to bridge the chasm between the present and the past, in order to avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretation. The vocabulary is often the greatest drawback, but as the material is shown, the quaint, unusual wording may be introduced. After the introduction, which should not be exhaustive, the story should be told or read, unless the children are able to read it rapidly. In that case the reading should be silent, with plenty of time before and after to discuss it and to have individuals read the conversation aloud.

By the time the story is finished the children may ask, as often happens in an informally conducted class, to play the story or a part of it. The process of constructing the play will be a simple matter indeed. If it is to be an interpretation for the class room, it may be given without great care to details, but even then simplicity must not be confounded with crudity, and respect for a beau-

tiful creation must be maintained. If the play is to be given for guests to see, the children must realize that infinite care and pains are necessary so that a glorious thing shall not be

marred by their presentation. On the other hand the play must be simple and in keeping with children and representative of their work, guided, of course, by the teacher. The costumes, the scenery and the properties, in so far as possible, should be the children's own work, or at least their ideas. The play must be kept spontaneous and natural, and yet it must not be rough and unfinished, and every child must feel it incumbent upon him to do his best.

THE ideas set forth here—and they make no claim to novelty or originality—are not mere theories; they are the result of the writer's experience with many children of varied ages and diverse environments, who have responded naturally and joyously to the appeal of literature. Outlining two of such class projects will suffice to show that playing the classics is possible and quite delightful.

Sixth grade children in a normal school in the Middle West decided that when they gave their final eighth grade play it should be from Scott's "Ivanhoe." The idea maintained throughout the seventh year, and when the children became eighth graders their plans were quite definite. "Ivanhoe" as required reading was hailed with delight; those pupils who had not already read the entire book through sheer interest read it eagerly because it was the talk of the class, and plans for the play grew apace. It was the most natural development imaginable, the choice of scenes, the cast, the costumes, scenery and properties, and even the rehearsals were managed to a large extent by committees, and it all showed the keenest group spirit and initiative. The teacher was pushed along by the class.

It was fascinating to see the pupils, the boys especially, poring over their books and examining different editions to help them in planning their costumes, for which they made rough sketches which were submitted to the costume committee and the teacher. The completed array of costumes was a delight to the eye. There was armor fashioned by sewing disks of metal on heavy cloth,—each boy made his own—; the shields were of beaver board with cleverly painted designs; the ladies' robes were of inexpensive

materials and were long and flowing, and there were many streaming pennants and gay banners, all the work of the pupils, with suggestions and help from the art department. The programs were printed by the boys in the school print shop. The dances of Robin Hood and his merry men represented the work of the pupils in physical training, the rollicking songs of Friar Tuck and the Black Knight were the work



"IVANHOE" OUT-OF-DOORS
Learning English History by Being It

of the music period. It was surprising to see the unifying effect of the project and the zest with which every one worked.

The synopsis of the play will show that it was not the sort of thing that could be done casually.

IVANHOE

SYNOPSIS OF THE PLAY.

- Music from "Robin Hood" (DeKoven).
 Act I. Scene 1. On the way to the Tournament.
 Place. Sherwood Forest, Yorkshire, England.
 Time. Late afternoon.
 Scene 2. The Arrival at Rotherwood.
 Place. Hall in Rotherwood.
 Time. Evening of the same day.
 Act II. The Victor in the Tournament.
 Place. Ashby-de-la-Zouche.
 Time. Two days later.
 Act III. Scene 1. The Plot of DeBracy.
 Scene 2. The Priory of Copmanhurst.
 Place. Sherwood Forest.
 Time. Evening, the second day of the Tournament.
 Act IV. The Rescue.
 Place. The Castle of Torquilstone.
 Time. The day after the Tournament.
 Act V. Under the Trysting Tree.
 Place. Sherwood Forest.
 Time. The next day.

The action takes place during the reign of Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England, about 1194.

DANCES

- The Dance of Robin Hood.
 The Dance of Robin Hood's Men.

SONGS

- The Crusader's Return.
 The Barefooted Friar.
 Come, Trowl the Brown Bowl.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

- Gurth, the swineherd } thralls of Cedric.
 Wamba, the jester }
 Prior Aymer, a Norman Priest.
 Brian de Bois Gilbert, a Knight Templar.
 Ivanhoe, disguised as a Palmer.
 Cedric, a Saxon thane.
 Oswald, Cedric's servant.
 Lady Rowena, Cedric's ward.
 Isaac, a Jew.
 Rebecca, his daughter.
 Prince John of England.
 De Bracy } Prince John's retainers.
 Fitzurse }
 Friar Tuck, Robin Hood's priest.
 King Richard Coeur-de-Lion, the Black Knight.
 Robin Hood, known as Locksley.
 Ladies.
 Robin Hood's Men.
 Knights.

From the time the play began until its close the boys and girls gave the impression of thoroughly enjoying themselves. For weeks afterwards they addressed each other by their play names as they had done throughout the weeks of preparation, and their much-loved costumes they donned whenever the slightest chance was offered. It all meant work, but the sultry summer afternoons did not deter these devotees of art from working on costumes and properties, or from the necessary rehearsals. The consciousness of having done a difficult thing well was a satisfaction which made the play of "Ivanhoe" a very pleasant memory; so pleasant, in fact, that it stands out in the teacher's memory as having been marvellously easy, and the worries and hard work are not even remembered. That is one of the many compensations of satisfying, happy work.

THE other play was given this year in a private school in New York City. It was the story of the return of Odysseus, and in some way, perhaps through the influence of "The Bluebird," its title became "The Greatest Gift of the Gods." The little blue program which showed the ship of Odysseus is copied here.

"THE GREATEST GIFT OF THE GODS"

Persons in the play, in order of appearance:

- Odysseus.
 Calypso and her attendants.
 Hermes.
 Nausicaa and her maidens.
 Pallas Athene.
 Eumaeus.
 Telemachus.
 Penelope and her women.
 Eurycleia.
 The Wooers.

A play showing how Odysseus and Penelope, after many and dire misfortunes, were granted Happiness, the greatest gift that gods can give.

PART I

- Episode 1. Calypso's Cave.
 Episode 2. Nausicaa's Garden.
 Episode 3. Odysseus in Ithaka.

PART II

- Episode 1. Penelope laments in her home.
 Episode 2. Odysseus, a stranger in his own halls.
 Episode 3. The bow of Odysseus.
 Episode 4. Odysseus.
 Time. Twenty years after the Trojan War.

The play was an outcome of the sixth grade's interest in Greek history, and their inspiration for the scenes selected was Padriac Colum's charming version of the Odyssey for children. Bit by bit the story formed itself into scenes, and the scenes became a play. For weeks the vocabulary used by the children, even in fun, reflected the influence of the story, and lines from the play became common parlance in the classroom and on the playground. Other groups were invited to take part in the play—the little children from the first two grades, draped in diminutive wing-like chiffon costumes, were Calypso's attendants. Two, if possible lovelier than the others, were cupbearers. Their adorable dances represented their own class work in rhythm. Children from the third and fourth grades were Nausicaa's maidens. They danced a Greek ball dance, class work also. The suitors were chosen from the seventh and eighth grades and they were very imposing and important. A tall, stately high school girl, draped in shimmering white with gilt armor and helmet, was a most convincing Pallas Athena. Every effort was made to have the play show sunny Greece with all the lovely color possible. The costumes were selected with this aim in mind, and the few properties used carried out the color scheme, with the aid of bunch and spot-lights. Calypso's cave showed blue with a shaft of light from one side. Calypso's gown was blue and the attendants and cupbearers made a beautiful showing of rainbow tints. There were flowers for Nausicaa's garden, amber lights, red balloons for the ball dance, and Nausicaa carried a scarf of the same shade against her soft blue dress. Her maidens' dresses were pastel colors. Penelope was regal with a purple mantle stenciled with gilt and a flowing golden colored robe. Odysseus wore a darker shade of yellow and a gorgeous stenciled lavender mantle. The hangings and table scarfs in the banquet scene were bright red, and there were silver baskets and plates of fruit and flowers on the tables. Penelope's web, loaned by a rug dealer, was conspicuous in all the scenes of Part II. Heavy muslin painted with silver paint made Mercury's short costume and cap. Silvered

(Continued on page 403)

Do You Believe in Equality?

Republican National Committee

Men 50

Women 0

Democratic National Committee

Men 50

Women 50

Intelligent women believe in the ability of their sex. They believe that the woman's point of view, equally with the man's, should be represented in government.

In December, 1916, the Democratic National Committee had admitted a woman to membership. It made the Woman's Bureau an integral part of itself.

The Republican Organization accorded women no such recognition.

In February, 1919, after the close of hostilities had released women from war occupations and restored them to suffrage and political work, the Democratic National Committee doubled itself by receiving into its membership an associate national committeewoman from every state.

At the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco in July of this year a resolution was adopted making regular and permanent election of national committee women to the National Democratic Committee. What had been before a courtesy was thus established a legal right. On the Executive Committee of the National Democratic Committee at that Convention, there were the same number of women as of men, seventeen of each.

The Republican Party, which invites women to work for it, to raise money for it, and to vote for it, **HAS NOT ONE WOMAN** on its National Committee.

Intelligence demands authority commensurate with responsibility and effort.



Photo (C) Baker

Governor James M. Cox

Democratic Nominee for President

That is what the Democratic Party has given women.

That is what the Republican Party has denied them.

If you want to vote for the party which allows you to work not merely **FOR** it, but **WITH** it and **IN IT**,

Vote the Democratic ticket
Nov. 2.



Photo (C) Baker

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Democratic Nominee for Vice-President

Vote the Democratic ticket November 2nd

Democratic National Committee



ENROLLED DEMOCRATS VOTE FOR GEORGE R. LUNN

For
UNITED STATES SENATOR

Lunn's Record:—

- 1—Carried Republican city for third term as mayor by 2200 majority, electing 15 Democrats with him.
- 2—Elected Congressman from thirtieth district, which has an enrollment of 19,000 Democrats and 39,000 Republicans.
- 3—Advocate of woman suffrage for years. Campaigned throughout the state for suffrage in 1917, when the vote was granted to women.
- 4—Smith for Governor and Lunn for Senator would mean success for the Democratic state and national ticket.

VOTE AS FOLLOWS:
UNITED STATES SENATOR

x 10 George R. Lunn

How She Rang the Chimes

HERE is an incident showing the way the "cold New England temperament" acts when once it breaks loose. It is a story picked up from the letter of Miss Bessie Driver to Miss Frances Carret, both well known suffragists of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Miss Driver, who is a musician, slipped into Christ Church upon hearing the news of the proclamation of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and, herself, played bell ringer for twenty minutes.

"Yesterday I did something that brought back one of the good old times we have had, you and I," she wrote on August 29th. "At ten in the morning Mrs. Jerome Johnson came in looking very stunning in a dark blue dress and carrying the Suffrage flag making a picture of blue and gold. I gave her one of our big marigolds to complete the picture. She said she was in distress because she could get no one to ring the Christ Church chimes, but heard that I had done it in days gone by. Now how did she ever hear of our exploit? Well, as the regular 'chimist' lives over in Medford and was not to be got at, I consented to do my best if the town would stand for it. So at noon or a little before I sauntered up to the church and the sexton let me in joyfully for he had expected to have to ding one bell for fifteen minutes. I went into the belfry and 'fingered' the joy bells and some hymns silently and got used to the ropes so when I played my program I am happy to say, I made no mistakes, at least. First I rang a few of the 'Changes' not too fast, then I played 'Now Thank We All Our God' a fine old Thanksgiving hymn, then I played the Netherlands battle hymn and finished with America. 'You play them chimes better than those that practices them every week,' said the sexton. So I just wished that Fannie Carret was there with me to help. Mother was the first bride for whom the chimes were rung and I consider it an honor to have been the first suffragist to ring them and on the day of days for the cause. It was hot work and I did not go home to cook my lunch but sauntered into the Cafeteria. I was feeling quite perspiry and paused in the vestibule where I thought no one could see, to powder my nose. I was just in the act when a voice at my elbow said, 'that's right.' I looked up to see the Reverend Kellner. 'I guess you'd feel like using a powder puff if you had been pulling the Christ Church chimes in that hot belfry for twenty minutes,' I said. 'Oh, so you were the one,' said he, then added that Mrs. Johnson had approached him about it and he thought there would be no objection to having the bells rung as the mayor had authorized it. The sexton is for suffrage and an Englishman. The Congregational church sexton wouldn't ring a bell—just because he wasn't told to by some deacon. Aren't men queer?"

Virginia News

FOR a few days the women in the capital of Virginia were delayed by a technicality from paying their capitation taxes and becoming registered voters, the technicality arising from a difference of opinion among officials as to the assessment of the new woman voter. This question having been settled by classing the new woman voter as she should be classed with the young man becoming of age, the Auditor of Public Accounts, Mr. C. Lee Moore of Richmond forthwith issued a statement to the commissioners of revenue throughout the state, authorizing them to assess the women. This statement was certified by the Attorney-General of the State, Col. John R. Saunders.

As soon as state headquarters of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia was informed of Mr. Moore's statement, members of the Richmond League were notified that the officials at the City

Hall were ready for them, and many were quick to take advantage of the opportunity to be among the first to register. At the office of the Commissioner of Revenue, Mr. Henry R. Tresnon, a long list of assessments was seen. However, the first women in Richmond to be registered was Mrs. Janet Ware Durham, member of the executive council of the Equal Suffrage League of Richmond. She was followed by other officers and members of the local league.

Reports are coming in from various sections of the state to the effect that women in those sections were registered as soon as the proclamation of the 19th Amendment was made. Among the names mentioned were those of Miss Isabelle E. Baker, Miss Frances W. Beverley, Miss Elsie Maphis and Mrs. Georgia Bryan Conrad of Winchester. Miss Baker was escorted to the registrar's office by Judge T. W. Harrison, Congressman from the seventh district of Virginia.

Plans are under way for a meeting to be held in Richmond in the near future to convert the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia into the Virginia League of Women Voters.

Women of Chile

(Continued from page 395)

women, who had probably come to solicit a subscription. They gave her their cards with a haughty air, and asked to see the Senora Edwards. She politely showed them into one of her magnificent parlors, and then hastened to an inner room, to some of her relatives and intimate friends. Bursting in upon them, breathless with laughter, she cried: "O, girls, come help me to dress! Two fashionable English women have called to see me, and they took me for a servant!" A few minutes later she joined her guests, so splendidly attired that they did not know her again. During the revolution she was one of the first persons exiled, the Dictator recognizing her as a formidable enemy.

Whenever the country has been devastated by smallpox, cholera or civil war, the women have shown heroism and devotion. Father Donoso, "The Phillips Brooks of Chile," looking down a hospital ward and seeing the flower of Valparaiso maidenhood ministering to the wounded, said:

"Ah, this war has been a terrible thing, but, like every dark cloud, it has its silver lining. It has helped to emancipate our daughters!"

My friend was indignant with superficial judgments, like that of a detective who followed a bank robber to Chile, and came back reporting that in that country there was "no society and no culture." She said, "He did not have admission to the society, and did not see the culture."

A lecture in favor of woman suffrage was lately given before the Club de Senoras (Woman's Club) of Santiago, Chile, by Ricardo Salas Edwards, lawyer, publicist, professor of law, former member of Congress and Minister of Education. He is described as a descendant, on his mother's side, of the "well-known Chilean family of Edwards." His lecture is published in full in the August issue of Inter-America. He mentioned that in Chile, in the first years of the republic, only one and a half per cent of the population had votes, but now, in the main part of it, most of the men of legal age are enfranchised. The tendency to broaden the suffrage, he said, might well be extended to include women, whose influence would be for peace, and against alcoholism and vice.

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Co-Operation

(Continued from page 396)

retained instead of distributing these millions and re-invested them in a capitalistic fashion, he might have died a famous Scotch millionaire. Instead, his answer to a firm who urged him to work for them is as follows: "My fellow-co-operators pay me sufficient to satisfy my needs. I am happy serving the people. I should not be happy saving you at the expense of the people."

The total products of the British Co-operative factories are five times greater than those of the British Manufacturers' Association. We can get some idea of the volume of the product when we realize that in their eight flour mills, they turn out thirty-five tons an hour. In the Irlam Soap works 500 tons of soap a week are produced. (How clean the Co-operatives must be!) Four million pairs of shoes a year come from their own shoe factories, etc.

In none of these centers of industry do we find goods being produced for the consumer at the expense of the worker. Way back in 1901, nearly twenty years ago, the membership themselves, without even the threat of a strike instituted the eight-hour day. Was this not long before any such legislation was passed, aside from being enforced, even by progressive states? In the membership meetings the question of hours, wages, bonuses, standards of output, etc., are discussed at length and voted on. Co-operators as employers insist on right conditions in the industries owned by them. The spirit of these workers' organizations is definitely different from that in most enterprises run by private profit.

Numerically speaking, the Russian Co-operative Movement is the largest on the continent, although it is many years younger than the British. Since the revolution it has flourished. Now 70 per cent of the population are members.

Fifteen million members do an annual trade of \$400,000,000.

Each European country has a story all its own that would be of interest to follow. But the beginning of the movement in the United States, especially interests us to-day.

For seventy-five years the European Co-operatives have been plugging steadily along, each step of the path a step ahead even though it may have been a slow and not always a certain step. By now their members and their achievements are so sure that we here in America feel very humble when we attempt to tell of our achievements in this land of enterprises.

Nevertheless, here and there across the country we see various interesting phases of the movement.

A type of the workers' Co-operative stores may be found among the miners in Gillespie, Illinois. Their 6th annual report shows a spare capital of \$12,000 invested in dry goods and shoes and groceries and meats, and miners tools and supplies. Two hundred and eighty-five members do an annual trade at their store of \$175,000, the net profits on this business being \$10,000 a year; the profits being nearly equal to the investment. Seven per cent of the profits is paid back to the members in purchase dividends. These brief facts are not much, but oases of hope such as these keep the workers' hearts cheered in many a dreary spot in our fair land.

CO-OPERATIVE MILK.

Co-operative milk distribution is not nearly as general as the Co-operative store, but it may prove to be so economically effective a method of bringing the milk supply from the dairies to the babies, that mothers will soon be insisting on Co-operative milk. In some New England factory towns there are several of these plants. Co-operatives in Fitchburg, Mass., who were already running a restaurant, bank, printing plant and women's and men's furnishings, found that the dairy farmers were killing their cattle rather than sell their milk at a loss. The Co-operators agreed to take the full product of forty milk farms paying the farmers a cent more a quart for it than they had previously received, 7¾ cents. They so economized on collecting, pasteurizing and distributing the milk that it was delivered to their 400 members within six hours at fourteen cents a quart, instead of eighteen cents, the price at which it had been sold before.

In addition to this economy the Co-operators are setting aside from the savings a fund by which they soon will be able to buy up one farm after another and control, not only the distribution, but the productions of milk. The profit motive in milk production is dangerous. Discontented farmers and diseased cows are a public menace. Dr. Williams, in figuring out the waste in milk distribution in Rochester, New York, and its immediate effect on quantity and service, found in 1919 that 23 farmers were covering twenty miles daily in delivering milk to 165 families, the total cost being \$720,000, whereas he calculated that one distributing agency need cover only two miles with a cost of but \$220,000 to the same number of families.

CO-OPERATIVE BAKERIES.

The Purity Bakery in Paterson, New Jersey, was organized by the mill workers in 1906. When first started it was not run on strictly Rochdale principles. The workers were poor and bread was dear. By co-operating they sought to get more bread for less money. After selling it to themselves at six cents a loaf, if any surplus remained it was used as a strike fund or for some social purpose.

Private bakeries felt the competition keenly and did everything in their power to destroy their Co-operative rival; even to giving bread away on certain days. But the members stuck to their own bakery and it grew and grew till it was serving daily over a thousand members. When war was declared and the

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price of food was fixed by the Federal Food Control Board, the bakery faced a new problem. The Government ruling was that bread should be sold at ten cents a loaf. They telegraphed to Mr. Hoover, if they must raise the price of their bread four cents. At the same time that their complaint was received in Washington, protests against the government prices from private bakers all over the country poured in, stating that if they had to charge so low a price they would be ruined!

The reply to the Purity Co-operators was that no exception could be made in their case and so they had to solve the difficulty of having too much money on their hands. A general meeting of the members was called and they decided to revise their constitution along Rochdale lines and return the profits to their members according to the amount of their purchases, after setting aside a good sized sum which was used to help build a new \$70,000 sunny bakery lined with white tiling and installed with splendid rotary ovens which turn out thousands of loaves a day. Their annual business is \$250,000 on which they save \$18,000 which they return to their members.

There are thirty other Co-operative bakeries in the United States, several of which have been modelled on the Purity Bakery at Paterson.

When will the people get together and work out for themselves the problem of daily bread as effectively as these Co-operatives have?

(Concluded September 18)

In next week's issue there will be several articles you will like: Mrs. Warbasse's Concluding Chapter on Community Housing, a discussion of housing plans in England; Dr. Garner on the Monroe Doctrine.

Playing the Classics

(Continued from page 398)

wings were fastened to the cap and to Mercury's bare ankles. That was a most fascinating costume. Eurycleia's costume was the one somber note; it was a flowing robe of dull brownish gray, and most effective.

THE cast numbered over forty, and they all played with apparent ease and sympathetic appreciation. Perhaps no better proof of the play's effect upon those who saw it can be given than the remark of one small boy who had been a cupbearer in the first scene. After his part was over he sat in the audience and while Penelope was refusing in the most plaintive way to believe that Odysseus had returned, the erstwhile actor turned to his teacher and said, with some concern, "Why doesn't she know him? He's the same one I offered wine to in our cave." A woman in the audience said to some one near her, "The world cannot be so badly off when children can play like that." Which shows that these young actors made some appeal.

As in the case of the "Ivanhoe" play, the memories, despite the discouraging things that are bound to happen, are pleasant, and every child who took part in it must remember with real joy the bright stage, the earnest young actors, and the spell of the quaint lines of a wonderful story.

With equal enthusiasm it would be possible to tell how children have played Scott's "Lady of the Lake," Longfellow's "Evangeline" and "The Courtship of Miles Standish," Ruskin's "King of the Golden River," Edward Everett Hale's "Man without a Country," and many another well known story.



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(Prof. J. W. Garner, University of Chicago)

THERE are so many angles from which my subject can be approached, I hardly know just where to start and where to end. Considerable latitude has been left to me, and I venture at the outset to say a few words as a sort of setting to the main part of my talk, regarding the present international organization of the world, and the proposals that have been made for a thoroughgoing reorganization.

You know that the rights and obligations, the standards of conduct of nations in their relations with one another, are determined by international law, by international policy, international morality, and international comity or courtesy. Many of the rules which determine the rights and duties of nations have been formally embodied in treaties and great international conventions, like those adopted at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, like Geneva, the Red Cross Convention, the Declaration of Paris and various others, so that I think we may properly call them collectively a body of law.

In the second place other rights and duties are determined by international morality. International morality is not the same thing as international law. The question, for example, as to whether a nation shall keep its pledges and perform scrupulously its international obligations, is a question of international morality and not of international law. And so with regard to international policy.

The understanding, which we call the Monroe Doctrine, is not international law but international policy.

So with regard to international comity, for example or the courtesy, the treatment, the consideration which a nation shall show towards the diplomatic representatives of another nation is a matter of international comity. The surrender and extradition of criminals and fugitives from justice is a matter of international comity entirely.

With regard to the international organization of the world, I may say at the outset that up to the present time there is very little international organization. To be frank, the nations of the world to-day are living very largely in a state of tribalism. In their relations with one another, they are very largely in the condition which the old philosophers used to call the "state of nature."

We talk about the family of nations. We

*T*HIS lecture was delivered at the Chicago Citizenship School in February, 1920.

talk about the sisterhood of states, but when you get down to the right of the matter, there is no family of nations in the strict sense of the word, as yet. In the last analysis, each nation is a law unto itself. It is not bound by any law except that which it chooses to recognize. It is not bound by any standard of morality or international conduct, except that which it chooses to admit. Each nation, as international law now stands, is entirely free to judge its own controversies, its own disputes with other nations. It is entirely free to go to war with another nation, for any cause or for no cause; to take its territory and acquire title to it by no other right than that of might, conquest.

That is the situation. It used to be the situation among individuals. Each individual was his own judge, his own executioner. He made his own laws; he settled his own disputes with his strong right arm. But mankind learned that that condition of affairs was intolerable, and so the individual was required to give up his right to make and execute his own law, to settle his own disputes, to determine his own rights and standards of conduct; and the state was created.

That is what we have got to do with the nations. We must establish a system of law and justice, to take the place of injustice and force. We have got to apply to the nations in their relations with one another the same standard of morality, the same standard of conduct that we apply to individuals. We have got to get rid of the double standard of conduct, the one which we apply to the relations of individuals with one another, and the other, but a very different standard, that we apply in the relations of nations with one another.

THERE are two great obstacles which confront us when we undertake to provide this new re-organization, which every thinking man and woman knows we must have. It is the next step in human progress, but it is the greatest of all steps. These two obstacles are, first, the equality of states which is a very old and long established principle of international law. However small a state is, it is on a footing of equality with every other state.

We might as well be frank with ourselves and acknowledge that that idea is false, utterly false. You can set the representatives of the large and the small states in International Congresses in alphabetical order, and avoid every pretense of giving some precedence over others, but when you do that the fact remains that some of the nations of the world are superior to others. There is a distinction between the world powers and the small powers, and you cannot get around it. The sooner we admit it the better.

The other obstacle, a more serious one, is the wide-spread feeling that we cannot reorganize the world on a new basis, on the basis which I have described, without destroying what we call the sovereignty of the existing states. Again and again it has been said by Senators during recent months that they are in favor of some reorganization, some League of Nations or association of states, call it what you may, provided it will not involve any loss of sovereignty on the part of the United States.

We might as well be frank and say that we never can have a reorganization of the world, unless the states which compose it are willing to surrender a portion at least of their freedom of action; any more than we could have a state, a government, a system of law, unless the individual gives up or is forced to give up a portion of his liberty of action.

I think the trouble with these people who are making so much of this argument is to be found in the fact that they have an utterly false conception of sovereignty. If I understand sovereignty in its true sense, it means nothing more than the right of a nation to be free from external control; and free to determine its own internal affairs and policies. Rightly construed it does not mean the right of any nation to set itself above the law, and to fix its own standards of conduct and to determine its own place in the family of nations, and least of all to make war whenever it pleases upon some other nation.

That is a false conception of sovereignty, and the people who dwell on it fail to make the distinction which we make between liberty and license; license being unregulated, unlimited freedom of action, and liberty meaning freedom of action defined, regulated and protected by the law.

THE fact of the matter is that nations have been giving up their freedom of action in the common interest for a long, long time. When a Senator of the United States said the other day that he was opposed to the League of Nations because it involved the first step in the direction of Internationalism, he stated what was not a fact. The world has been moving steadily in the world of internationalism for the last half century. Every time the world has called a great international convention, or set up a great institution like the Postal Union, or the International Institute of Agriculture, or the International Red Cross Committee, or has joined hands to suppress the slave trade in Africa, and I might mention a dozen others—every time the nations have done that, they have entered upon a policy of internationalism.

Why, if the nations had always stood flatly on their rights and insisted upon doing what they pleased in their relations with other nations, we never would have had any international progress; it would be impossible. We could not have had the Postal Union or any of these other great international administrative unions which we do have.

In considering this matter of international reorganization, it seems to me there are two alternatives. There are two things, two bases upon which the world may proceed. The first is to merge all the existing states of the world together into a single state, and erect over them a sort of super-state. I have no idea that that alternative will ever be followed, first because it is impracticable, and second, because the states of the world are not going to give up their national independence and merge it into a world state.

The other alternative is to form some sort of an association, a league or confederation, leaving to the individual states the larger portion of their sovereignty, and their freedom of action.

That is what the proposed League of Nations has in mind. I am not going to discuss that; I am sure you hear enough of it, except to say this, that the proposed League provides for a system of joint cooperation among the nations of the world. It represents an attempt to substitute law and justice in the place of force and injustice. It provides for a system of arbitration of controversies and disputes among one another; and finally it goes to the limit of providing for a system of compulsion, a system of restraint, with a view to compelling the nations of the world to observe their international engagements, and to restrain law-defying covenant members from disturbing the general peace and repudiating their obligations exactly as the community employs its common power for the purpose of restraining a swashbuckler, who breaks loose and runs amok in the community. I think the ultimate reorganization of the world will come along these lines. It seems to me to be the only practical method of reorganization. So much for this proposition.

Coming now to the United States, let me say first of all that to-day the United States is admittedly one of the great world powers. It has been so acknowledged everywhere, since the Spanish-American war. The fact of the matter is we were just as much a world power before that as we were after, and it did not take the military success of the United States in that war to make us a world power. The outcome of the war merely furnished the evidence that we were a world power.

BEING a world power, it seems to me that there are two paths which the United States may or must follow in the future. One of them is the path of nationalism. We may say to ourselves that in the future we will withdraw into our shell, and take no hand, take no part in the international affairs of the world. That we shall pursue our own destiny, without regard to other nations. That we shall remain indifferent to international conduct in other parts of the world, even when that conduct threatens to subvert the peace, the security and the ideals which the rest of the world cherish.

I don't believe the United States can afford to pursue that policy. It is a policy of selfishness. It is a policy of get what we can out of it, and let the rest of the world alone. We cannot afford to adopt any such policy if we wish to follow the President of the United States who said at Shadow Lawn in 1916, that the United States never can relapse again into its old policy of isolation and indifference to affairs in the rest of the world.

England tried it for years and years, and in her government pursued what they called a system of "splendid isolation," but the time came when the English government had to depart from that policy; and I want to say that I believe great powers which possess wealth, enormous extent of territory, population, power, influence and prestige owe duties to the rest of the world. They are in a sense the trustees of our common civilization. They are in a sense the guardians of the peace and security of the world, and the nation that draws itself into its shell and says that these matters are of no concern to us is betraying a trust which it owes to the rest of the world.

I believe I was asked to say something about the treaty-making power, how the foreign relations of the United States is carried on, and I was asked to speak particularly about the share of the President and the Senate in the management of foreign affairs. I am very glad to do it because just now that is a live and burning question.

First of all let me say what you doubtless all know, that the President of the United States is given the power to appoint all diplomatic representatives, with the advice of the Senate. Secondly he is given the power to receive all diplomatic representatives accredited to this country from foreign countries, and here the advice of the Senate is not required.

Now this power of the President to receive diplomatic representatives is a much more important and far reaching power than most of us realize, for the reason that it is not simply a ceremonial function; it means vastly more than the power of the President to meet a diplomatic representative and make a little speech of felicity to him and shake hands with him and welcome him to this country. It means the power of the President to recognize the independence of the country from which the representative comes and to recognize that the government which sends him is the legally established government.

We have a good illustration of that in the recognition of the independence of Panama by President Roosevelt. Panama came into the family of nations, if I may call it that, through the act of President Roosevelt in recognizing the representative of Panama as the diplomatic agent of an independent state.

MR. WILSON'S refusal to recognize Huerta as the lawfully elected President of Mexico has had the most far reaching consequences concerning which there has been a very wide difference of opinion. I shall not discuss that further than to say that it affords an excellent illustration of the power of the president in respect to recognition. Mr. Wilson set a new standard. Heretofore it had always been the practice of the President when a revolution occurred in a foreign country, and a new government was set up, to recognize that government without asking questions as to whether that government came into existence lawfully, or by violence and bloodshed.

Other presidents went on the theory that it was none of the business of the President of the United States to set himself up as a judge as to what happened in some foreign country. Now Mr. Wilson adopted a new policy. He said: I will not recognize Huerta because I know he has come into power through assassination and bloodshed. While it was within his legal right, and to some it represents a high standard which ought to be set, I express no opinion at all on the virtue of that much controverted issue.

The President also has the power to negotiate treaties. The making of a treaty involves two processes: First the negotiation, and second the ratification; and I might add a third, namely the exchange of ratifications. My view is that the first of these acts, the negotiations of the treaty, belongs entirely to the President; that he ratifies the treaty, with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Senate does not ratify, as many people think. The Senate merely advises and the President ratifies, and the President also exchanges the ratifications.

You will see that the share of the Senate comes in here in connection with only one of these three processes. I am quite aware that there are many people who hold that the Senate has a share in the negotiation as well as in the ratification of the treaty. In 1906, this very sub-

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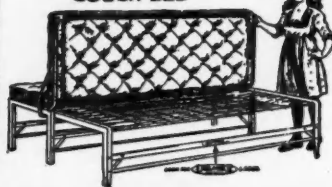
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ON September 18 the Monroe Doctrine will be the subject of Professor Garner's article.

ject was the subject of a very long debate in the United States Senate.

Mr. Roosevelt had appointed delegates to attend the Algeciras Conference, to straighten out affairs in Morocco, and he had given those delegates certain instructions, which were not known to the Senate or to the country at large. The Democrats of the Senate headed by Senator Bacon of Georgia took the view that the Senate of the United States had a right to know what instructions Mr. Roosevelt had given to those delegates; and they brought in a resolution calling on the President to give the Senate information concerning the instructions which he had given to these delegates.

Senator Bacon took the position that the power of the Senate is not limited simply to saying yes or no to a treaty when called upon by the President, but that it had a right to advise the President in negotiating the treaty. It has a right to have information concerning the instructions which the President has given the Ambassador or the Minister or the delegate, whichever he may be. And his argument was that, since the constitution gives the Senate the right to advise, advice would mean nothing unless it can be given before the act is done. You cannot advise a man except in advance of the act, against which or for which he is advised.

The Republicans took the other view, and Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, recognized as the most brilliant authority on foreign affairs, with the possible exception of Mr. Lodge, came to the defense of President Roosevelt and took

the position that the Senate had absolutely nothing to do with the negotiation of treaties; that it had no share whatever in that process. That the President himself was absolutely free, free from every control of the Senate, free from its tutelage or guardianship in any form, free to negotiate the treaty himself, if he wished, or delegate the Secretary of State to negotiate it with an Ambassador or even a special commission, and that it was no concern of the Senate as to what instructions the President might issue to the negotiating authority.

QUESTION: Do you think the Republican Party would hold to that?

PROF. GARNER: I am going to come to that in just a moment. Mr. Spooner said, and rightly, that the Senate had the right at any time to pass a resolution expressing an opinion as to the desirability of negotiations. The House of Representatives had an equal power, but in either case, the resolution was not binding upon the President, but was merely advisory.

Now then, you see the Democrats and Republicans have changed positions. In 1906, it was the Democrats who were insisting that the Senate had a share in the negotiations of the treaties. To-day it is the Republicans.

If you will allow me to express my opinion, simply as a student and utterly without any feeling of partisanship one way or the other, I think the Republicans were right in 1906 and the Democrats were wrong. And I think the attitude of the Republicans to-day, so far as they insist that the Senate has a share in the treaty making power, is wrong.

Now when I say that I do not mean to say that a wise and tactful President or Secretary of State will go ahead and negotiate an important treaty without consulting, at least the Senators who are members of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I do not believe a wise and tactful President can afford to ignore the Senators, or at least the Senators who are members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, because you never can forget the fact it takes two-thirds of the Senators to approve a treaty.

Early in the history of our country it was the common practice of Presidents to seek the advice of the Senate in advance. President Washington actually went on the floor of the Senate and said: Gentlemen, I am proposing to negotiate a treaty with a certain Indian Tribe in the West. I would like to have your opinion.

Mr. Polk while negotiating a boundary treaty with Great Britain sought the advice of the Senate in advance; so did Mr. Jackson and Mr. Johnson and General Grant, but since that time that old practice has never been followed, at least by Presidents. Secretary Fish, on one occasion, after the Senate had rejected a treaty, stated to the Senate that he did not propose to renew negotiations until the Senate manifested its opinion with regard to the desirability of that treaty.

Secretary Hay, when negotiating the arbitration treaty, upon which he set his heart so

(Continued on page 413)

LEGAL NOTICE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS

3-2-20-400 (2-8211)

ONE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York will be submitted to the people for the purpose of voting thereon at the next general election to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING TO AMEND SECTIONS TWO, FOUR, FIVE, ELEVEN AND TWELVE OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO DEBTS CONTRACTED BY THE STATE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), that sections two, four, five, eleven and twelve of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 2. The state may [], to meet casual deficits or failures in revenues, or for expenses not provided for, contract debts; but such debts, direct or contingent singly or in the aggregate, shall not at any time exceed one million of dollars; and the moneys arising from the loans creating such debts shall be applied to the purpose for which they were obtained, or to repay the debt so contracted, and to no other purpose whatever. [] contract debts in anticipation of receipts of taxes and revenues, direct or indirect, for the purpose and within the amounts of appropriations theretofore made; bonds or other obligations, for the moneys so borrowed shall be issued as may be provided by law, and shall with the interest thereon be paid from such taxes and revenues within one year from the date of issue.

§ 4. Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, no debt[s] shall be hereafter contracted by or in behalf of this state, unless such debt shall be authorized by law for some single work or object, to be distinctly specified therein. [No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted.] contract debts in anticipation of taxes, which determination shall be conclusive, nor for more than fifty years from the time of the contracting of such debt. A debt hereafter contracted by the state, pursuant to an authorization hereafter made, and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted, may, if provided by the law authorizing such debt, be paid in equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year, and the last of which shall be payable not more than fifty years, after such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. Such law shall if it authorize the contracting of a debt payable otherwise than in equal annual installments impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay, and sufficient to pay, and discharge the principal as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal as it falls due, within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof. No law authorizing the contracting of a debt pursuant to this section shall take effect until it shall, at a general election, have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election nor shall it be submitted to be voted on within three months after its passage nor at any general election, when any other law, or any bill shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may, at any time after the approval of such law by the people, if no debt shall have been contracted in pursuance thereof, repeal the same; and may at any time by law, provide the contracting of any further debt, or the liability under such law, [but the tax, if any, imposed by such act, in proportion to the debt and liability which may have been contracted in pursuance of such law, shall remain in force and be repletable, and be annually collected until the proceeds thereof shall have made the provision heretofore specified to pay and discharge the interest and principal of such debt and liability.]

Except the debts specified in sections two and three of this article, all debts contracted by the state after January first, nineteen hundred and twenty, pursuant to an authorization theretofore, heretofore or hereafter made and each portion of any such debt from time to time so contracted irrespective of the terms of such authorization, shall be paid in equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable not more than one year, and the last of which shall be payable not more than fifty years, after such debt or portion thereof shall have been contracted. No such debt hereafter authorized shall be contracted for a period longer than that of the probable life of the work or object for which the debt is to be contracted, to be determined by general laws, which determination shall be conclusive.

The legislature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt which has been or may be authorized by the provisions of this section or upon any part of such debt provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be altered upon any part of such debt or upon any bond or other evidence thereof which has been or shall be created or issued before such alteration.

The money arising from any loan [or stock] creating such debt or liability shall be applied to the work or object specified in the act authorizing such debt or liability, or for the payment of such debt or liability, and for no other purpose whatever. [No such law shall be submitted to be voted on, within three months after its passage or at any general election when any other law, or any bill shall be submitted to be voted for or against. The legislature may provide for the issue of bonds of the state to run for a period not exceeding fifty years in lieu of bonds heretofore authorized but not issued and shall impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax for the payment of the same as heretofore required. When any sinking fund created under this section shall equal in amount the debt for which it was created, no further direct tax shall be levied on account of said sinking fund and the legislature shall reduce the tax to an amount equal to the accruing interest on such debt. The legis-

LEGAL NOTICE

lature may from time to time alter the rate of interest to be paid upon any state debt, which has been or may be authorized pursuant to the provisions of this section, or upon any part of such debt, provided, however, that the rate of interest shall not be altered upon any part of such debt or upon any bond or other evidence thereof, which has been, or shall be created or issued before such alteration. In case the legislature increase the rate of interest upon any such debt, or part thereof, it shall, if such debt be payable otherwise than in equal annual installments, impose and provide for the collection of a direct annual tax to pay and sufficient to pay the increased or altered interest on such debt as it falls due and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt within fifty years from the time of the contracting thereof, and shall appropriate annually to the sinking fund moneys in amount sufficient to pay such interest and pay and discharge the principal of such debt when it shall become due and payable.

§ 5. The sinking funds provided for the payment of interest and the extinguishment of the principal of the debts of the state heretofore contracted shall be continued; they shall be separately kept and safely invested, and neither of them shall be appropriated or used in any manner other than for [the specific purpose for which it shall have been provided, such payment and extinguishment as heretofore provided. The comptroller shall each year appraise the securities held for investment in each of such funds at their fair market value not exceeding par. He shall then determine and certify to the legislature the amount of each of such funds and the amount which, thereafter annually contributed to each such fund, would, with the fund and with the accumulations thereon and upon the contributions thereto, computed at the rate of three per centum per annum, produce at the date of maturity of the debt to retire which such fund was created, and the legislature shall thereupon appropriate as the contribution to each such fund for such year at least the amount thus certified.

If the income of any such fund in any year is more than a sum which, if annually added to such fund would, with the fund and its accumulations as aforesaid, retire the debt at maturity, the excess income may be applied to the interest on the debt for which the fund was created.

After any sinking fund shall equal in amount the debt for which it was created, no further contribution shall be made thereto except to make good any losses ascertained at the annual appraisals above mentioned, and the income thereof shall be applied to the payment of the interest on such debt. Any excess in such income not required for the payment of interest may be applied to the general fund of the state.

The legislature may also by general laws provide means and authority whereby outstanding bonds of the state, for which sinking funds are provided, may be exchanged at par for cancellation, for debt bonds of the form authorized under section four of this article, upon such terms and conditions as to interest and otherwise as it may in its discretion authorize or determine except that the debt as thus refunded shall finally mature no later and at no greater comparative cost to the state than the original debt; the determination of the legislature as to such comparative cost shall be conclusive. No further contribution to the respective sinking funds shall be made on account of bonds so exchanged and the proportion of any sinking fund which the amount of bonds so exchanged shall bear to the amount of bonds outstanding of the same issue may be appropriated, as required, for the payment of the substituted serial bonds.

§ 11. [The legislature may appropriate out of any funds in the treasury, moneys to pay the accruing interest and of any debt heretofore or hereafter contracted, or any part thereof and may, if such debt be payable otherwise than in annual installments, set apart in each fiscal year, moneys in the state treasury as a sinking fund to pay the interest as it falls due and to pay and discharge the principal of the debt to retire which such fund was created under section four of article seven of the constitution until the same shall be wholly paid, and the principal and income of such sinking fund shall be applied to the purpose for which said sinking fund is created and to no other purpose whatever, and, in the event such moneys so set apart in any fiscal year be sufficient to provide such sinking fund, a direct annual tax for such year need not be imposed and collected, as required by the provisions of said section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof. The legislature may, however, as the same shall fall due provide by direct tax, appropriation or both for the payment of the interest upon and installments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state, payable in annual installments, pursuant to section four of article seven, or of any law enacted in pursuance thereof.] The legislature shall annually provide by appropriation for the payment of the interest upon and installments of principal of all debts created on behalf of the state except those contracted under section two of this article all of the same shall fall due and for the contribution to all of the sinking funds heretofore created by law, of the amounts annually to be contributed under the provisions of section five of this article. If at any time the legislature shall fail to make any such appropriation, the comptroller may set apart from the first revenues thereafter received, applicable to the general fund of the state, a sum sufficient to pay such interest, installments of principal, of contributions to such sinking fund, as the case may be and shall so apply the moneys thus set apart, such revenues as aforesaid, at the suit of any holder of such bonds.

§ 12. Debts heretofore authorized for the improvement of highways shall be created only in the manner provided in section four of this article. No provision of this article shall be deemed to impair or affect the validity of any debt of the state heretofore contracted or any right or obligation heretofore created between the state and any of its civil divisions.

[A debt or debts of the state may be authorized by law for the improvement of highways. Such highways shall be determined under general laws, which shall also provide for the equitable apportionment thereof among the counties. The aggregate of the debts authorized by this section shall not at any one time exceed the sum of fifty millions of dollars. The payment of the annual interest on such debt and the creation of a sinking fund of at least two hundred thousand dollars to discharge the principal at maturity shall be provided by general laws whose force and effect shall not be diminished during the existence of any debt created thereunder. The legislature may by general laws require the county or town or both to pay to the sinking fund the proportionate part of the cost of any such highways within the boundaries of such county or town and the proportionate part of the interest thereon, but no county shall at any time for any highway be required to pay more than thirty-five hundredths of the cost of such highway, and no town or town and county shall be required to pay more than thirty-five hundredths of the cost of such highway. The provisions of the fourth section of this article shall apply to debts for the improvement of highways hereby authorized.]

LEGAL NOTICE

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be submitted to the people for approval at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty, in accordance with the provisions of the election law.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 16, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,

President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

April, 18, 1919.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,

Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

TWO

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

STATE OF NEW YORK,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section one of article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TWO

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION ONE OF ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO QUALIFICATION OF THE VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section one of article two of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. Every citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ninety days, and an inhabitant of this state one year next preceding an election, and for the last four months a resident of the county and for the last thirty days a resident of the election district in which he or she may offer his or her vote, shall be entitled to vote at such election in the election district of which he or she shall at the time be a resident, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now are or hereafter may be elective by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people, provided however that a citizen by marriage shall have been an inhabitant of the United States for five years; and provided that in time of war no elector in the actual military service of the state, or of the United States, in the army or navy thereof, shall be deprived of his or her vote by reason of his or her absence from such election district; and the legislature shall have power to provide the manner in which and the time and place at which such absent electors may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election districts in which they respectively reside].

Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, after January first, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, no person shall become entitled to vote by attaining majority, by naturalization or otherwise, unless such person is able, except for physical disability, to read and write English; and suitable laws shall be passed by the legislature to enforce this provision.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 14, 1919.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,

Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 18, 1919.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,

President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

THREE

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to article two of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be

LEGAL NOTICE

held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THREE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE TWO OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO ABSENT VOTERS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That article two of the constitution be amended by inserting therein a new section, to be section one-a, to read as follows:

§ 1-a. The legislature may, by general law, provide a manner in which, and the time and place at which, qualified voters who may, on the occurrence of any general election, be unavoidably absent from the state or county of their residence because their duties, occupation or business require them to be elsewhere within the United States, may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes [in the election district in which they respectively reside].

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 15, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY

Apr. 23, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ss.:
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. s.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOUR

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section six of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOUR
SECRETARY OF STATE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SIX OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section six of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 6. Each member of the legislature shall receive for his services an annual salary of (one thousand five hundred) three thousand dollars. The members of either house shall also receive the sum of one dollar for every ten miles they shall travel in going to and returning from their place of meeting, once in each session on the most usual route. Senators, when the senate alone is convened in extraordinary session, or when serving as members of the court for the trial of impeachment, and such members of the assembly, not exceeding nine in number, as shall be appointed managers of an impeachment, shall receive an additional allowance of ten dollars a day.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 1, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY

Apr. 14, 1920.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ss.:
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

FIVE
STATE OF NEW YORK, L.
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIVE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO APPOINTMENTS OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE TO THE OFFICE OF NOTARY PUBLIC.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment within this state or the senate of the United States, from the governor, the governor and senate, or from the legislature, or from any city government, during the time for which he shall have been elected [;], and all such appointments and all votes given for any such member for any such office or appointment shall be void; provided, however, that the legislature may provide by law that any such member may be appointed during such time to the office of notary public.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Mar. 3, 1920.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Mar. 25, 1920.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ss.:
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SIX

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section three of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SIX

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTIONS TWENTY-SIX AND TWENTY-SEVEN OF ARTICLE THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION TO ENABLE THE LEGISLATURE TO PROVIDE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE COUNTIES OF WESTCHESTER AND NASSAU.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That sections twenty-six and twenty-seven of article three of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 26. There shall be in each county, except in a county wholly included in a city, a board of supervisors, to be composed of such members and elected in such manner and for such period as is or may be provided by law. The legislature may provide by law for forms of government for the counties of Westchester and Nassau, or either, subject to adoption and approval by the electors of any such county at a general election in an odd-numbered year. Any such form of government may include the transfer of territory to county officers of any functions now exercised by towns or town officers. The law providing for such form of government shall also prescribe the manner in which the county affected may subsequently abandon it, and revert to its former form of government. The adoption of such form of government by the county shall not preclude the legislature from amending or modifying such plan. If under such form of government the board of supervisors be abolished, the powers and duties of the board of supervisors, as prescribed by the constitution, or by statute, shall devolve upon the governing elective body in such county. In a city which includes an entire county, or two or more entire counties, the powers and duties of a board of supervisors may be devolved upon the municipal assembly, common council, board of aldermen or other legislative body of the city.

§ 27. The legislature shall, by general laws, confer upon the boards of supervisors, or other governing elective bodies, of the several counties of the state such further powers of local legislation and administration as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient [;], and [;]. In counties which now have, or hereafter have, county auditors or other fiscal officers, authorized to audit bills, accounts, charges, claims or de-

LEGAL NOTICE

mands against the county, the legislature may confer such powers upon [said] such auditors, or fiscal officers, as the legislature may, from time to time, deem expedient.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendments be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published, for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.
This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ss.:
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SEVEN
EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section nine of article five of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION NINE OF ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO PREFERENCES, IN EMPLOYMENT AND PROMOTION, OF SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND MARINES.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section nine of article five of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 9. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers, [and] sailors [from] and marines who shall have served in the army [and] navy or marine corps of the United States in [the late civil] time of war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made; provided they were residents of this state at the time they entered said army, navy or marine corps; and provided also that soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the civil war shall have preference over all others on the same list.

Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 19, 1919.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 19, 1919.
The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ss.:
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EIGHT
EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.
Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

utive functions of the state government, to the several departments in this article provided. Subject to the limitations contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new department shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article, by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and offices now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 4. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller; and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 5. All officers for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ 6. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, as far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list for which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 7. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,

President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

T. C. SWEET,

Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. s.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

TEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendments to article five of the Constitution of the State of New York are referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE FIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO STATE OFFICERS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That article five of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 1. The [secretary of state] comptroller, [treasurer] and attorney-general and [state engineer and surveyor] shall be chosen at a general election, at the times and places of electing the governor and lieutenant-governor, and shall hold their offices for the same terms as the governor and lieutenant-governor, (the year except as provided in section two of this article). The comptroller shall be required: (1) To audit all vouchers before payment and all official accounts; (2) to audit the accrual and collection of all revenues and receipts; and (3) to prescribe such methods of accounting as may be necessary for the performance of the foregoing duties. In such respect the legislature shall define his powers and duties and may also assign to him supervision of the accounts court, and no more than seven judges shall sit in any

LEGAL NOTICE

to him no administrative duties, excepting such as may be incidental to the performance of these functions, any other provision of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. He [Each of the officers in this article named, excepting the speaker of the assembly,] shall, at stated times during his continuance in office, receive for his services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected; nor shall he receive to his use any fees or perquisites of office or other compensation. [No person shall be elected to the office of state engineer and surveyor who is not a practical civil engineer.]

§ 2. The first election of the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor, pursuant to this article, shall be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, and their terms of office shall begin on the first day of January following, and shall be for three years. At the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and every two years thereafter, their successors shall be chosen for the term of two years.

§ 3. A superintendent of public works shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office until the end of the term of the governor by whom he was nominated, and thereafter until his successor is appointed. He shall receive a compensation to be fixed by law. He shall be required by law to give security for the faithful execution of his office before entering upon the duties thereof. He shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the supervision and management of the public works, and also of those relating to the construction and improvement of the canals, except so far as the execution of the laws relating to such construction or improvement shall be confided to the state engineer and surveyor; subject to the control of the legislature, he shall make the rules and regulations for the navigation or use of the canals. He may be suspended or removed from office by the governor, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require; but in case of the removal of such superintendent of public works from office, the governor shall file with the secretary of state a statement of the cause of such removal, and shall report such removal and the cause thereof to the legislature at its next session. The governor may appoint and may also appoint not more than three assistant superintendents, whose duties shall be prescribed by him, subject to modification by the legislature, and who shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law. They shall hold their office for the year ending on the first day of January, and shall be subject to suspension or removal by the superintendent of public works, whenever, in his judgment, the public interest shall so require. Any vacancy in the office of any such assistant superintendent shall be filled for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed, by the superintendent of public works; but in case of the suspension or removal of any such assistant superintendent by him, he shall at once report to the governor, in writing, the cause of such removal. All other persons employed in the care and management of the canals, except collectors of tolls, and those in the department of the state engineer and surveyor, shall be appointed by the superintendent of public works, and be subject to suspension or removal by him. The superintendent of public works shall perform all the duties of the former canal commissioners and board of canal commissioners, as now declared by law, until otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall have power to fill vacancies in the office of superintendent of public works; if the senate be not in session, he may grant commissions which shall expire at the end of the next succeeding session of the senate.]

§ 4. A superintendent of state prisons shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed; he shall give security in such amount, and with such sureties as shall be required by law for the faithful discharge of his duties; he shall have the superintendence, management and control of state prisons, subject to such laws as may exist, and may direct and control the appointment of the agents, wardens, physicians and chaplains of the prisons. The agent and warden of each prison shall appoint all other officers of such prison, except the clerk, subject to the approval of the superintendent of the prison. The comptroller shall appoint the clerks of the prisons. The superintendent shall have all the powers and perform all the duties not inconsistent herewith, which were formerly had and performed by the inspectors of state prisons. The governor may remove the superintendent for cause at any time giving to him a copy of the charge against him, and an opportunity to be heard in his defense.]

§ 5. The lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general and state engineer and surveyor shall be commissioners of the land office. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer and attorney-general shall be the commissioners of the canal fund. The canal board shall consist of the commissioners of the canal fund, the state engineer and surveyor and the superintendent of public works.]

§ 6. The powers and duties of the respective boards, and of the several officers in this article mentioned, shall be such as now are or hereafter may be prescribed by law.]

§ 7. The treasurer may be suspended from office by the governor, during the recess of the legislature, and until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the legislature whenever it shall appear to him that such treasurer has in any particular, violated his duty. The governor shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension of the treasurer.]

§ 8. There shall be the following civil departments in the state government: 1. Executive; 2. Audit and control; 3. Taxation; 4. Finance; 5. Law; 6. State; 7. Public works; 8. Conservation; 9. Agriculture and markets; 10. Labor; 11. Education; 12. Health; 13. Mental hygiene; 14. Charities; 15. Correction; 16. Public service; 17. Baining; 18. Marine; 19. Civil service; 20. Military and naval affairs; 21. Architecture.

§ 9. At the session immediately following the adoption of this article the legislature shall provide by law for the appropriate assignment, to take effect not earlier than the first day of January, on thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, of all the civil administrative and executive functions of the state government; to the several departments contained in this constitution, the legislature may from time to time assign by law new powers and functions to departments, officers, boards or commissions continued or created under this constitution, and increase, modify or diminish their powers and functions. No specific grant of power herein to a department shall prevent the legislature from conferring additional powers upon such department. No new departments shall be created hereafter but this shall not prevent the legislature from creating commissions for special purposes and nothing contained in this article shall prevent the legislature from reducing the number of departments as provided for in this article by consolidation or otherwise. The elective state officers in office at the time this article as amended takes effect shall continue in office until the end of the

LEGAL NOTICE

terms for which they were elected. Pending the assignment of the civil administrative and executive functions by the legislature pursuant to the directions of this section, the powers and duties of the several departments, boards, commissions and offices now existing are continued. Subject to the power of the legislature to reduce the number of officers, when the powers and duties of any existing office are assigned to any department, the officers exercising such powers shall continue in office in such department, and their term of office shall not be shortened by such assignment.

§ 10. The head of the department of finance shall be the treasurer; of the department of audit and control, the comptroller; and of the department of law, the attorney-general. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the heads of all other departments and the members of all boards, commissions and councils mentioned in this article shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate and may be removed by the governor, in a manner to be prescribed by law. The heads of the respective departments of education and of agriculture and markets, mental hygiene, charities and correction shall be appointed in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 11. All offices for the weighing, gauging, measuring, culling or inspecting any merchandise, produce, manufacture or commodity whatever are hereby abolished; and no such office shall hereafter be created by law; but nothing in this section contained shall abrogate any office created for the purpose of protecting the public health or the interests of the state in its property, revenue, tolls or purchases, or of supplying the people with correct standards of weights and measures, or shall prevent the creation of any office for such purposes hereafter.

§ 12. Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section.

§ 13. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,

President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

T. C. SWEET,

Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ss.:

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. s.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

ELEVEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article six of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this state to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,

Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER ELEVEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SIX OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO COMPENSATION OF JUDGES AND ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE COURT OF APPEALS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That section seven of article six of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. The court of appeals is continued. It shall consist of the chief judge and associate judges now in office, who shall hold their offices until the expiration of their respective terms, and their successors, who shall be chosen by the election of the state. The official terms of the chief judge and associate judges shall be fourteen years from and including the first day of January next after their election. Five members of the court shall form a quorum, and the concurrence of four shall be necessary to a decision. The court shall have power to appoint and to remove its reporter, clerk and attendants. Whenever and as often as a majority of the judges of the court of appeals shall certify to the governor that the court is unable, by reason of the accumulation of causes pending therein, to hear and dispose of the same with reasonable speed, the governor shall designate not more than four justices of the supreme court to serve as associate judges of court of appeals. The justices so designated shall be relieved from their duties as justices of the supreme court, and shall serve as associate judges of the court of appeals until the causes undisposed of in said court are reduced to two hundred, when they shall return to their duties as justices of the supreme court. Justices of the supreme court to fill vacancies. No justice shall serve as associate judge of the court of appeals except while holding the office of justice of the supreme court, and no more than seven judges shall sit in any

LEGAL NOTICE

LEGAL NOTICE

LEGAL NOTICE

The judges of the court of appeals, including those now in office, shall receive for their services the sum of seventeen thousand five hundred dollars per year. A justice of the supreme court, while serving as associate judge of the court of appeals shall receive the same compensation as judges of the court of appeals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 21, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

TWELVE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eighteen of article six of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER TWELVE

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHTEEN OF ARTICLE SIX OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO CHILDREN'S COURTS AND COURTS OF DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That section eighteen of article six of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 18. Inferior local courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction may be established by the legislature, but no inferior local court hereafter created shall be a court of record. [The] Except as herein provided the legislature shall not hereafter confer upon any inferior or local court of its creation, any jurisdiction or authority greater jurisdiction in other respects than is conferred upon county courts by or under this article. The legislature may establish children's courts, and courts of domestic relations, as separate courts, or as parts of existing courts or courts hereafter to be created, and may confer upon them such jurisdiction as may be necessary for the correction, protection, guardianship and disposition of delinquent, neglected or dependent minors, and for the punishment and correction of adults responsible for or contributing to such delinquency, neglect or dependency, and to compel the support of a wife, child or poor relative by persons legally chargeable therewith who abandon or neglects to support any of them. In conferring such jurisdiction the legislature shall provide that whenever a child is committed to an institution or is placed in the custody of any person by parole, placing out, adoption or guardianship, it shall be so committed or placed, when practicable, to an institution governed by persons, or in the custody of a person, of the same religious persuasion as the child. In the exercise of such jurisdiction such courts may hear and determine such cases, with or without a jury, except those involving a felony. Except as herein otherwise provided, all judicial officers shall be elected or appointed at such times and in such manner as the legislature may direct.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

THIRTEEN
STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section seven of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER THIRTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION SEVEN OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE FOREST PRESERVE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That section seven of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 7. The lands of the state, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as now fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be leased, sold or exchanged, or to be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the timber thereon be sold, removed or destroyed. Nothing contained in this section shall prevent the state from constructing a state highway from Saranac Lake in Franklin county to Long Lake in Hamilton county and thence to Old Forge in Herkimer county by way of Blue Mountain lake and Raquette lake.

The legislature may by [general] laws provide for the use of not exceeding three per centum of such lands for the following purposes: for the construction and maintenance of reservoirs for municipal water supply, or the canals of the state and to regulate the flow of streams, and may further provide for the development of water power and for rights of way for electric transmission lines, all of which are hereby declared to be public uses. Such reservoirs, water power and transmission lines shall be constructed, owned and controlled by the state, but such work shall not be undertaken until after the boundaries and high flow lines thereof shall have been accurately surveyed and fixed, and after public notice, hearing and determination that such lands are required for such public uses. The expense of any such improvements shall be apportioned on the public and private property and municipalities benefited to the extent of the benefits received. Any such reservoir shall always be operated by the state and the legislature shall provide for a charge upon the property and municipalities benefited for a reasonable return to the state upon the value of the rights and property of the state used or leased and the services of the state rendered in the construction, control and operation of said reservoirs, water powers and transmission lines, which charge shall be fixed for terms of not exceeding ten years [and be readjustable at the end of any term]. Any such water power may be leased for terms of not exceeding ten years. Unsanitary conditions shall not be created or continued by any such public works. A violation of any of the provisions of this section may be restrained at the suit of the people or, with the consent of the supreme court in appellate division, on notice to the attorney-general at the suit of any citizen.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and, in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution, be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 20, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, [L. S.] this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FOURTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eight of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FOURTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 8. The legislature shall not sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the Erie canal, the Oswego canal, the Champlain canal, the Cayuga and Seneca canal, or the Black River canal; but they shall remain the property of the state and under its management forever. The prohibition

of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal [in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained] between Rome and Mohawk. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 15, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 23, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. S.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FIFTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old matter to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eight of article seven of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER FIFTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION EIGHT OF ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That section eight of article seven of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 8. The legislature shall not sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the Erie canal, the Oswego canal, the Champlain canal, the Cayuga and Seneca canal, or the Black River canal; but they shall remain the property of the state and under its management forever. The prohibition of lease, sale or other disposition herein contained, shall not apply to the canal known as the Main and Hamburg street canal, situated in the city of Buffalo, and which extends easterly from the westerly line of Main street to the westerly line of Hamburg street, nor to that portion of the existing Erie canal in the city of Utica between the westerly line of Schuyler street and the easterly line of Third street, provided that a flow of sufficient water from Schuyler street to Third street to feed that portion of the canal east of Third street be maintained; nor shall such prohibition apply to the portion of the existing Erie canal in the county of Herkimer between the easterly portion of the village of Mohawk and the county boundary line between the counties of Herkimer and Oneida. All funds that may be derived from any lease, sale or other disposition of any canal shall be applied to the improvement, superintendence or repair of the remaining portion of the canals.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur). That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN ASSEMBLY,

Mar. 11, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,

THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

IN SENATE,

Apr. 15, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Senate,

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and on the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this [L. S.] first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

LEGAL NOTICE

SIXTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section ten of article eight of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SIXTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION TEN OF ARTICLE EIGHT OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE AMOUNT TO BE RAISED BY TAX FOR COUNTY OR CITY PURPOSES IN CERTAIN COUNTIES AND CITIES.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That section ten of article eight of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 10. No county, city, town or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money or credit to or in aid of any individual, partnership, corporation, or become directly or indirectly the owner of stock in, or bonds of, any association or corporation; nor shall any such county, city, town or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness except for county, city, town or village purposes. This section shall not prevent such county, city, town or village from making such provision for the aid or support of its poor as may be authorized by law. No county or city shall be allowed to become indebted for any purpose or in any manner to an amount which including existing indebtedness, shall exceed ten per centum of the assessed valuation of the real estate of such county or city subject to taxation, as it appeared by the assessment rolls of said county or city on the last assessment for state or county taxes prior to the incurring of such indebtedness; and all indebtedness incurred by such limitation, except such as now may exist, shall be absolutely void, except as herein otherwise provided. No county or city whose present indebtedness exceeds ten per centum of the assessed valuation of its real estate subject to taxation, shall be allowed to become indebted in any further amount until such indebtedness shall be reduced within such limit. This section shall not be construed to prevent the issuing of certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes for annuities actually contractually to be contained in the taxes for the year when such certificates or revenue bonds are issued and payable out of such taxes; nor to prevent the city of New York from issuing bonds to be redeemed out of the tax levy for the year next succeeding the year of their issue; provided that the amount of such bonds which may be issued in any one year in excess of the limitations herein contained shall not exceed one-tenth of one per centum of the assessed valuation of the real estate of said city subject to taxation. Nor shall this section be construed to prevent the issue of bonds to provide for the supply of water; but the term of the bonds issued to provide for the supply of water, in excess of the limitation of indebtedness fixed herein, shall not exceed twenty years, and a sinking fund shall be created on the issue of such bonds, and for their redemption, by raising annually a sum which will produce an amount equal to the sum of the principal and interest of said bonds at their maturity. All certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes, which are not redeemed within five years after their date of issue, and bonds issued to provide for the supply of water, and any debt hereafter incurred by any portion or part of a city if there shall be any such debt, shall be included in ascertaining the power of the city to become otherwise indebted; except that debts incurred by the city of New York after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and four, and debts incurred by any city of the second class after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and eight, and debts incurred by any city of the third class after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and ten, to provide for the supply of water, shall not be so included; and except further that any debt hereafter incurred by the city of New York for a public improvement owned or to be owned by the city, which yields to the city current net revenue, after making any necessary allowance for repairs and maintenance for which the city is liable, in excess of the interest on said debt and of the annual instalments necessary for its amortization may be excluded in ascertaining the power of said city to become otherwise indebted, provided that a sinking fund for its amortization shall have been established and maintained and that the indebtedness shall not be so excluded during any period of time when the revenue aforesaid shall not be sufficient to equal the said interest and amortization payments, and except further that any indebtedness heretofore incurred by the city of New York for any rapid transit or dock investment may be so excluded proportionately to the extent to which the current net revenue received by said city therefrom shall meet the interest and amortization instalments thereof, provided that any increase in the debt incurring power of the city of New York which shall result from the exclusion of debts heretofore incurred shall be available only for the acquisition or construction of properties to be used for rapid transit or dock purposes. The legislature shall prescribe the method by which and the terms and conditions under which the amount of any debt to be so excluded shall be determined, and no such debt shall be excluded except in accordance with the determination of the legislature. The legislature may in its discretion confer appropriate jurisdiction on the appellate division of the supreme court in the first judicial department for the purpose of determining the amount of any debt to be so excluded. No indebtedness of a city shall be included within the limitations of this section until such time as the boundaries of any city are the same as those of a county, or when any city shall include within its boundaries more than one county, the power of any county wholly included within such city to become indebted shall cease, but the debt of the county, heretofore existing, shall not, for the purposes of this section, be reckoned as a part of the debt of the city. The amount hereafter to be raised by tax for county or city purposes, excluding appropriations for educational purposes, in any county containing a city of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, or any such city of this state, in addition to providing for the principal and interest of existing debt, shall not in the aggregate exceed in any one year two per centum of the assessed valuation of the real and personal estate of such county or city, to be ascertained as prescribed in this section in respect to county or city debt.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the foregoing

LEGAL NOTICE

going amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

April 20, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

April 23, 1920.

This bill was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof, three-fifths being present.

HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

SEVENTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section eleven of article eight of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER SEVENTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION ELEVEN OF ARTICLE EIGHT OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO THE STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES, THE STATE COMMISSION IN LUNACY AND THE STATE COMMISSION OR COMMISSIONERS ON MENTAL HYGIENE.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section eleven of article eight of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 11. The legislature shall provide for a state board of charities, which shall visit and inspect all institutions, whether state, county, municipal, incorporated or not incorporated, which are of a charitable, eleemosynary, correctional or reformatory character, excepting state institutions for the education and support of the blind and the deaf and dumb, and excepting [only] also such institutions as are hereby made subject to visitation and inspection of either of the [commissions] authorities hereinafter mentioned, but including all reformatories [except those in which adult males convicted of felony shall be confined] for juveniles; a state commission [in lunacy] or commissioner on mental hygiene, which shall visit and inspect all institutions, either public or private, used for the care and treatment of the insane, epileptics, idiots, feeble-minded or mentally defective [not including institutions for epileptics or idiots]; a state commission of prisons which shall visit and inspect all institutions used for the detention of sane adults charged with or convicted of crime, or detained as witnesses of debtors.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

April 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

April 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
T. C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

EIGHTEEN

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provision of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposed amendment to section two of article twelve of the Constitution of the State of New York is referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators in this State to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

AMENDMENT NUMBER EIGHTEEN

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION TWO OF ARTICLE

LEGAL NOTICE

TWELVE OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN RELATION TO CITY BILLS.

Section 1. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That section two of article twelve of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

§ 2. All city bills are classified according to the latest state enumeration, as from time to time made, as follows: The first class includes all cities having a population of one hundred and seventy-five thousand or more; the second class, all cities having a population of fifty thousand and less than one hundred and seventy-five thousand; the third class, all other cities. Laws relating to the property, affairs or government of cities, and the several departments thereof, are divided into general and special city laws; general city laws are those which relate to all the cities of one or more classes; special city laws are those which relate to a single city, or to less than all the cities of a class. Special city laws shall not be passed except in conformity with the provisions of this section. After any bill for a special city law, relating to a city, has been passed by both branches of the legislature, the house in which it originated shall immediately transmit a certified copy thereof to the mayor of such city, and within fifteen days thereafter the mayor shall return such bill to the clerk of the house from which it was sent, [or] who if the session of the legislature at which such bill was passed has terminated, shall immediately transmit the same to the governor, with the mayor's certificate thereon, stating whether the city has or has not accepted the same. In every city of the first class, the mayor, and in every other city, the mayor and the legislative body thereof concurrently, shall act for such city and shall be transmitted to the governor, in every special city law, but the legislature may provide for the concurrence of the legislative body in cities of the first class. The legislature shall provide for a public notice and opportunity for a public hearing concerning any such bill in every city to which it relates, before action thereon. Such a bill, if it relates to more than one city, shall be transmitted to the mayor of each city to which it relates, and shall not be deemed accepted unless accepted as herein provided, by every such city. Whenever any such bill is accepted as herein provided, it shall be subject as are other bills, to the action of the governor. Whenever, during the session at which such bill is passed, any such bill is returned without the acceptance of the city or cities to which it relates, or within fifteen days is not returned, it may nevertheless again be passed by both branches of the legislature, and it shall then be subject as are other bills, to the action of the governor. In every special city law, which has been accepted by the city or cities to which it relates, the title shall be followed by the words "accepted by the city," or "cities," as the case may be; in every such law which is passed without such acceptance, by the words "passed without the acceptance of the city," or "cities," as the case may be.

§ 2. Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators and in conformity with section one of article fourteen of the constitution be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN SENATE,

Apr. 23, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the Senators elected voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Senate,
HARRY C. WALKER,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ASSEMBLY,

Apr. 24, 1920.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed, a majority of all the members elected to the Assembly voting in favor thereof.

By order of the Assembly,
THADDEUS C. SWEET,
Speaker.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.
I have compared the preceding copy of concurrent resolution with the original resolution on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, this first day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE

EXPLANATION.—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

ALBANY, July 1, 1920.

Pursuant to the provisions of section one of article fourteen of the Constitution of the State of New York, and section two hundred ninety-five of the Election Law, notice is hereby given that the following proposition, chapter eight hundred seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred twenty will be submitted to the people for the purpose of voting thereon at the next general election to be held on the second day of November, nineteen hundred twenty.

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE

CHAPTER 872

AN ACT MAKING PROVISION FOR ISSUING BONDS TO THE AMOUNT OF NOT TO EXCEED FORTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE PAYMENT OF A BONUS TO PERSONS WHO

SERVED IN THE MILITARY OR NAVAL SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES AT ANY TIME BETWEEN THE SIXTH DAY OF APRIL, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN, AND THE ELEVENTH DAY OF NOVEMBER, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN, AND PROVIDING FOR A SUBMISSION OF THE SAME TO THE PEOPLE TO BE VOTED UPON AT THE GENERAL ELECTION TO BE HELD IN THE YEAR NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY.

Became a law May 21, 1920, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. Bond issue authorized. There shall be issued, in the manner and at the times hereinafter recited, bonds of the state in an amount not to exceed forty-five million dollars, which bonds shall be sold by the state and the proceeds thereof shall be paid into the state treasury, and so much thereof as may be necessary ex-

LEGAL NOTICE

pended for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States, at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, as hereinafter provided. Such bonds when issued shall be exempt from taxation.

§ 2. Sale; interest. The comptroller is hereby directed to cause to be prepared the bonds of this state to an amount not to exceed forty-five million dollars, such bonds to bear interest at the rate of not to exceed five per centum per annum, which interest shall be payable semi-annually in the city of New York. Such bonds, or the portion thereof at any time issued, shall be made payable in twenty-five equal annual installments, the first of which shall be payable one year from the date of issue, and the last of which shall be payable twenty-six years from the date of issue. The comptroller is hereby charged with the duty of selling such bonds at not less than par to the highest bidder after advertising for a period of twenty consecutive days, Sundays excepted, in at least two daily newspapers printed in the city of New York and one in the city of Albany. Advertisements shall contain a provision to the effect that the comptroller, in his discretion may reject any or all bids made in pursuance of such advertisement, and in the event of such rejection the comptroller is authorized to readvertise for bids in the form and manner above described as many times as in his judgment may be necessary to effect a satisfactory sale.

§ 3. Commission to distribute proceeds. The proceeds of such bonds, after appropriation or appropriations therefrom by the legislature, shall be distributed by a special commission created by the legislature for such purpose, to the persons entitled thereto, under the provisions of this act, on application within a time to be prescribed by the legislature.

§ 4. Disability fund. The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment and administration of a fund to be used for the amelioration of the condition of residents of this state who are suffering disability incurred in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the date when they were honorably separated or discharged from such services, and shall authorize any person who so desire to assign to such fund the bonus to which he is entitled under this act.

§ 5. Bonuses to certain persons who were in the service of the United States in the war with the German empire and its allies. Every person, male or female, who was enlisted, inducted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, for a period longer than two months, and who at the time of entering into such service was a resident of the state of New York, and is a resident at the time this act takes effect, and who was honorably separated or discharged from such service, or who is still in active service, or has been retired, or has been furloughed to a reserve, shall be entitled to receive from the proceeds of such bonds as a bonus the sum of ten dollars for each month or major fraction thereof that such person was in active service, of not exceeding a total of five hundred and fifty dollars. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who at the time of being separated or discharged from such service, or at the time of being retired or furloughed to a reserve, or at the time of his death in the service, was an officer in the army or marine corps above the grade of captain, or in the navy above the grade of lieutenant, senior grade. No person shall be entitled to such payment or allowance who being in the military or naval service of the United States subsequent to the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, was honorably separated or discharged from such service on grounds to subject himself to military discipline or to render unqualified service, or whose only service was in the students' army training corps, or who received from another state a bonus or gratuity of a like nature provided for by this act. The husband or wife, child, mother, father, brother and sister in the order named and none other, of any deceased person, male or female, who was enlisted, inducted, warranted or commissioned, and who served honorably in active duty in the military or naval service of the United States as provided in this section, shall be paid the sum or allowance that such deceased person would be entitled hereunder if such deceased person had lived.

§ 6. Payment exempt from taxation and execution. All payments or allowances made under this act shall be exempt from all taxation, and from levy and sale on execution.

§ 7. Submission of law to people. This law shall not take effect until it shall at a general election have been submitted to the people and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election; and the same shall be submitted to the people of this state at the general election to be held in November, nineteen hundred and twenty. The ballots to be furnished for the use of voters upon the submission of this law shall be in the form prescribed by the election law and the proposition or question to be submitted shall be printed thereon in substantially the following form, to-wit: "Shall chapter eight hundred and seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty,' be approved?"

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, } ss.:

I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original law.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the city of Albany, the _____ day of July in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

[L. s.]

FRANCIS M. HUGO,
Secretary of State.

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF AMENDMENT NUMBER ONE.
"Shall the proposed amendment to Sections Two, Four, Five, Eleven and Twelve of Article Seven of the Constitution, in relation to debts contracted by the state," be approved?"

FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF PROPOSITION NUMBER ONE.
"Shall chapter eight hundred and seventy-two of the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty, entitled 'An act making provision for issuing bonds to the amount of not to exceed forty-five million dollars for the payment of a bonus to persons who served in the military or naval service of

LEGAL NOTICE

the United States at any time between the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the eleventh day of November, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and providing for a submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and twenty, be approved?"

Attention

New York Women

THE eighteen amendments printed in this magazine ending on this page, are those which women of New York State must vote upon this fall. The complete text has already been printed twice, and will appear twice more, making five times in all. Read it.

Women of New Jersey

THIS is what you must do to vote in your primaries on September 28. If you live in cities of 15,000 or more, register on September 14. In towns under 15,000 a house to house canvass of the women voters will be made. Be sure it is made in your town. Be sure you are on the lists.

World Policies

(Continued from page 406)

deeply, and only to be defeated—and it was to Hay one of the tragedies of his life—Mr. Hay called in the Senators from both sides; and when he was negotiating the Alaskan boundary treaty with Great Britain, he called in Senators, Democratic and Republican.

President McKinley went even further. At the close of the war with Spain, when he came to appoint the Peace Commission to Paris, he selected three Senators to be members of that Commission; three of the five were Senators, and every one of them was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations; and one of them, Judge Gray of Delaware, was a Democrat. When the treaty came back from Paris, like another treaty more recently, there were on the floor of the Senate three Senators who had helped to make the treaty, and one of them was a Democrat; and the result was there was practically no party opposition to the treaty at all; none at all. Mr. McKinley had exhibited rare tact and good politics. That was his strongest forte, I may say.

President Wilson chose to follow a different course. No Senator of the United States, Democrat or Republican, was put on the Peace Commission, and no one, so far as we know, was ever consulted by the President. The President went ahead, negotiated the treaty himself, and then brought it back and laid it before the Senate.

I am not criticising; I am expressing no opinion; I am simply stating facts. I do venture to say that I feel very sure that the President was entirely within his legal rights, but on the other hand if he had followed the practice of McKinley in 1898, I doubt very much whether the opposition to the treaty would have been what it is.

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"We need two great parties, but the Republican party needs one more good licking to break up the old guard and reactionary control of the party. If defeated this time the progressive and forward looking Republicans will get control, and everything will be in the open and not framed up in private rooms, as it is done today. If nominated, the women can beat Wadsworth, if they will get out and do their duty. Respectfully yours,

CHARLES L. KNOX,

Formerly of the State of Washington.

15 William Street, New York.

August 31, 1920.

More Reasons Not to Vote for Wadsworth

IN 1912 and 1914 the Progressive party had a powerful and aggressive organization in Chautauqua county, and I may add that I was one of the most active on the stump.

Most of us have, of course, now relapsed into the Republican party, but there is not one with whom I have talked but that is bitterly opposed to Wadsworth for re-election to the United States Senate. His designation at Saratoga Springs was a distinct affront to all Progressives, to all women and to all the temperance and religious forces of the state.

It most seriously endangers both the state and the national ticket.

CARL H. DUDLEY,

President Board of Education.

Silver Creek, N. Y., Aug. 1, 1920.

In Boston, Even the Antis Begin to See

MRS. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM, who for many years has been prominent in her fight against woman suffrage, has capitulated before the logic of events. Why fight any longer? she asks her waning colleagues of Boston.

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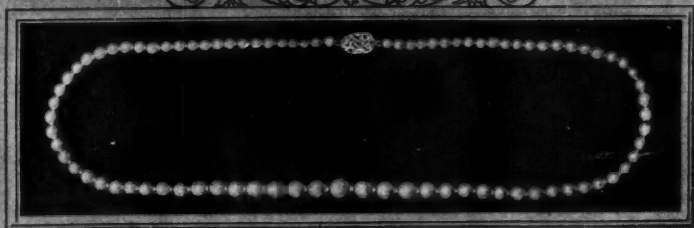
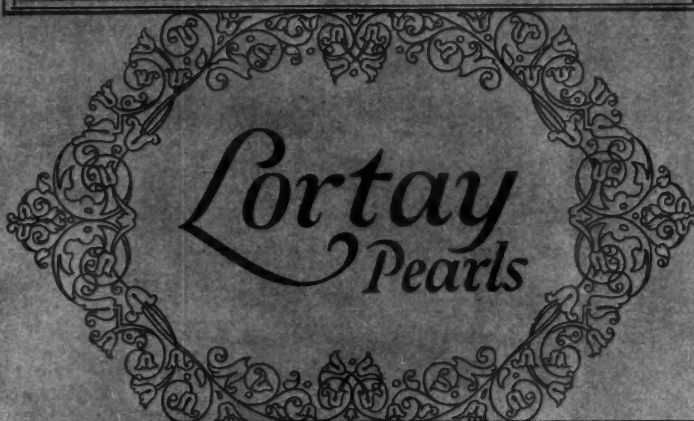
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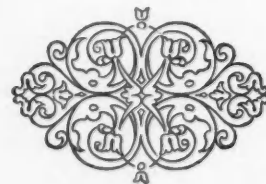
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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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Which Party Did It?

Green Mountain Women
Stand On Their Rights

A Futile Gesture

Woman and Arakel
of Sunik

Shall Cooperation or
Government Mend the
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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES 50 CENTS EXTRA

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published from 1870 to 1917). As the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the WOMAN CITIZEN maintains intimate contact between the Association and its two and a half million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Entered as second class matter June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

SEPTEMBER 18, 1920

No. 16

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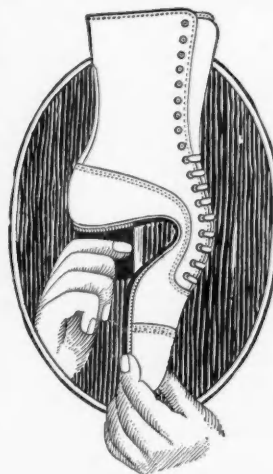
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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

SEPTEMBER 18, 1920

NUMBER 16

THE Connecticut Legislature on Tuesday, September 14, ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment by a unanimous vote in the Senate. The House vote was 216 to 11. By this action all further frantic efforts of anti-suffragists to hamper women's political freedom are definitely ended.

A Futile Gesture

THE group of Tennessee antis, augmented by the group of Maryland men who have gone from state to state trying to block ratification, are probably making their gesture, as the French say, at this particular time in the hope that they may prevent the Connecticut Legislature from ratifying and thus bringing in a state over which there may be no contest. As a matter of constitutional fact, it does not matter in the least whether Connecticut ratifies or not. The Federal Suffrage Amendment has legally and absolutely been made a part of the Federal Constitution and there it will remain.

"In the recent statement of Speaker Walker, he tells some truth but he carefully avoids telling the whole truth. The suffrage resolution was passed in Tennessee by the so-called constitutional majority with a full House present. The printed rules declare that a motion to reconsider may remain pending for three days and is on call by the mover of the motion only. For those three days the attendance upon the Legislature was full and the constitutional suffrage majority was on hand prepared to vote that resolution down. It is a custom, but not a rule, that at the end of three days anyone else may take up the motion to reconsider, and Speaker Walker insists that this may remain pending until the end of the Legislature. This is merely filibustering tactics, subversive of majority rule and was declared inapplicable to the Federal Amendment by the Attorney-General of Tennessee for two reasons; first, that a Legislature which has once passed a Federal Amendment has exhausted its power to act upon that question and cannot reconsider it; second, that if reconsideration could legally take place upon a Federal Amendment, the power to reconsider had been exhausted by the rules of the House when the three days had passed.

"Mr. Walker fails to mention that when the minority was unable to defeat the Amendment and had to admit that the suffragists were in majority, it ignominiously fled and by this 'direct action' attempted to break the majority.

"No one can blame the antis of Tennessee for making a fuss, for unless they make a pretense of having some right upon their side, they will be unanimously regarded by their fellow countrymen and by all the world in this generation and by all posterity as a group of cowardly bushwhackers. This is a government of majorities and not minorities.

"It is the American way for defeated minorities to plunge into the courts in the hope of defeating the majority by some legal quibble and this is the only motive which is inspiring the Tennessee antis, but fortunately our courts decide cases upon well established precedents and by the law of the land which upholds majorities and not minorities."

C. C. C.

The Noble Duke of York

AFTER a large inclusive gesture, taking in the nation in one sweep, the anti-suffragists who started out to march from Nashville to Washington and scare Secretary Bainbridge into retracting his proclamation of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, have decided to go to the nutmeg state and try out their scaring on Governor Holcomb and the Connecticut Legislature.

These Tennessee swashbucklers got up stage on September 12, with legal threats, much loud sounding noise of a complete incoherence from Speaker Walker, much brandishing of paper swords and much other stage business. Like the noble Duke of York with a hundred thousand men, they all marched up the hill—and then marched down again.

IN the meanwhile Senator Frank Brandagee, their confrere and ally, fell out from their ranks on Tuesday, coming out for ratification by Connecticut, just at the moment when his anti friends were threatening to descend on Connecticut.

Having delayed woman suffrage at every turn until he covered himself by securing the senatorial nomination, he now waves forward the women as if to say, "Let them come in now. They can't hurt me."

This is to insult the intelligence, the political sagacity and the moral integrity of Connecticut women.

Aside from the fact that the last word has not yet been said as to Mr. Brandagee's senatorship could there be a more shameless assertion of the use of political prestige for personal ends?

This prostitution of public office to private advantage is a thing women have learned to despise with so burning a contempt that they are going up into their new kingdom dedicated by the thousands to its undoing.

THE anti-suffragists in and out of Tennessee have urged in a most emphatic manner possible, that all opponents of woman suffrage make their protest against ratification in Tennessee. Their circular appeals for funds, claims that the amendment has not been ratified and that the officials already enjoined shall be made to suffer for their part in ratification. They say: "*Do your Bit. Organize mass meetings. Circulate petitions and we will uphold the Constitutional rights of the people.*"

As a result of this appeal, mass meetings have been attempted in all parts of Tennessee. The papers report them under headlines: "Little Interest Manifested in Mass Meetings," "Mass Meeting Failure in Montgomery," "Anti Meeting Proves Fizzle at Tullahoma," "Antis Call Off Meeting at Columbia," "Anti Mass Meeting Signal Failure," etc.

At any rate, Tennessee, despite the temperature of its climate, is keeping its emotions up to boiling point. The history it is making will be strange reading for its own posterity.

Which Party Did It?

THE women of the United States owe their final release from political thralldom to the two dominant parties whose followers compose, in the main, Congress and the forty-eight State Legislatures. Despite the fact that many memories still persist of times when party men were guilty of base trickery to prevent woman suffrage bills from reaching a vote on the floor of Legislatures and overlooking the numerous instances within the past year when minorities have nearly succeeded in "double crossing" party majorities and thus staying the process of ratification, the fact remains that the tremendous influence of party majorities have made ratification possible.

To the Chairmen of both parties the National American Woman Suffrage Association has rendered a report of its party record on the vote for submission of the amendment in Congress and in the states which have ratified and also in those which have rejected or postponed the vote on the Amendment. And to each Chairman a letter of thanks and appreciation has been presented with the report.

From these records each party will doubtless find much with which to make an appeal to women voters. Each party will see reasons why women should be inspired by gratitude to support its particular ticket. In order that all readers of the Citizen may know the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the above mentioned records are reproduced here.

Record of the Federal Amendment by Parties

THE Federal Suffrage Amendment was finally submitted by the Sixty-sixth Congress on June 4th, 1919. Ratification was completed by the proclamation of the Secretary of State on August 26th, 1920, one year, two months and twenty-two days from the date of submission.

The vote of submission by Congress was as follows:

Senate: The total vote in favor was 56 of which 36 were Republican and 20 Democratic. The total vote opposed was 25 of which 8 were Republican and 17 Democratic. Fifteen were paired and not voting of which 5 were Republican and 10 Democratic.

House: The total vote in favor was 308 of which 201 were Republican, 105 Democratic and 2 Independent. The total vote opposed was 91 of which 21 were Republicans and 70 Democrats.

Of the forty-eight Legislatures, thirty were Republican, eighteen Democratic, North Dakota and Minnesota had non-partisan Legislatures—usually classed as Republicans, and to these the amendment was referred for ratification.

Of the thirty-six Legislatures which ratified the Amendment, twenty-eight were called into special session for the purpose. Eighteen of these special sessions were called by Republican Governors and ten by Democratic Governors. Twenty-seven of the thirty-six Legislatures ratifying were Republican, two Non-Partisan and seven were Democratic.

Nine states rejected the Amendment of which eight were Democratic and one Republican.

The total legislative vote for ratification in the thirty-six states was 4126, of which 2545 were Republican votes; 1211 Democratic votes; 323 Non-Partisan and 47 Socialist and Independent.

The total legislative vote against ratification in the thirty-six states was 633 of which 323 were Republican votes; 273 Democratic votes; 21 Non-Partisan and 16 Independent.

The total vote for ratification in the nine states rejecting the Amendment was 431 of which 90 were Republican and 341 were Democratic. The total vote opposed was 801 of which 52 were Republican and 749 were Democratic.

THE enormity of the task set before the women of this country in order to secure their enfranchisement, even by the shorter process of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, is manifested by the returns.

Six thousand four hundred and sixty-one (6461) men actually voted upon the Amendment in Congress and those Legislatures which have already passed upon the Amendment, thirty-six of which ratified the Amendment and nine either rejected or postponed action. Four thousand nine hundred and twenty-one (4921) men voted to ratify, and one thousand five hundred and forty (1540) voted against it. Of this total vote three thousand one hundred and ninety-five (3195) votes were cast by Republicans and one thousand six hundred and seventy-seven (1677) were cast by Democrats.

Together with the above report the following letters were sent to Mr. Will H. Hays and Mr. George White, Chairmen respectively of the Republican and Democratic National Committees:

September 9th, 1920.

Mr. Will H. Hays,
Chairman, Republican National Committee,
19 West 44th Street,
New York City, New York.

My dear Mr. Hays:—

In submitting herewith the record of the two dominant parties on the submission and ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, I take the occasion to express to you personally, on behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, our grateful appreciation of your own faithful, consistent and always sincere efforts to carry out the platforms of your party wherein they referred to the enfranchisement of women.

Ratification at this date would not have been achieved without your conscientious and understanding help.

I wish also to express our gratitude to the Republican Party for its share in the final enfranchisement of the women of the United States. Although we women regret that both parties were not sufficiently forward-looking to ratify the Suffrage Amendment by unanimous vote in each of the forty-eight states, and also regret that the Republican Governors of Vermont and Connecticut would not allow the Legislatures of those two states to act upon the Amendment; yet despite those disappointments your party may be proud of its record.

The long delay in ratification has without doubt brought many embarrassments in the political campaigns of all parties. The woman's vote is certain to be much smaller and far less effective than it would have been with more time to organize it.

Again expressing the gratitude of our Association to you and your party for its share in the completion of the task to which our organization set itself more than fifty years ago.

I am, yours very truly,
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President.

September 9th, 1920.

Mr. George White,
Chairman, National Democratic Committee,
Grand Central Palace,
New York City, New York.

My dear Mr. White:—

I submit herewith the record of the two dominant parties on the submission and ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In doing so there is one important Democratic factor which should be included in the record, and that is the fearless and able sponsorship of the Amendment by the leader of your party, the President of the United States. He once addressed Congress on the subject in special message, and once the United States Senate, and has never hesitated to let members of his party know in every State that he favored ratification. While it is a matter of regret that all Democrats did not follow his leadership in this matter today, as they certainly will tomorrow, nevertheless Mr. Wilson's championship furnishes cause for pride to all forward-looking Democrats, since his vision foresaw

the now achieved fact of the enfranchisement of the women of this country.

On behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, I wish to thank you and your party for its share in the completion of the task to which our Association set itself more than fifty years ago.

I am, yours very truly,
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President.

TENNESSEE gave the last turn to the key which unlocked the door of political freedom to American women. The Democrats will claim that as Tennessee is a Democratic State the credit belongs to that party. The Republicans will claim that ratification could not have taken place had not the Republican stalwarts of House and Senate voted to support it. Both contentions are true. The Republicans held the balance of power in the Tennessee Legislature of 28 votes in the House and 8 in the Senate. Seven Republican Senators voted for ratification, and 15 Republicans in the House. On the other hand, the Amendment could not have been ratified had it not been for Democratic votes and neither Republican nor Democrats could have put through ratification in that State had it not been for the call to special session given by the Democratic Governor of Tennessee. Let women and men be grateful to both parties and to all concerned for the victory in the thirty-sixth state.

The Flies in the Ointment

THE thrill of joy, the sense of freedom, the relief from the long years of struggle which women anticipated when the end should come, have been largely denied women by the senseless, badgering spirit which has delayed the final victory until the eve of a Presidential Election.

The Republican Fly

Shortly before the close of the Sixty-fourth Congress, a vacancy occurring in Louisiana, Senator Gay was elected to fill out that unexpired term. He was a suffragist but was unwilling to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment since its wording was precisely like that of the Fifteenth Amendment. There was much agitation among the Democrats to try to find the form of an amendment which would please him. The form which he wanted we could not accept but he finally conceded a good deal and a slight change in the original amendment was found to be agreeable to all parties concerned. Mr. Gay agreed to vote for this, and we had with his vote the necessary two-thirds which would submit the Amendment by the Senate. The House friends were hastily interviewed and it found that they also would accept that amendment.

There were but a few days left in the session for this last hasty work. A place on the House calendar was agreed upon provided the amendment should pass the Senate. Only two days and two nights finally remained of the Sixty-fifth Congress when all was ready for the vote to be taken. Unanimous consent to allow the question to come up was necessary and it was then that Senator Weeks and Senator Wadsworth spelled each other in keeping guard—Senator Wadsworth sitting up the whole of one night in order to object whenever Senator Jones, Chairman of the Committee, should ask unanimous consent. These two Republican Senators made that objection several times and thus prevented the Amendment coming to vote.

Had not these two Republican Senators assumed this attitude (even the filibustering Senator Reed had agreed not to make objection) the Amendment would have been submitted in sufficient time for ratification to have been completed by the Spring of 1919.

Had this been accomplished there would have been ample time for women to qualify for registration and the election. Necessary legislation would have taken place; political parties would

have had ample opportunity to acquaint themselves with the situation, and the work involved in a Presidential campaign would have been greatly eased for both political parties as well as for the women voters. The torture of disappointed hopes and not a little bitterness of spirit was engendered from these useless dictatorial and Kaiserish tactics. Massachusetts did not endorse the action of Senator Weeks and left him at home in the next election.

Whether New York will endorse this record of Senator Wadsworth remains to be revealed in the November Election.

Again, had the two Republican Governors of Vermont and Connecticut called their sessions and thus permitted their respective Legislatures to act upon the Amendment, ratification would have been completed not later than April 1st and thus again much of the agony of anxiety which women have been made to suffer would have been avoided.

The Democratic Fly

The Sixty-fifth Congress had a Democratic majority. There was no time in that Congress at which two or three additional votes might have submitted the Amendment. The responsibility lay with the Democrats. The President did his best, and two Democrats, both representing strong suffrage territory and who were entirely free from southern prejudices, namely Senator Pomerene of Ohio and Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, could at any time have changed their votes and submitted the Amendment. Both of their states have since ratified and their attitude has had no other effect than to prevent the Democratic Party from carrying out its pledges, and the Democratic President from effecting the legislation he believed to be useful.

The Civil War and the reconstruction legislation which followed left its mark upon the South, the scar of which is still there. The young new South understands that we are a Nation, but there is an element which has not changed its point of view since the fall of Ft. Sumter. And in the main, southern Senators were frightened by the effect upon their elections of the traditional South. There is little doubt but that had the South, as a whole, caught pace with the rest of the country on this question, the Federal Amendment would have been submitted several years before it was. And to Democratic Senators (with noble and distinguished exceptions) women certainly owe the long delay in the coming of their final triumph.

To Sum Up

WOMEN owe much to both political parties, but to neither do they owe so much that they need feel themselves obligated to support that party if conscience and judgment dictate otherwise. Their political freedom at this time is due to the tremendous sentiment and pressure produced by their own unceasing activities over a period of three generations. Had either party lived up to the high ideals of our Nation and courageously taken the stand for right and justice as against time-serving, vote-winning policies of delay, women would have been enfranchised long ago. And this fact, those who are informed, will never forget.

On the other hand, the majority of the officials of both dominant political parties on the home stretch tried their best to complete ratification, and the men of 1920 who made personal sacrifices to win the victory cannot be blamed for the shortcomings of other men who at other times and places made strenuous effort to prevent the enfranchisement of women. The minority in both parties even now is engaged in combined activity to block the operation of the Amendment by court action over trivial technicalities. The majority must not be blamed for the minority. Each party had its opportunity to make political credit for itself which would have rounded to its advantage for years to come;

(Continued on page 427)

Record by Parties of Vote for Ratification in Thirty-Six States

STATE	Date Ratified	Session S. or R.	Senate by Parties	Vote in Senate	Senate Vote By Parties						Absent	House by Parties	Vote in House	House Vote By Parties						Absent
					Yea			Nay						Yea			Nay			
					Rep.	Dem.	Soc.	Rep.	Dem.	Soc.				Rep.	Dem.	Soc.	Rep.	Dem.	Soc.	
1919																				
Illinois.....	June 10	Reg.	Rep. 33 Dem. 17 (1 dead)	46-0	Rep. 32 Dem. 14	0	0	Rep. 0 Dem. 0	0	0		Rep. 85 Dem. 53	135-3	Rep. 85 Dem. 50	0	0	Rep. 3 Dem. 3	0	0	Rep. 4 Dem. 9
Wisconsin.....	June 10	Reg.	Rep. 27 Dem. 2 Soc. 4	25-1	21	2	4	1	0	0	Rep. 5 Dem. 2	Rep. 77 Dem. 5 Soc. 17	54-2	42	1	11	2	0	0	Rep. 34 Dem. 4 Soc. 5
Michigan.....	June 10	Sp.	Rep. 32 Dem. 0	25-0	25	0	0	0	0	0	Rep. 7 Dem. 0	Rep. 98 Dem. 2	84-0	82	2	0	0	0	0	Rep. 17 Dem. 0
Kansas.....	June 16	Sp.	Rep. 30 Dem. 10	35-0	28	7	0	0	0	0		Rep. 110 Dem. 15	120-0	106	14	0	0	0	0	
New York.....	June 16	Sp.	Rep. 29 Dem. 22	44-0	25	19	0	0	0	0		Rep. 94 Dem. 54 Soc. 2	137-0	88	47	2	0	0	0	
Ohio.....	June 16	Reg.	Rep. 21 Dem. 13	27-3	17	10	0	3	0	0	Dem. 3	Rep. 77 Dem. 47	76-0	52	24	0	1	5	0	Rep. 24 Dem. 18
Pennsylvania.....	June 24	Reg.	Rep. 42 Dem. 6	31-6	28	3	0	4	2	0	Rep. 10 Dem. 1	Rep. 183 Dem. 23	153-44	145	8	0	32	12	0	Rep. 6 Dem. 3
Massachusetts.....	June 25	Reg.	Rep. 30 Dem. 10	34-5	24	10	0	5	0	0	Rep. 1	Rep. 181 Dem. 59	185-47	134	49	2(1)	42	4	1(1)	Rep. 5 Dem. 3
Texas.....	June 28	Sp.	Rep. 0 Dem. 31	19-10	0	19	0	0	0	0		Rep. 1 Dem. 125	96-20	0	96	0	0	20	0	
Iowa.....	July 2	Sp.	Rep. 45 Dem. 5	45-0	40	5	0	0	0	0	Rep. 5 Dem. 0	Rep. 93 Dem. 15	96-5	84	12	0	4	1	0	Rep. 5 Dem. 2
Missouri.....	July 3	Sp.	Rep. 12 Dem. 22	29-3	11	17	1(I)	0	3	0	Dem. 1	Rep. 75 Dem. 67	125-4	66	59	0	2	2	0	Rep. 8 Dem. 0
Arkansas.....	July 28	Sp.	Rep. 0 Dem. 35	28-2	0	28	0	0	2	0	Dem. 5	Rep. 4 Dem. 96	74-15	3	71	0	1	14	0	Dem. 11
Montana.....	Aug. 2	Sp.	Rep. 31 Dem. 12	38-1	29	9	0	0	1	0	Rep. 2 Dem. 2	Rep. 64 Dem. 34	88-0	59	29	0	0	0	0	Rep. 5 Dem. 5
Nebraska.....	Aug. 1	Sp.	Rep. 30 Dem. 3	27-0	25	2	0	0	0	0		Rep. 85 Dem. 14	93-0	80	13	0	0	0	0	
Minnesota.....	Sept. 8	Sp.	Non-Par. Rep. 19	60-5	10	4	0	9	1	0		Non-Par. Rep. 195	120-6	123	71	18(1)	72	56	15(1)	
N. Hampshire.....	Sept. 10	Sp.	Dem. 5	14-10	10	4	0	9	1	0		Dem. 127 Ind. 33	212-143	123	71	18(1)	72	56	15(1)	
Utah.....	Sept. 30	Sp.	Rep. 0 Dem. 18	17-0	0	17	0	0	0	0		Rep. 10 Dem. 37	40-0	10	30	0	0	0	0	
California.....	Nov. 1	Sp.	Rep. 30 Dem. 8	39-0	30	8	1(I)	0	0	0		Rep. 61 Dem. 14	73-2	59	14	0	2	0	0	
Maine.....	Nov. 5	Sp.	Ind. 1 Rep. 29 Dem. 2	24-5	23	1	0	4	1	0	Rep. 2	Rep. 110 Dem. 40	72-68	60	12	0	46	22	0	Rep. 5 Dem. 4
No. Dakota.....	Dec. 1	Sp.	Non-Par. Rep. 42	41-4	28-0	26	1	1(I)	0	0	Rep. 4	Non-Par. Rep. 88	102-6	46	2	4(1)	0	0	0	Rep. 42 Dem. 6
So. Dakota.....	Dec. 4	Sp.	Dem. 2	28-0	26	1	1(I)	0	0	0	Rep. 16	Dem. 8 Ind. 7	52-0	46	2	4(1)	0	0	0	Rep. 42 Dem. 6
Colorado.....	Dec. 12	Sp.	Rep. 14 Dem. 21	31-0	13	18	0	0	0	0		Rep. 41 Dem. 24	58-0	37	21	0	0	0	0	Ind. 3
Rhode Island.....	Jan. 6	Reg.	Rep. 32 Dem. 7	38-1	32	6	0	0	1	0		Rep. 66 Dem. 34	89-3	57	32	0	3	0	0	
Kentucky.....	Jan. 6	Reg.	Rep. 18 Dem. 20	30-8	16	14	0	2	6	0		Rep. 55 Dem. 45	72-25	47	25	0	7	18	0	Rep. 1 Dem. 2
Oregon.....	Jan. 12	Sp.	Rep. 24 Dem. 3	27-0	20	3	3(I)	0	0	0	Rep. 2	Rep. 54 Dem. 6	59-0	53	6	0	0	0	0	
Indiana.....	Jan. 16	Sp.	Ind. 3 Rep. 34	43-3	31	12	0	1	2	0		Rep. 82 Dem. 18	93-0	78	15	0	0	0	0	
Wyoming.....	Jan. 27	Sp.	Rep. 16 Dem. 17	24-0	16	8	0	0	0	0	Rep. 1 Dem. 2	Rep. 43 Dem. 11	44-0	33	11	0	0	0	0	Rep. 10
Nevada.....	Feb. 7	Sp.	Rep. 11 Dem. 5	11-0	7	4	0	0	0	0	Rep. 4 Dem. 1	Rep. 17 Dem. 20	27-0	14	13	0	0	0	0	Rep. 3 Dem. 7
New Jersey.....	Feb. 9	Reg.	Rep. 15 Dem. 6	18-2	13	5	0	2	0	0	Rep. 1	Rep. 33 Dem. 27	34-24	19	15	0	13	11	0	Rep. 1 Dem. 1
Idaho.....	Feb. 11	Sp.	Rep. 29 Dem. 12	29-6	25	4	0	1	5	0	Rep. 3 Dem. 3	Rep. 45 Dem. 19	53-0	39	14	0	0	0	0	Rep. 6 Dem. 5
Arizona.....	Feb. 12	Sp.	Rep. 5 Dem. 14	17-0	5	12	0	0	0	0		Rep. 10 Dem. 25	30-0	7	23	0	0	0	0	
New Mexico.....	Feb. 19	Sp.	Rep. 15 Dem. 9	17-5	9	8	0	5	0	0	Rep. 1 Dem. 1	Rep. 34 Dem. 15	36-10	23	13	0	8	2	0	Rep. 3
Oklahoma.....	Feb. 27	Sp.	Rep. 10 Dem. 34	25-13	8	17	0	0	13	0	Rep. 2 Dem. 4	Rep. 31 Dem. 73	84-12	30	54	0	0	12	0	Rep. 1 Dem. 7
W. Virginia.....	Mar. 10	Sp.	R-p. 23 Dem. 7	15-14	11	4	0	12	2	0	Dem. 1	Rep. 70 Dem. 24	47-40	38	9	0	27	13	0	
Washington.....	Mar. 22	Sp.	Rep. 39 Dem. 3	40-0	37	3	0	0	0	0	2	Rep. 10 Dem. 87	90-0	87	10	0	0	0	0	7
Tennessee.....	S. Aug. 13 H. Aug. 18	Sp.	Rep. 8 Dem. 25	25-4	7	18	0	1	3	0	Dem. 4	Rep. 28 Dem. 71	50-46	15	34	0	11	36	0	Rep. 2 Dem. 1
					644 Rep.	312 Dem.	6 I 4 S	50 Rep.	42 Dem.	0 S										
															1901 Rep.	899 Dem.	24 I 13 S	273 Rep.	231 Dem.	16 Ind.

Record by Parties of Vote for Ratification or Postponement in Nine States

STATE	Date Rejected	Session S. or R.	Senate by Parties	Vote in Senate	Senate Vote By Parties						Absent	House by Parties	Vote in House	House Vote By Parties						Absent		
					Yea			Nay						Yea			Nay					
					Rep.	Dem.	Soc.	Rep.	Dem.	Soc.				Rep.	Dem.	Soc.	Rep.	Dem.	Soc.			
1919					Rep.	Dem.	Soc.	Rep.	Dem.	Soc.		Rep.	Dem.	Soc.	Rep.	Dem.	Soc.					
Delaware.....	Mar. 22 to June 22	Sp.	Rep. 12 Dem. 5	May 5 11-6	10	1	0	2	4	0		Rep. 23 Dem. 12	Apr. 1 9-22	8	1	0	11	11	0			
Georgia.....	July 24	Reg.	Rep. 1 Dem. 50	35-8		7		1	35			Rep. 3 Dem. 189	118-29		29			118				
Alabama.....	S.Sep. 2 H.Sep. 17	Reg.	Rep. 1 Dem. 34	13-19	1	12	0	0	19	0		Rep. 5 Dem. 99	31-60	5	26	0	0	60	0			
1920																						
Mississippi.....	Jan. 21	Reg.	Rep. 0 Dem. 42	24-18	0	24	0	0	18	0		Rep. 0 Dem. 127	25-102	0	25	0	0	102	0			
So. Carolina.....	Jan. 22	Reg.	Rep. 45 Dem. 6	26-4	0	4	0	0	26	0		Rep. 124 Dem. 14	93-20	0	20	0	0	93	0			
Virginia.....	Feb. 12	Reg.	Rep. 34 Dem. 15	24-10	0	24	0	4	6	0		Rep. 86 Dem. 14	62-22	6	56	0	4	18	0			
Maryland.....	Feb. 17	Reg.	Rep. 12 Dem. 15	18-9	7	2	0	5	13	0		Rep. 45 Dem. 56	64-36	32	3	0	13	53	0			
No. Carolina.....	S.Aug.17 H.Aug.19	Sp.	Rep. 10 Dem. 40	24-25	5	19	0	4	21	0		Rep. 27 Dem. 93	71-41	16	25	0	8	63	0			
Louisiana.....		Reg.	Dem. 41	22-19	0	19	0	0	22	0		Dem. 111	67-44	0	44	0	0	67	0	Rep. 1		
					23	112	0	16	164	0												
															67	229	0	36	585	0		

States That Have Ratified

R—In Regular Session (8)

S—In Special Session (29)

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R June 10
2. Wisconsin.....	R June 10
3. Michigan.....	S June 10
4. Kansas.....	S June 16
5. Ohio.....	R June 16
6. New York.....	S June 16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R June 24
8. Massachusetts.....	R June 25
9. Texas.....	S June 28
10. Iowa.....	S July 2
11. Missouri.....	S July 3
12. Arkansas.....	S July 28
13. Montana.....	S Aug. 2
14. Nebraska.....	S Aug. 1
15. Minnesota.....	S Sept. 8
16. New Hampshire.....	S Sept. 10
17. Utah.....	S Sept. 30
18. California.....	S Nov. 1
19. Maine.....	S Nov. 5
20. North Dakota.....	S Dec. 1
21. South Dakota.....	S Dec. 4
22. Colorado.....	S Dec. 12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R Jan. 6
24. Kentucky.....	R Jan. 6
25. Oregon.....	S Jan. 12
26. Indiana.....	S Jan. 16
27. Wyoming.....	S Jan. 27
28. Nevada.....	S Feb. 7
29. New Jersey.....	R Feb. 9
30. Idaho.....	S Feb. 11
31. Arizona.....	S Feb. 12
32. New Mexico.....	S Feb. 19
33. Oklahoma.....	S Feb. 27
34. West Virginia.....	S Mch. 10
35. Washington.....	S Mch. 22
36. Tennessee.....	S Aug. 18
37. Connecticut.....	S Sept. 14

Failed to Ratify

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alabama. | 6. Virginia. |
| 2. Georgia. | 7. Delaware. |
| 3. Maryland. | 8. Louisiana. |
| 4. Mississippi. | 9. North Carolina. |
| 5. South Carolina. | |

Regular Session in 1921

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Vermont.....	January
Florida.....	April

Regular Session in 1923

- | | |
|-----------------|---------|
| 1. Alabama..... | January |
|-----------------|---------|

Recapitulation

Ratified.....	37
Failed to ratify.....	9
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	2

Party in Power in Legislatures That Have Ratified

Ratified		Not Ratified	
Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
Arkansas Arizona	California Colorado Connecticut Illinois Indiana Idaho Iowa Kansas Kentucky Maine Massachusetts Michigan Minnesota Non-Partisan Legislature, but Republican in presidential elections.	Florida	
Missouri	Montana Nebraska Nevada New Hampshire New Jersey New Mexico New York		
Tennessee Texas Utah	North Dakota Ohio Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island South Dakota Washington West Virginia Wisconsin Wyoming		
Oklahoma			Vermont
7	30	1	1

Rejected

Republican	Democratic
Delaware	Alabama Mississippi Georgia South Carolina Maryland Virginia Louisiana North Carolina
1	8

Twenty-nine Special Sessions Which Ratified

Called by

Democratic Governors	Republican Governors
New York.....Smith	Arizona.....Campbell
Missouri.....Gardner	California.....Stephens
Arkansas.....Brough	Colorado.....Shoup
Utah.....Bamberger	Connecticut.....?
Montana.....Stewart	Idaho.....Davis
Nevada.....Boyle	Indiana.....Goodrich
Oklahoma.....Robertson	Iowa.....Harding
West Virginia.....Cornwell	Kansas.....Allen
Texas.....Hobby	Maine.....Milliken
Tennessee.....Roberts	Michigan.....Sleeper
	Minnesota.....Burnquist
	Nebraska.....McKelvie
	New Hampshire.....Bartlett
	New Mexico.....Larrazolo
	North Dakota.....Frazier
	Oregon.....Olcott
	South Dakota.....Norbeck
	Wyoming.....Carey
	Washington.....Hart

Green Mountain Women Stand On Their Rights

By Marjorie Shuler

DO the women of Vermont want to vote? You just ought to see the way they are registering. Three hundred in a little town of Richford in one day, according to Mrs. Thomas, town grand juror. Hundreds in Bellows Falls where the League of Women Voters under Mrs. Twitchell has been canvassing the foreign born to tell them "it doesn't cost anything." Hundreds in Middlebury in spite of the propaganda of the antis that women registering this year will have to pay a poll tax which will not be exacted from those not voting. For Vermont still has one of those "pernicious poll taxes" and it is easy to tell those who do not know that it is a municipality tax that it will be levied against them if they vote in the state elections. And in the town of Rutland where even those women who voted in the municipal election last spring have been refused automatic enrollment hundreds of women are registering in order to express their choice between Governor Clement's candidate and the other three Republican nominees for governor and all of the other candidates on the Democratic and Republican tickets.

Not only are the women going to vote, but in St. Albans they are going to help run the election—from two to four women having been made election officials in each ward.

This in Vermont! Unratified Vermont! The women are going to show it's not their fault Vermont was not the perfect thirty-six.

It's going to be an interesting primary all right although the politically wise person sees the hand of the machine in the nominating of one single candidate only for each of the places on the Democratic ticket. Since in Vermont previous party enrollment is not required, Democrats with no contest of their own on hand

may go into the Republican primaries and express their choice there.

Aiding and encouraging the registration of the women is the Vermont League of Women Voters just three months old. When the first misinformation calculated to keep women from registering appeared, Mrs. Lillian H. Olzendam, chairman of the League, sent some correct facts to the newspapers. The facts were not published. And then Mrs. Olzendam got a contribution for advertising and with it she put in all the 47 newspapers of the state the advertisement shown on this page.

On September ninth when the League met in Burlington there were present seventy women representing twenty-one towns of the state. The delegates made the temporary state committee with Mrs. Olzendam as chairman permanent and adopted a constitution calling for eighteen women, one from each county and four additional representatives at large as a board of directors with a chairman who is also manager of the League, five vice chairmen, secretary, treasurer and finance chairman.

The sentiment and spirit of the women present promised much for a new league and in addition there were letters which brought enthusiastic messages. One was from Miss Elizabeth Clement, Governor Clement's daughter, herself an ardent suffragist, who sent "all her congratulations and hearty good wishes"—and a check which she asked to count as her dues to the League. Then there was a letter from Mrs. Mertie Huntley Palmer of Duxbury who wrote that she had been her father's legal assistant for ten years and since his passing away, town clerk, in which capacity she is rounding out her forty-ninth year. Election affairs were keeping her too busy to attend the meeting, she wrote, but she wanted to pledge her cooperation.

Woman Voters of Vermont

**You are entitled to the Ballot in all
State and National Elections**

WITHOUT TAX QUALIFICATIONS.

You May Vote in the

STATE PRIMARY, TUESDAY, SEPT. 14

**You Should Not Fail to Register.
You Should Not Fail to Vote.**

**You Owe it to Your State.
You Owe it to Yourself.**

FOLLOW THESE INSTRUCTIONS AND THE BALLOT IS YOURS:

1st—A woman must be 21 years of age or over.

2nd—A woman must have been a resident of the state one year and of the city or town where she expects to vote at least three months prior to date of registration.

3rd—A woman must go before the Board of Civil Authority and have her name placed on the check-list unless she has already done so. Consult your town clerk in person or by phone to ascertain the meeting dates of the Board of Civil Authority.

4th—A woman must take the Freeman's Oath. This you will do before the Board of Civil Authority when you register as a voter.

Attorney-General Archibald has ruled that there are no restrictions on women voting in all the fall elections in Vermont.

Prove to YOUR STATE that you are interested in it—interested fully as much as the men—even more than many men—that you want the state to progress and take her rightful place among the leading commonwealths—that you desire Vermont to go forward and keep quick, sure pace with the best of them.

YOUR BALLOT IS NEEDED TO ACCOMPLISH THIS!

In BURLINGTON, THURSDAY, SEPT. 9

10:30 and 2:00 O'Clock at the New Sherwood

A state-wide convention of delegates and members of the Vermont League of Women Voters will be held. All members of this organization and members of all women's organizations are invited to be present and assist in perfecting the full details of the new League. The meetings will be addressed by

MISS MARJORIE SHULER, of New York

Associate Editor of the Woman Citizen

LILLIAN H. OLZENDAM,

Chairman Vermont League of Women Voters.

The Latest Word

From the Washington Headquarters of the National League of Women Voters

THE Washington headquarters are beginning to wonder whether the National League of Women Voters will not have to follow the example of some of the political parties and buy an airplane for Mrs. Park so that she may speak at the many state conventions being planned for the near future.

She has just been in Richmond, Virginia, where for the first time in history, *The Hall of Delegates* has been given over to the organization meeting of the *Virginia League of Women Voters*. And yet what more fitting in Virginia, than that the home of Jefferson, the State capitol, should be used to make plans for bringing about the real democracy of which Jefferson dreamed!

It will only be matched when we hear that the same thing has happened at the State House in Boston, Mass. Only in Boston there is already a Hall of Freedom, Faneuil Hall, which was dedicated to such a cause many years ago. In this hall there will be a victory celebration on September 22nd, following a great parade, which will be reviewed by the Governor of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Park, a daughter of Massachusetts, has been asked to take part in this celebration.

The churches are joining in the victory celebrations. The Church Federation of Cleveland, representing 300 congregations and 40,000 constituents which have been granted the vote, is going to have a "Recognition Luncheon" on October 2nd at which Mrs. Park is to speak and which will be attended by 800 to 1,000 people. She has been asked to speak for about 45 minutes "upon this great victory which the women have won and which means so much for the largest civic development of our country."

JESSIE R. HAVER.

Which Party Did It?

(Continued from page 423)

but in every instance minorities prevented the party from winning that advantage.

For example, had two Democrats in the Sixty-fifth Congress changed their vote, the Democratic Congress would have had the credit of the submission of the Amendment which finally went to the Sixty-sixth Congress which was Republican. In the Sixty-sixth Congress had two Republican Senators changed their votes, the Republicans even then would have had the advantage of submitting the Amendment. Had two Republican Governors called their sessions which were prepared to ratify, the Republicans would have had a clean record on ratification which would have been "stuff of which boasts are made" for generations to come. Had Democratic southern states been able to lay aside local prejudices and take the larger national view, the Democratic Party would have made a clean record on ratification. As it is, the record of neither party is as good as its leaders could have wished and tried to produce.

If, however, neither of the dominant parties has made as clean and progressive a record as its admirers could have wished, there is no question but that individual men of both parties have given heroic service to the cause of woman suffrage and this has been true in every state, those which ratified and those which rejected, in this last year of campaign for ratification. Women should not forget these men who have stepped in advance of the more slow moving of their own constituents to help this great cause of political freedom.

C. C. C.



JAMES LEES & SONS CO.
220 Fifth Ave., Dept. 0, N. Y. C.



The New Minerva Knitting Book—Volume V.

Co-operation, the Peaceful Revolution

By Mrs. A. D. Warbasse,

Educational Director of The Co-operative League of America

PART III

Co-operative Housing

Next in importance to food and clothing these days is the question "where shall we live?" In Europe, while the state and municipalities are tossing back and forth to each other the responsibility of carrying out adequate housing enterprises for their thousands of homeless citizens, Co-operators have set their shoulders to the task and are actually building garden cities and rows upon rows of modern apartment houses. Here in America we abuse the authorities for not doing something to relieve the housing shortage, but it is only here and there, as in Brooklyn, Kansas City and other scattered spots that people are uniting their savings in a common fund and proceeding themselves to supply their own needs free from the predatory landlord and the impotent state.

Two sixteen-family apartment houses in Brooklyn, each costing about \$120,000 to build have been erected by the people who live in them. They are their own landlords. They raised \$80,000 amongst themselves and borrowed from a Co-operative bank in Fitchburg the remaining \$40,000. For each apartment they pay rent to the Association, of which they are members, at the rate of \$25 and \$27.50 a month.. This pays the interest in the share capital and loan and is sufficient for repairs and up-keep and a reserve fund with which to pay off the mortgage from time to time.

There is a different atmosphere in the Co-operative apartments from those lived in by the tenants who are hounded from year to year from place to place by the greed of voracious landlords. There is a sense of contentment and security, of care and pride in their homes, humble though they are, that the about-to-be-evicted city dweller seldom feels.

Two more similar apartments are being built next to these in Brooklyn by friendly imitators, while on the nearby corner a Co-operative Bakery with a grocery, bakeshop and meat market on the street floor and a recreation hall upstairs, has just been completed at a cost of \$120,000. These will supplement the Co-operative Housing scheme.

WHEN food, shelter and clothing are all organized on a Co-operative basis, the one remaining necessity is a laundry. Much of the wear and tear of the housewife is removed when the family washing can be done in some central place with power. "Start a Co-operative Laundry and make the old time washday a holiday" is the watch word of a farming community around Chatfield, Minnesota. For ten years, in connection with their Co-operative Creamery, using an adjacent building and the same steam power with an outlay of only about \$2,500, they have installed an up-to-date washing, drying and mangling machinery. When the farmers drive in with their milk they bring the wash from home. It is returned to them rough dry at a cost of five cents a pound. (I am paying ten cents a pound for similar work because I must patronize a commercial laundry). This by no means is the mere cost of service. From these charges the Society pays 6 per cent interest on capital invested and 10 per cent dividends on patronage. It is a real Rochdale Laundry, by no means one of the temporizing cost-plus affairs that have no stability and furnish no training school for the collective administration of the people's needs.

Co-operative laundries are to be found in several other locations in the United States.

The purely materialistic side of life is not the only side which

Co-operation serves. The intellectual and the social cravings of the people are provided for by the same methods and with the same motives and ideals.

Every tourist passing through Belgium is familiar with the social centers there, *Les Maisons des Peuples*. In the early days of Co-operation they were modest little club houses where the men gathered to read the papers, hear a song from a Comrade once in a while and sip a cup of coffee, gingerale or beer. Except for alcoholic drinks and profit, they are a substitute for the cafes. When the women and children came, music and dancing and little plays were given. Little by little these have developed till now some of the most beautiful buildings and parks are owned and used by the Co-operators. The money for them usually comes from savings of the Co-operative bakeries, shops and factories managed by the working men and women. It is they who determine how the profits shall be used. In Belgium the profits are used to cheer the hearts and gladden the days of their members, not to line the pockets of a few profiteers. On the top floor of the Maison des Peuples, in Ghent, is the studio of Jules von Biesbroeck, the famous Finnish painter and sculptor. He is subsidized by the members of the Co-operative to create a new art which shall interpret the struggles of the labor movement. His mural decorations, marble groups and paintings are created as a response to the artistic demands of the people. He needs no "patron." In this country it is difficult to find any such social and artistic expression of the community as are typified in the Belgian Maison des Peuples. The community center movement is striving toward something in that direction, but it is created from the top and handed down. It has not yet taken root, nor has it been supported by the people, without subsidy from the benevolent.

However, social, educational and aesthetic features are being promoted by many Co-operative Associations as part of their regular activities. Many bakeries and shops have a reading room, where books, magazines and papers are arranged to attract their members in their moments of leisure. Plays, concerts, dances, movies and other entertainments are planned by special committees for the members from time to time. This part of the Co-operative movement is as important as the economic aspect. "The test of a people's center is how they spend their leisure." Many Co-operators in this country realize this and are bending all their efforts to develop the ideals and lessons of Co-operation through beauty, through art and through play, as well as through the more sordid functions of barter and trade.

In every land, wherever Co-operative Societies exist, there the members are learning to work together, developing initiative, resource and technique through action, proving to the world that individual profit, that individual progress need not be the motive and purpose of life. They are demonstrating that people can organize in a free society for mutual benefit and not for private gain.

The progress and development of Co-operation from small beginnings to its goal, though not by any means complete, is still far from being a Utopian dream.

In Europe today thirty million heads of families are members of Co-operative Societies. With five to a family this means that one hundred and fifty millions of people take part (without private profit) in the trade of Europe. The membership doubled during the war, when private trade exploited the people and governments bungled in meeting their needs.

Cannot we attain the same goal here in this country? In a small way let us begin right now to study and train ourselves in the principles of Co-operation. When soundly equipped with the necessary knowledge let us organize and carry through some form of Co-operation. Then we may feel assured that we ourselves are laying a brick in the foundation of the new economic structure of society. The spirit by which it is reared substitutes mutual aid and unselfish service for antagonism and competition. The method by which it is brought about is as sound and tested as it is ideal and Utopian. By consecrating ourselves to this service we will be laying up treasures that cannot be lost or destroyed in the cataclysm of coming events; we will be preparing ourselves and our fellow men for participation in the new order when the storms are past and the Co-operative Commonwealth is ushered in.

Shall Cooperation or Government Mend the Housing Problem?

MEN and women of the two city clubs of New York have got together to see what can be done in the present housing crisis. At this meeting Miss Mary Garrett Hay, president of the Women's City Club, and Nelson S. Spenser, president of the Men's City Club, were speakers.

This is just one of the many united efforts of citizens to plan relief for an acute situation.

A reported effort by men and women in Great Britain made to combat like conditions is that of the *Public Utility Society*.

These are cooperative groups for building working class houses. Each group is composed of some eight or ten everyday men and women who draw up rules for themselves and prepare a housing scheme. After conforming to the regulations of the Ministry of Health and the regulations of local housing commissioners, the local Public Utility Society can obtain both a loan and a subsidy from the British Government, which is willing to lend money up to three-quarters of the cost of the land and the building.

Interest must be paid on this loan and the loan itself repaid by annual installments.

To help the Public Utility Society bear the yearly burden the Government is willing to grant an annual subsidy.

This takes the form at first of a sum of money equal to half the interest and repayment which the Society is paying to the Government, and decreases only gradually.

The Government in fact repays itself, on behalf of the Society, a part of the loan which it has advanced.

Three-quarters of the cost of the Society's building scheme is in this way met through the Government loan. The rest of the money needed must be raised by the Society itself by the issue of shares in the scheme. But even here the Society can receive further help. The local authority has the power to give loans or make grants to Public Utility Societies, and can also give a great deal of assistance by taking up shares.

Eleanor Rathbone, City Councillor of Liverpool, has in the *Woman's Leader*, a British periodical, defined a method used in that city by which "the dispossessed" have been cared for by the Housing Committee of the Liverpool City Council. Most of the pre-war houses built by the city were reserved for families who had been turned out of destroyed slums.

"Rents were fixed according to the assumed 'ability to pay' of this very poor class of tenants, without regard to cost of production. This made it possible to study the actual effect of a changed environment upon a given group of slum dwellers, and the economic, social, and eugenic bearings of the unique experiment are well worth the attention of all social students," said Mrs. Rathbone.

(Continued on page 437)

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course The Monroe Doctrine

Prof. J. W. Garner, University of Chicago

I TAKE it you all understand what the original purpose of the Monroe Doctrine was, and I shall not go into a discussion of that, except to say that it had in mind, first, the protection of the United States against European aggression, and, secondly, the protection of the Latin-American states against European aggression. Now that purpose has been entirely changed by interpretation and development. President Polk extended it; President Cleveland extended it to include the right of the United States to arbitrate disputes between Latin-American countries and European countries; or at least to compel the disputing parties to arbitrate.

President Roosevelt extended it, and I think rightly. Mr. Roosevelt said: The Monroe Doctrine implies responsibility, as well as rights. And if the United States is going to say to the European powers: Stay out of America; if you have just debts to collect there, if you have grievances because your citizens have been maltreated, and we say to you that you cannot enforce your rights, it is our duty to see that those debts are paid and that those rights are enforced.

Then Senator Lodge, who has always been an extremist on the Monroe Doctrine, had a resolution adopted by the Senate extending the Monroe Doctrine to forbid the granting by any American Republic of a naval station or coaling station to any European or Asiatic power. That was to meet the rumor that Japan was about to get a seaport on the lower coast of California from the Mexican Government.

Mr. Wilson went to the full length in extending the Monroe Doctrine when he raised his voice against the right of a Latin-American country to grant a concession to a European capitalist, for the purpose of developing the resources of that country.

The Colombian government had granted to Lord Cowdray, a British capitalist, a franchise for developing the oil fields of Colombia. President Wilson said, that is contrary to the Monroe Doctrine. I shall have something to say about that a little later.

Recently in the Senate Mr. Borah and others have interpreted the Monroe Doctrine to mean that if a dispute occurs between a Latin-American country and a European power, the United States of North America shall arbitrate that dispute. Now you see the Monroe Doctrine has

THIS lecture was delivered at the Chicago Citizenship School in February, 1920.

gone on developing and developing and extending until, if Monroe were alive to-day he would not recognize it. (Laughter)

What has been the effect? The effect has been to arouse the opposition, the suspicion, the distrust of the very people whom the Monroe Doctrine was intended to protect. The people of Latin-America to-day are looking upon the attitude of the United States as patronizing, as arrogant, as offensive; that the United States is virtually—and this is the truth—asserting a paramountcy, a trusteeship, a guardianship over all the countries of the Western Hemisphere; twenty independent republics, sister republics to the south of us.

Now I say those people naturally feel a good deal of misgiving and distrust at our attitude in extending the Monroe Doctrine to mean a virtual assumption of a paramountcy over these independent republics.

IT seems to me one of the several alternatives must be followed, or this Monroe Doctrine is certain to get us into serious trouble. The following alternative propositions I submit to you for what they are worth.

One of them is to abandon the Monroe Doctrine entirely. I am quite sure the American people will never do that. So long as the Monroe Doctrine means measures to protect the United States against European aggression, they will never consent to abandon it.

The second alternative is to limit the application of the Monroe Doctrine to that part of Latin-America north of the Equator, leaving the great powers of Brazil, Argentina and Chili outside of the sphere of the Monroe Doctrine, because they do not need the protection of the United States any longer. They are able to take care of themselves.

The third alternative is to invite the Latin-American republics to join with us in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine. So far as the Monroe Doctrine is intended to protect the Latin-American states against European aggression, I cannot see any reason why the countries of Latin-America should not be admitted to the joint trusteeship with us for this purpose. It would have the effect of removing their suspicion and their distrust. They feel keenly the assertions

of superiority on the part of the United States, and I do not think we ourselves fully realize the progress that those countries have made.

The average American thinks of South America as a country of jungles and revolutions and earthquakes; things like that. We do not realize that Brazil is as large as the United States; that they have some of the most magnificent cities that are to be found anywhere in the world. The finest opera house in the world outside of Paris is at Rio Janeiro. And yet the United States is continually asserting this paramountcy.

The Secretary of State under President Cleveland actually said in a diplomatic note to the British Government that "the fiat of the United States is sovereign in this hemisphere." Well, maybe it is, but it doesn't sound nice to say that. And that was said in the face of the fact that the British flag to-day flies over half of the North American continent.

Geographical proximity is one of the arguments in favor of this extended Monroe Doctrine. Take a map and look at it and you will see that Chili, Argentina, are further away from the top end of the United States than Berlin or Hamburg or Bremen, and yet if some European power gets a coaling station away down there, the politicians tell us that is going to mean a danger to the national safety of the United States, and, as Mr. Cleveland put it, a danger to our distinctive republican institutions.

If I believed that, friends, do you know what I would do? If I believed that the presence of a European power on this continent was a danger to the republican institutions of the United States, I would go to the limit which logic and consistency required, and I would serve notice on Great Britain that she must get out of North America, bag and baggage. And yet for one hundred years, with nothing but a surveyor's line between us and Canada to the north, we have lived in peace and harmony with Great Britain; and that fact is a living refutation of the assertion that the presence of a European power on this continent is a danger to the safety of the United States.

Now please don't misunderstand me. I am not arguing against the Monroe Doctrine. I believe in it thoroughly. It is a sound policy, and will never be given up by the people of the United States. But I reserve the right to distinguish between the true Monroe Doctrine and the pseudo-Monroe Doctrine that some politicians

are telling us about now. I have heard in the last few months more about our rights under the Monroe Doctrine than I ever heard in all my life before; our rights under the Monroe Doctrine—and I haven't heard a word about our duties and responsibilities.

THE last alternative is to internationalize the Monroe Doctrine; make it the doctrine of the world, and that is what the League of Nations proposes to do, and why shouldn't it? If the Monroe Doctrine is good for the Latin-American states, why isn't it equally good for all other states in Asia or Europe or elsewhere, that are similarly situated? The League of Nations proposes to universalize the Monroe Doctrine and extend the principles not only to the Latin-American states but to all of the states of the world that need it.

Of course some Senators may say that is not the purpose. Senator Lodge says the Monroe Doctrine is a fence, which the people of the United States have erected around South America; and he cannot understand how the Monroe Doctrine will be protected by taking down this fence. The trouble with the Senator's logic is, nobody proposes to take the fence down, but we propose to extend it; extend it around other countries situated like the Latin-American countries.

QUESTION: Will you please explain what you mean by applying the Monroe Doctrine to the whole world?

PROF. GARNER: Article ten of the Covenant of the League of Nations makes it the duty of the members of the League to guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of every member of the League against foreign aggression. That is nothing but an extension of the Monroe Doctrine to the rest of the world.

If this were done, what would be the effect? We will get rid of the Latin-American suspicion and opposition. The burden which the United States is now carrying alone; the trusteeship which she alone has assumed will be converted into a world trusteeship, and that burden will be shifted from our shoulders to the shoulders of all the other states of the world; and the burden of keeping up a powerful navy to enforce our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine will be lightened.

I am going to venture to say this, that as a taxpayer, I object to paying taxes to keep up a powerful navy to enforce the Monroe Doctrine as it is now being interpreted, because I know that as it is now being interpreted, it is unnecessary to our protection, and it is a constant danger.

Take Mr. Wilson's attitude with regard to

this concession in Colombia. There is a poor South American country that needs foreign capital, and the only way it can get that capital is to grant liberal franchises to capitalists in other countries. If we are going to say that the Monroe Doctrine should not allow that, we are going to do an injury to those Latin-American countries. They need capital exactly as our towns and cities used to need it, and as they got it by giving away franchises for a hundred or a thousand years, in order to protect capital.

My conclusion then is that the Monroe Doctrine as it was originally designed and intended is a sound policy; and we ought to keep it and we ought to enforce it. But when you extend it as it has been extended to a point where it becomes a menace and a danger rather than a protection, I believe we ought to modify it.

QUESTION: Then is this the position of Senator Lodge and others who have sought to protect this article ten? It is an honest effort on their part to protect the idea of the extension of that doctrine, to prevent European nations the members of the League of Nations from having a share with us in the legitimate interpretation of that Doctrine.

PROF. GARNER: Mr. Lodge says that no other nation should share with us this common trusteeship, not even Great Britain, whose government, by the way, first suggested the Monroe Doctrine, and proposed to the United States joint intervention against the Holy Alliance. Mr. Borah and others have made the same assertion. (Applause)

Can You Prove Your Right to Vote?

THE right to vote is only one of many important rights which may be difficult to prove without legal evidence. Because a birth record is the best evidence of age, parentage and citizenship, and because of the importance to the individual and to society of careful birth records, the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor in a pamphlet recently issued recommends better birth registration as the first measure in a Children's Year follow-up program.

Only 23 States and the District of Columbia now keep birth records with sufficient accuracy and completeness to admit them to the U. S. birth registration area. These States are California, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin. They represented, in 1919, 58.4% of the population of the country.

Children now being born in the remaining 25 States representing almost half of the population may be seriously embarrassed in not possessing a birth certificate when the time comes to prove that they are old enough to go to school, to leave school, to go to work, to vote, to marry. They may have trouble in proving their title to inherited property in the absence of proof of parentage, and their right to hold public office or receive passports for foreign travel may be questioned if evidence of citizenship furnished by a birth certificate is lacking.

The community also is handicapped in undertaking measures for the protection of life and health if it does not have vital statistics based on satisfactory birth and death records. Important welfare work for mothers and babies is impossible without careful birth registration. The phenomenal growth in "health visiting" of babies in England during the last five years is attributed to the Notification of Births Act of 1915, which made notification within 3 days compulsory throughout the Kingdom.

Vigorous effort for one year, declares the Children's Bureau pamphlet, would place every State in the United States in the birth registration area. In communities in which there is a good law, not sufficiently enforced, a birth registration test is recommended. In States where there is no adequate law, campaigns for better legislation should be waged.

Politicians Sing New Tunes

THIS is the story of how the good news of Secretary Colby's proclamation came to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell still sojourning at Chilmark:

"A funny thing happened yesterday afternoon. We do not get our morning paper till night, so did not know for certain that Secretary Colby had proclaimed ratification. Suddenly a big auto flying two American flags and carrying some eight men drove up to the door. It was Lieutenant Governor Cox, Congressman Walsh of New Bedford, our old enemy Luce and some others whose names I forget. They had come to extend congratulations! It was 'Governor's Day,' and as Mr. Coolidge couldn't come to Martha's Vineyard, he had sent Mr. Cox. They had been visiting various towns on the island, and as they were passing near my cottage, they stopped for a greeting. The last time I had met Congressman Walsh was when the Massachusetts delegation to the National Suffrage Convention in Washington had gone to lobby with their Congressmen, and I had labored in vain to make Mr. Walsh see the merits of the Federal Amendment. Isn't it queer how time brings its revenges?"

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Woman, the Rib, and Arakel of Sunik

By Bertha Sullivan Papazian

WAS Hamlet really mad? Was Arakel of Sunik an orthodox medievalist in his views on woman—and an out and out misogynist to boot—or was he not?

A literary poser, the first question. Through its labyrinthine mazes most of us have, at one time or another, wandered.

But what of Arakel and woman? He is, so to speak, almost brand new in the literary archives of the West having only very recently been brought from the fastnesses of classic Armenian—the Armenian of the fourteenth century into modern French. Very simply and straightforwardly he seems to project himself both as man and monk into all, even his most dramatic work. Mr. Archag Tchobanian of Paris, the distinguished Armenian poet and scholar, is his translator, and besides presenting to us the actual works of this old poet, mystic, and teacher, he favors us with an introductory essay on his art, his province, and his time—an essay as delightful as it is learned and informing, which is saying a very great deal.

The book in question is entitled "*La Roseaie d'Armenia*,"* but of the poems it contains—quaintly didactic and philosophical, powerfully dramatic, or of an exuberant mysticism—only one shall concern our present inquiry. It is entitled *The Rib*, and it occurs in a series called *The Book of Adam*.

This does not mean that it is only in *The Rib* that Eve and her frailties and her crimes figure. Far, far more terrible and unsparing is the indictment against her in other cantos of this vivid Oriental version of how Paradise was lost. In the one on the Serpent and the Seduction, for example, she is presented in such a way as to fill us with an almost unqualified horror and loathing. The grave and convincing force of the story is such as to make us feel that ashes upon the head, sackcloth upon the back, *mea culpas*, and abject apologies to all and sundry is the only decent course left for all women to follow, not only to-day but to-morrow and forever and forever after.

WHY, then, with such ample documentary evidence of the correctness of Arakel's doctrinal views, should we raise the ques-

tion of his orthodoxy at all and choose the less inspired, the far less artistically important *Rib* as the test case upon which to hinge the matter? To be frank, it is just because it is only in this poem that I have been able to find his views on woman—her origin and her character—at all debatable.

Some day, no doubt, when Arakel has become better known to Western readers, he will be cited by the Opposition, if any then remain, as a shining example of the thoroughgoing consistent woman-hater; yet for the golden streak of gallantry that I find in him, for his engaging piety, and for his rich and adorable artistry, would I fain write him down as friend.

But you shall judge for yourself.

First, a word about the man himself to furnish us with background, as it were. He was not only a poet but, as I have said, a monk, and he lived in the fourteenth century in the province of Sunik in north-eastern Armenia—a region described by Mr. Tchobanian as having been immemorially the home of a breed of the Armenian race remarkable for its "energy, its proud and free spirit, its robust and open intelligence," and its enterprise; a region which has produced, and which still produces, more than its share of thinkers and men of action. There in the monastery of Tathev, entrenched behind both monastery and mountain walls, as student, priest, bishop, and metropolitane, Arakel lived producing a vast and varied literature—religious and secular, poetical and prose. Outside lay the world, the flesh, the Devil and—Woman, supple and ready instrument of the Devouring One! The world rocked in political upheaval. The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia on the Mediterranean tottered under the attacks of the Mussulmans. In the north, the province of Sunik itself, together with other districts, felt all the shocks of the invasion of the death-dealing Tamerlane. But Arakel, and the monks and novices and students about him, there in that great hive of learning and industry, persevered in their building of another and well-nigh indestructible world:—a world built with the pen, the brush, the chisel, and the instruments of the musician and the goldsmith—a world from the creation of which, alas, woman was rigorously excluded, if we can forget the names of the

few illustrious women of the period who somewhere, somehow, managed to snatch from the hands of their reluctant brothers the precious bread of learning.

AND here it was that *The Book of Adam* took form, and here that the comment upon Woman and her antecedents was written. For in *The Rib* we are given not drama, nor description, but homiletic comment. The act and the casual second-hand manner of her creation are pictured for us elsewhere. It is true that the verses express no more than the typical medieval estimate of woman and her attributes, yet all, even the most conventional of the aspersions, seem animated by a more than merely monkish mispraisal and bitterness. In fact, as one reads, one cannot help feeling that it is intense personal spleen rather than historic criticism or ethical judgment that the poet is voicing; and one even wonders if it may not be partly to ease some rankling, some insufferable heart wound, or heart lack, that he hurls his diatribes. For more terrible, yet almost more irresistible, than an army with banners was apparently to many of these cloistered men the beauty of woman. And Arakel as you will see, was possessed of an exaggerated sense of it; for in northern Armenia the sex has always been keen and spirited and very, very fair.

"The rib is a bone that does not feel. It can understand nothing by itself. That is why woman is devoid of intelligence; she believes everything she is told," begins the poet testily. (I am indebted to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell for this prose translation from Mr. Tchobanian's French.)

"The rib is empty inside; it has no marrow," he continues. Woman never feels satisfied; she wants everything that her eyes behold."

"The rib looks like a solid bone; but the inside is hollow and full of pores. Woman is pleasant of aspect, but those who look upon her are decoyed."

"The outside of the rib is veiled, it is covered with a membrane. Women hide their impure faces with rouge and *khol*."

"The rib is shaped like a bow. Woman's face is an arrow, her charm a bowstring. When a man looks upon woman's beauty there is no cure for his wound."

* *La Roseaie d'Arménie* (Tome premier), by Archag Tchobanian. Ernest Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris.

"The rib is also like a sabre. Eve wounded Adam by means of her tongue. Woman's tongue is a two-edged sword. When a man is wounded by it, nothing can heal him."

"The rib is small and insignificant, but it does man much harm. Men think women amount to nothing, but women do them grievous injury."

"The rib, separated from its companions, separated Adam from his dwelling place. Woman separates man from his house; she holds him captive far from home."

"When the rib was taken from Adam its place was left empty. He who draws near to a woman loses a large part of himself."

NOW all this would be very good doctrine, without a single trace of heresy, were it not for two buts—a prefatory note and a last stanza which, in my judgment, not only nullifies the preceding stanzas but even jeopardizes all the doctrine contained in the fine rhapsodic and dramatic poems.

But, again, you shall judge for yourself.

Here is the note which, like the codicils to wills in the old melodramatic novels, surely deprives the scheming Opposition of every bit of their expected inheritance:

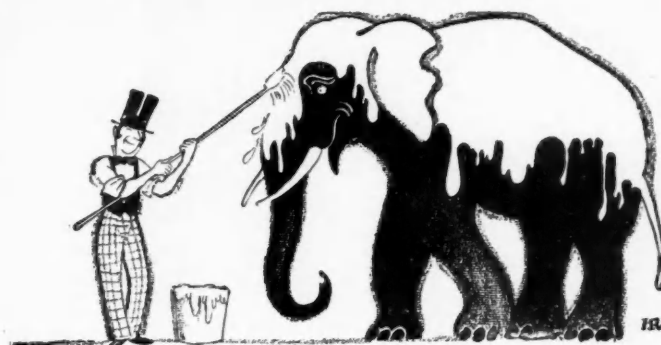
"This chapter continues to treat of the rib, and explains the mystery of it differently. This is written to blame Eve for her behavior toward our Ancestor. If you meet women, do not read this chapter to them, so that they may not get angry with me and disparage my work. For here it is Adam himself who is complaining and blaming Eve his wife. The other women do not deserve this blame for they are not all like her."

Shifting evasion this, of course, and of most palpable description. Either Arakel had no real convictions whatever on the subject of woman's origin and nature, or he lacked the courage of them. Personally, I incline to the former theory. One of the most distinguished men of his time, he could not have been without that "robust and open intelligence" which, Mr. Tchobanian tells us, characterized the men of his province; and it is my opinion that when he was not acting as an artist of the Gregorian church and permitting himself to be carried away dramatically by the flood of picturesque theological traditions, he simply allowed his common sense to re-assert itself.

But it is the last stanza of the poem by which I set most store. What was it but a great rush of compunction, a deliberate wish to retract, to make ample amends, that made him, in concluding *The Rib*, write these more than recompensing, if still somewhat expedient lines?

"Adam was made of clay; the rib from which Eve was born was made from a living being." (Please note how gallantly he passes the triumphant palm!) "When woman obeys her husband, she deserves more honor than man."

(Continued on page 434)



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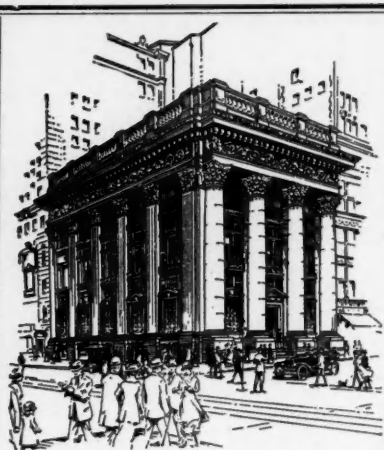
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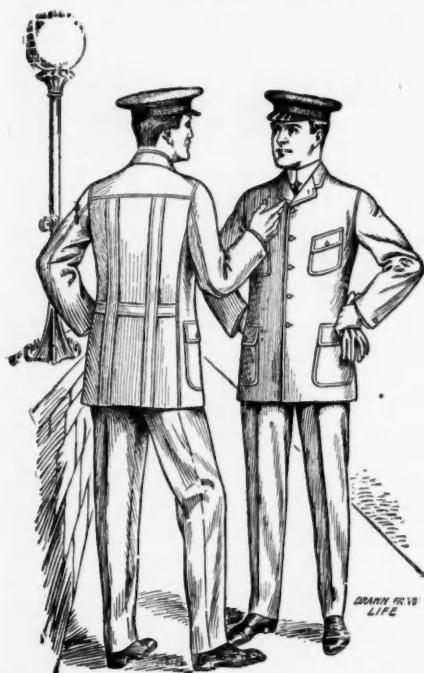
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The Interpretative Report

ON the Sunday afternoon just preceding her death, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw listened to the reading of proof on the history of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense and its marvelous war work accomplishments during the recent national disturbance. Her secretary, Miss Caroline Reilly, unfolded the chapters of struggle, disappointment, achievement and victory to a soul already glimpsing the vision of an eternity of her own but one who could yet reflect upon the rise of woman from those days when men seriously questioned her capacities for an intellectual life.

There were tears in the eyes of Dr. Shaw as she heard told in plain, simple sentences the record she, as chairman of the Committee, had helped to make. Flashes of triumph came as the story breathed the response to the nation's call that had been given by the American woman she loved so well. There were also exclamations of delight from her and heartiest approval over the accuracy with which the author, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair of Joplin, Missouri, had interpreted the fight waged by the women of the Committee for an equal place in the councils of those authorities directing the volunteer war work of the country.

Within a few days, Dr. Shaw had closed her busy life in this world by a departure into the Great Beyond but she had thoroughly stamped the history with her favorable acceptance before the end came. It was many months before the Council of Defense brought itself to a publication of the history which so frankly shows the difficulties existing in a nation during war time when its women have an unequal political status. The point about Dr. Shaw's commendation made here is that every suffragist and every woman of the land in any way connected with the Committee may know that the report is truly an interpretation of the spirit and motives governing the efforts of the American woman in her war work.

Few women of the United States can escape an interest in the "Interpretative Report" The Woman's Committee through its state divisions extended far and wide to the hills and valleys as well as to the crowded corner of the metropolitan places. Alaska and the Philippine Islands too, had its activities. There was an excellent chance to make the history just a usual governmental report, a mere statement of figures and proceedings. But as it stands now written by Mrs. Blair, it is one of the most unusual suffrage documents ever issued in America. It is a direct refutation of the threadbare argument that women should not vote because they did not go to war. In its tracings of the influence of the masculine traditions on the government's attitude towards women's war work, it is educational to an exceptional degree. Many of the things which women in the states could never understand, can now be cleared away by the explanations made in the history as to the

wide gap between the work done by the women and the authority given them to select or direct that work. Once more it is the story of the church carpet money being earned by the women but spent by the men of the congregation only now it appears in terms of a nation's reach for an ideal democracy and fortunately has a bit of success before the finis was written by the armistice. For the Woman's Committee did break through the stone wall of tradition which kept them on the outside of the innermost places finally and had accomplished an amalgamation of the men and women just a short time before peace came.

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair is well known as a club woman, suffragist and author in her own state of Missouri. She was especially identified with Mrs. Walter Mc Nab Miller of the National American Woman Suffrage Association there. Her husband is Harry Blair, a corporation lawyer of Joplin, Missouri, who hearkened to the desire for service with the doughboys by going abroad with the Y. M. C. A. In order that he might do this, Mrs. Blair gave up her comfortable home at Joplin and came to Washington to work in the News Section of the Woman's Committee under Miss Ida Tarbell until Mr. Blair's return. After the armistice, she remained in Washington with Miss Hannah J. Patterson the Resident Director to aid in the demobilization of the Committee as well as to write the interpretative report.

Following the conclusion of the history writing, Mrs. Blair went to Missouri and edited a magazine published by the Health Crusade of the American Red Cross. She went West with Mrs. Maud Wood Park in behalf of the League of Women Voters following the Chicago convention this summer and also attended the San Francisco convention of the Democrats with the League group.

Woman, the Rib

(Continued from page 433)

It is possible that he was thinking of his "mother, Melik," or of his "good grand-mother Mariam" whom, elsewhere, he begs his readers to remember in their "holy, tear-mingled prayers." Or it may be that he thought of that "Flower born of the sun," that Mother of ineffable Light," the Virgin, whose glories he could so ecstatically sing. Or that he was still thinking of those other vague and witching women of the outer world whose beauty so terrified his overwrought and tortured imagination. But, in any case, it is evident enough to me, that here in this stanza, and in the note, this fourteenth century Armenian monk repudiated the doctrine of woman's inferiority and thus disavowed, with one sharp stroke, his entire orthodoxy on the subject forever.

Honor be to his intellect, and peace to his holy ashes!

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Joy Bells from Cape Cod to Seattle

IN Massachusetts, church bells, fire bells, all sorts of bells, rang at noon on Saturday, August 28th, to celebrate the proclamation of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, by the Secretary of State Colby. At Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty, which has been connected with historic events marking every epoch in the history of American democracy, a mass meeting to celebrate victory will be held on September 22.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, on August 31, bells and whistles announced victory, while the women, who have voted many years, paraded in honor of their recently enfranchised sisters. They marched through the streets and up to the State Capitol, where the Governor, the Mayor, and an ex-Governor were speakers to a big audience.

In Alabama there was a victory pageant in the streets of Birmingham, in which more than 1,500 people took part. A Tennessee car, known as "the perfect 36" was decorated with smilax and daisies and led the way.

Mrs. Solon Jacobs was at the head of the marchers. The pioneers marched first and were followed by business and professional women, by the League of Women Voters, by the W. C. T. U., and others. This was Birmingham's first suffrage parade.

It took the suffragists of Seattle, Washington, three hours to celebrate the national suffrage victory when Tennessee's ratification was announced. Mrs. Edward P. Fick, president of the League of Women Voters, presided at a victory luncheon in Masonic Hall, and many leading women made speeches, among them Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston, state superintendent of public instruction, who called the League's attention to the task ahead—the need for a national department of education.

Oregon celebrated with ringing of bells and so did Louisiana. "In Louisiana the bells are attuned to those of their sister states, ringing the Freedom song," telegraphed Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes, from New Orleans, state chairman of the Louisiana Woman Suffrage Party, on August 29th. "The South glories in the fact that she joined hands with the West, North and East in justice to American womanhood."

In Cleveland, Ohio, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, bells rang.

The Woman's Justice Bell—the sister to Philadelphia's Liberty Bell will not ring out until some time in September, when the women will have their formal mass meeting of rejoicing. This bell, it will be remembered, was cast in the foundry at Troy, New York, in 1915, for the suffragists of Pennsylvania during their campaign. It was carried through the state, a mute witness that the bell of liberty had not yet rung for women. It was then stated that it would never be rung until Pennsylvania women are free.

In Indiana the women paraded in celebration of the proclamation while the city bells rang out.

As for Texas, there the suffragists were at their masterful ways again. "The suffragists of Texas celebrated the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment yesterday," telegraphed Mrs. Nonie Boren Mahoney, on August 29th, "by going to the polls and overwhelmingly defeating Joseph Weldon Bailey for the nomination for Governor of Texas. I gave up my summer trip to fight him and I feel fully repaid. It was a hot campaign."

Tuning Up for the Real Thing

RHODE ISLAND suffragists to the number of thirty had an impromptu celebration of the Tennessee victory on Friday morning, August 20, at the home of Mrs. James W. Algeo of Providence. Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, pioneer suffragist, and one who as a brilliant lecturer and worker has added greatly to the success of the suffrage cause, was the guest of honor and principal speaker. With her usual delightful humor she briefly outlined the earlier struggles for suffrage and then in more serious vein pointed out the great responsibility which now lies before women in sharing the burden of government.

Mrs. James W. Algeo spoke of the Geneva Congress and the need of greater study and interest in international problems especially in the League of Nations. "The world now looks to women, men having failed, to establish international peace and harmony and we must not fail," she said.

Mrs. Fred Fenner, delegate to the Democratic convention in San Francisco, gave a humorous account of her experiences.

A telegram of loving and loyal appreciation of the untiring devotion of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was sent through Miss Yates, and an earnest plea for the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Fund was made by the hostess.

Women Registering Fast

PROVIDENCE suffragists feel that they have not neglected their duty in bringing out a large registration among the women. Though less than one-half the size of Boston the registration of Providence is about the same as that of its neighbor, (about 30,000) with more women than men, prepared to vote, while in Boston the proportion is one woman to every four men. "Little Rhody" is not such a backward child as some of her big brother and sister States would have us believe.

SARA M. ALGEO.

Jefferson County, Alabama, reports nearly 8,000 women already registered. It expects many more before election day, after the Alabama Legislature completes its provisions for taking care of the women voters.

The Housing Problem

(Continued from page 429)

"DURING the past twelve months," she continued, "the Housing Committee, with the assistance of a very energetic director of housing, has been doing its best to overcome the serious obstacles caused by the shortage of labor and of materials, and to push its various schemes through the several preliminary stages which are necessary before building can be actually commenced. The progress actually made is briefly as follows: A military camp at Knotty Ash, an eastern suburb, was purchased from the American authorities a year ago, and this has been converted into some 470 hut dwellings, each containing a good-sized living room, back kitchen, three bed rooms and a bathroom. These were reserved entirely for the families of demobilized soldiers, and the majority of them are already occupied. About 1,300 acres of vacant land have been secured for new building schemes, and contracts for 5,700 houses have been placed with contractors, in addition to 500 houses which are being built by labor directly employed by the Housing Committee. Of these, about 2,500 will be built of concrete, of three different types of construction. The remainder will be of brick either plain or rough cast. About 700 of these houses are in course of construction, and fifty already completed. So much for figures.

"The rents fixed for the houses by the Ministry are 10s. and 12s., according to size, the tenants to pay rates and taxes. This may seem high compared to the pre-war rents of houses of the same size, but it is hardly necessary to say that it goes but a small way towards the present cost of production. There is a long waiting list of tenants, and the details of discomfort and overcrowding under which many of these are now living, makes the decision of the Allocation Sub-Committee a hard one, since so many whose needs are great have perforce to be kept waiting. So far as possible, preference is given to men who gave up their homes or delayed making them because of military service, though civilians are not altogether excluded."

An effort made entirely by women of Great Britain to ameliorate a situation where unfinished houses stare at a distracted public, seeking shelter and comfort is that of the *Association of Women House Property Managers*. This also manages working class houses.

Its intent is to withhold houses from slum conditions. Educated women trained for the work, collect rents and superintend repairs. The whole business of finance, law and management is in their hands.

The usual relation between landlord and tenant, claims this association is one of opposition. The landlord fights for a rent often withheld. The tenant fights for comfort often not forthcoming. Where property is in the hands of the Association of Women House Property Managers, strife ceases.

The Association helps not only the individual but the State. Unmistakable slum areas have been reclaimed by them. An effort is made by them to keep from overcrowding, to keep the houses sanitary.

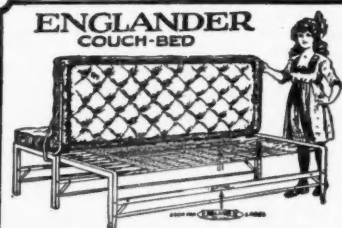
To maintain standards a system of tenant education is carried on. Tenants are shown what may be gained by cleanliness, organization, care of property. The association claims further that the landlord is benefited by this careful method which brings in the rent regularly, upholds the neighborhood, educates the tenant and keeps the property in good condition.

A Correction

IN the Review of "*The Working Life of the Women in the Seventeenth Century*," a misprint refers to "the serious change for the worse in the women's condition in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth." It should have read: "The serious change for the worse in women's condition in England in the Seventeenth Century as compared with their condition in the days of Queen Elizabeth."

Attention

Legal notices of eighteen amendments to the New York Constitution and one proposition have been printed in this magazine already four times and are to be repeated three times more making seven times in all. They should be read and pondered by the women of New York State, who will eventually vote upon them.



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Now Is the Time to Ask

A LETTER lately came to me with a sticker on the back of the envelope. The sticker read: "How does your Congressman stand on compulsory military training?"

The next Congress will have to deal with questions of immense importance, questions in which women are vitally interested. Now is the time to find out how the candidate from your district stands upon all the great issues—now, and not after you have voted for him. If he has already served in Congress and is coming up for re-election look at his record; for a man's record speaks louder than his promises. In case you do not know his record, write to the editor of the Search Light on Congress. Washington, D. C., and find out. If he is running for Congress for the first time, question him yourself as to how he will vote on the matters in which you are most interested.

Do not vote for any candidate merely because he bears the vague general reputation of being "a good man." Make sure that he is also an enlightened man, and a man with courage and backbone enough to stand for his principles against the strong pressure sure to be brought to bear upon him by the reactionary interests. Out west when the women were first enfranchised, years ago, their tendency was to vote for "a good man," but they learned by experience, as one of them put it, that he must be "not only good, but good for something."

A. S. B.

Bouquets and Brickbats

THE suffragists are now being handed bouquets of every color. An election is impending and politicians of every shade and stripe are wooing the women.

This is a time for us to keep steady heads.

So long as a woman has not aligned herself politically, she will meet with only bouquets; but when she has made up her mind and begins to work definitely for one side or the other, she must expect abundant abuse from the party or the interests that she is opposing; and she must learn not to be afraid of it.

For suffragists this will be easy. We have had to take abuse so long that we have learned to undergo it with a smile. Women, whether suffragists or antis, who have worked for welfare measures, or substantial reforms of any kind have also had a chance to find out that hard words break no bones. But for the woman who is just beginning to take an interest in public affairs, it may be rather an uncomfortable experience. When she has learned to hold her face to the shower, however, it will do her good.

It is well in this connection to remember the words of Mrs. Agnes L. Riddle, one of the most respected members of the Colorado Legislature. She runs a successful dairy farm, has brought up six children and is elected to the Legislature term after term by the farmers of her district. At the Jubilee celebration of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, in 1913, Mrs. Riddle said:

"When I first took my place in the Legislature I was handed a great many bouquets. Now I have come to the conclusion that I would rather be handed a brickbat. The brickbat is apt to keep a person awake."

If the new voters do their duty they will soon be getting brickbats and bouquets commingled. That is perhaps of all mixtures the most inspiring.

A. S. B.

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Women have in the past sought to be good home-makers. The news-stands are full of magazines giving them advice and directions about cooking and clothing. Is their duty to the home the sum and substance of duty? It is not. Women have been responsible for things in the home. Now their duties stretch to the city hall, the state capitol, even to the White House.

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Index to The Woman Citizen

June 1920 - May 21, 1921
R 396 v. 5
Volume V

June 5, 1920 to May 21, 1921

48 numbers, April 16 and 30, May 14 and 28, 1921, omitted

A

Abbott, Miss Grace (Ill.)	375
Absent vote	344, 617
Adams, Abigail	200
Africa	166
Age, voting of women	251, 292
Agricultural districts (U. S.)	798
Agricultural work, children in	816
Agriculture, (U. S.) Department of	203, 662, 690
Air-craft	
relation to disarmament	1017
Alabama:	
Association of Business and Professional women to Mrs. Catt	665
L. W. V.	618, 1158
program of the League of Women Voters	478
ratification celebration	478, 522
registration of women	436, 640, 670
women in office	847
women voted in 1920	593
Algeria, Sara M. (R. I.)	436
Aliens, deportation	892
Alimony:	
A. T. S. on	1051
a husband on, K. T. M.	1001
and education, Helen A. Mutz	963
as a square deal	952
father's responsibility	838
further articles to be published	973
laws in various states	863
legislative provision for	980
should women take it? by Charlotte Perkins Gilman	953
H. G. Wells on	1051
what and when, M. S. B.	980
Allen, Edith B.	129
Allen, Florence (Ohio)	717
Alysons	497
Amendments:	
See Constitution, U. S.	
to N. Y. state constitution	234, 315, 583, 589, 603
America:	
as reconstruction problem	1209
American citizenship, suggested programs of state L. W. V.'s	816
—department, Gen. Fed. Wom. Clubs	799
Amer. Constitutional League:	
injunction case, on ratification	173, 201
Amer. Federation of Labor:	
in 66th Congress	778
American Labor Legislation Review	188
American Library Assn.	
annual conference	7, 99
American People's League	1209
Amer. School Citizenship League	164, 1087
Americanization:	
of Labor (U. S.)	1004
"Meland Exhibit" of the International Institute of the Y. W. C. A.	1225
Y. W. C. A. Bulletin	558
Amis, Mrs. Jessie Daniel (Tex.), photograph	1169
Amis, Marie B. (Mo.), editor Spotlight, Jefferson City, Mo.	1174
Anderson, Dr. Margerita (Italy)	541
Anderson Bld. (Agriculture), report on	11
Anderson, Cora A. (Georgia)	854
Anderson, Mary, on Women's Bureau (U. S. Dept. of Labor)	1048
Andrews, Irene Oswald	908, 979, 1224
"An old-fashioned woman who is up-to-date," (Mrs. Patrick Bailey)	1091
Anthony, Susan B.	
birthplace to be preserved	646
Dr. Jane Fergusson's reminiscences of	260
picture, last	999
portrait to be unveiled at Bryn Mawr	618
Anti-feminist types of women	779
Anti-strike bill:	
federal	914
Anti-suffrage:	
Amer. Constitutional League's injunction	173, 201
Mrs. Beck on California	175, 1223
candidates, women defeat them in Delaware	682
Leser vs. Garnet	862
on negro vote	174
Mrs. W. L. Putnam on ratification	414
in Tennessee	335
try to block ratification, (Tenn.)	395, 421

Apcar, Mrs. Diana Agabeg (Armenia)	803, 1022, 1023
Appropriations, state:	
Leagues of W. V. study	1102
Appropriations (U. S.), 1920—49,281, 556, 915,919:	
1975 to 1921, statement, 1000,1102, 1039, 1148,1213	
Argentina:	
first birthday of Nuestra Causa	102
municipal suffrage for women	973
suffrage movement in	338
women's influence on culture	251
Arkansas:	
attorney general rules on public offices	697
citizenship plans L. W. V.	696
L. W. V.	851, 1158
registration of women	242
Armenia	6, 286, 803, 1922, 1023
Armour & Company:	
answer Mrs. Costigan	937
Army and Navy:	
appropriations for	915
federal executive	186
Art:	
School of Fine and Applied (New York City)	384
Ashe v. Ramirez de Castilana, Juana Inez de (Mexico)	241
Asia:	
fund for starving	906
Astor, Lady	70, 277, 768, 800
campaign for public merit	1211
man's political other half	1211
(picture), on women legislators	1211
"Atlantis, Ltd."	630
Atrocities against women	6
Attorney-general:	
assistant, woman (Ala.)	550
Australia:	
servant question in	253
status of married women	222
wages of working families	742
Austria:	
new governmental methods	658
progress of woman suffrage	202
woman vote	618
Automobiles:	
women cleaners	644
Aviator:	
Mrs. Adrienne Bolland	1197
Azerbaijan, Mohammedan women voters	800

B

B. D. K.:	
See Brown, Dorothy Kirchwey	
B. G. F.:	
See Brown, Mrs. Raymond	
keeping up with the Girl Scouts	1188
B. M. S.:	
alimony—what and when?	980
a quarter of a cent for women and children	49
common law handicaps on women's citizenship	909
correction of statement on appropriations in issue of June 12, 1920	556
how the government spends your money	1148
list of references on legislative programs of state L. W. V.	817
to define "residence"	556
when men undercut women	49
See also Boyd, Mary Sumner	
Babies:	
girl scouts to care for at elections (N. Y. C.)	582
Baca, Mrs. T. H. (N. M.), assistant adjutant general National Guard	1248
Bacon, Josephine Daskam	1192
Bagley, Mrs. Frederick P.:	
See Bagley, Grace H.	
Bagley, Mrs. Grace H.:	
answer to Bureau of Naturalization	310
the missing certificate of arrival	16
Bagley, William C.:	
the crisis in education	17, 50
Bailey, Mr. (Texas)	61
Baily, Laura Hurd (Iowa)	298
Baker, Edna Dean	1020
Baker, James M.	846
Balkans, suffrage in the	600
Ballot as a tool	1193
Balsadue, Maria Teresa de (Argentina)	251
"Banner bearers"	755
Barnett, Mrs. Henrietta Octavia (Gt. B.)	841

Barrell, Marie S.	1106
Bartelt, Arthur H.:	
the espionage act, (U. S.)	606, 633, 894, 1026, 1050
Barton, Clara:	
monument to	646
Batchelor, C. D. (picture)	19
Bates, Mrs. Annie Dahl (Pa.)	777
Beardsley, Mrs. A. H. (Ind.), photograph	1161
Beecher, H. W., on books	747
Belgium:	
Academy to admit women	613
American women college students in	1248
morality and votes, A. S. B.	443
municipal suffrage for women	202
women's rights in	281
women's vote	1222
Bickerdyke, Mary A. ("Mother")	114
Bickett, Gov. (N. C.)	177
Billings, Miss Winona (Vermont)	54
Birdery women's wages	819
Birdsell, Clara E.	869
Birth registration	431
Blackwell, Alice Stone:	
an amusing story	569
anniversary of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell	935
an Argentine feminist	1028
an early woman in politics	890
an incident	872
Armenia	286
before the war and now	766
bouquets and brickbats	438
Breshkovsky, Catherine, letter of	356, 655
Bunker Hill	199
candidates' responsibility	438
child suicides	285
corporations, and women	448
correction	529
cost of living	766
famous war correspondent	103
first woman doctor	886
friend of women	200
from Catherine Breshkovsky	286
getting even with the government	103
"government by injunction"	359
help the new administration	1188
it should be decisive	223
"it's a long, long way"	1189
lessons from Madame Curie	1240
let the dead rest	511
let us take courage	511
Lt. Gov. Cox congratulates her	431
little Argentine school mistress	251
made Councillor of Boston L. W. V.	770
Madeline McDowell Breckinridge	1002
Mass. L. W. V., progress of	770
the moonlight schools of Kentucky	1108
morality and votes	488
more precious than radium	1217
Mrs. Great Heart	792
municipal suffrage sought in Uruguay	339
Napoleon and women	608
"nervous prognostication"	1241
notes and comment	1091
now is the time to ask	438
on "female legislative bosses"	1189
one cause of unrest	766
parties and suffragists	445
profiteering in 1777	200
progressives—then and now	843
quiet change	679
reminiscence	655
repeal espionage act	516
replies to Mr. Bartelt	633
rights and duties	25
Senator Hoar's belated credit	801
serving the devil cheap	878
single standard again	998
state censorship of motion pictures	42
suffrage and stage coaches	223
suffrage in California	766
sunflowers	200
tempus fugit	200
"these girls are poor"	183
time's revenges	777
two pioneers	679
unique Thanksgiving	333
victory notes (Tennessee)	707
victory voyage	679
was it partisan?	69
what Congress did	283
where does our money go?	

woman rabbi	679	Gibbon, Thomas E., Mexico under Carranza	747	Rudolf, Robert de Montjole, The Tookey and Mary Alice tales	668
women and horseshoes	838	Golding, Douglas, The fight for freedom	736	Rummier, Susan Harding, Natural food and care for child and mother	920
women and office	790	Golding, Douglas, Margot's progress	736	Sabin, Edwin L., American trail blazers' series	666
women and veils	187	Golding, Douglas, Reputations	736	Sabin, Edwin L., Into Mexico with General Scott	666
women in politics	200	Gorican, Joseph, The inside story of Austro-German intrigue	1072	Sanborn, Mary Farley, The first valley	758
women of Chile	395	Grant, Douglas, Single track	385	Sandburg, Carl, Smoke and Steel	852
women of Queen Elizabeth's time	382	Greenberg, David S., The cockpit of Santiago Key	666	Saunders, Phyllis, Within the magic gateways	668
Blackwell, Rev. Antoinette Brown, pioneer	777	Griffs, William Elliot, Swiss fairy tales	668	Scarborough, Dorothy, From a southern porch	743
Blackwell, Dr. Elizabeth, first woman physician	935, 986	Gruenberg, Sidonie Matzner, Your child today and tomorrow	669	Schreiner, Olive, Story of an African farm and Dreams	964
Blackwell family	837	Grundtvig, Svendt Hersleb, Danish fairy tales	668	Sedgwick, Anne Douglas, The third window	385
Blackwell, Henry B., work for presidential suffrage	99	H. M. J., Floyd Dell's "Moon-Calf"	750	Sewall, May Wright, Neither dead nor sleeping	206
Blair, Mrs. Emily Newell (Mo.)	434	Hamilton, Cicely, William an Englishman	736	Shaw, Alice Clarke, Working life of the women of the seventeenth century	382
Blodgett, Mrs. Mary A.	292	Hannay, Canon, An Irishman looks at his world	107	Shaw, George Bernard, Playlets of the war	131
Blue Hen's chickens scratching up politics	509	Harris, Hannah Margaret, Lessons in civics	614	Sherwood, Margaret, A world to mend	754
Blue laws: organization to fight	1209	Hartley, Olga, Anne	750	Sholes, Percy A., The listener's guide to music	140
Book, Mrs. Annie: on suffrage in California	175, 223, 259	Haskell, Mrs. Oreola, Banner bearers—tales of the suffrage campaigns	755, 853	Sierra, Martinez, Cartas a las Mujeres de España	1101
Bolivar, Simon (Bolivia), statue of	1222	Havens, Mrs. C. T., Parliamentary law simplified	615	Simpson, Eugene E., America's position in music	754
Bolters, blessed are the	565	Hawkes, Clarence, Master Frisky	668	Singmaster, Elsie, Basil Everman	140
Bonnevie, Miss (Norway): delegate to League of Nations	886	Hayes, Ellen, Wild turkeys and tallow candles	757	Smith, Mrs. Hester Travers, Voices from the void	206
Bonus, (N. Y. state)	829	Herbert, Charles, Young pilgrims	667	Sonnichsen, Albert, Consumers' cooperation	189
Boole, Mrs. Ella	330, 480, 542, 776	Hilborn, Agnes and McClosky, Corinne, Facts for voters of Ohio	698	Spyri, Johanna, Cornelli	667
Book rev.: Abbott, Mrs. Jane D., Highacres	667	Hope, Anthony, Lucinda	756	Spyri, Johanna, Toni, the little wood carver	667
The American Child	920	Hotchkiss, C. C., The ivory ball	383	Stone, Gene, Cousin Nancy and the Lees of Clifford	667
Anderson, Sherwood, Poor white	1052	Hrbkova, Professor Sarka, Czechoslovak stories	698	Stone, Gene, Jane and the owl	668
Anderson, Sherwood, Winesburg, Ohio	268	Hughes, Adelaide Manola, Diantha goes the primrose way	268	Storm, Marian, Mistle weather	1135
d'Annunzio, Tales of my native town	752	Humphreys, Mrs. Desmond, The truth of spiritualism	207	Stowe, Lyman Beecher, (Translator) The inside story of Austro-German intrigue, by Joseph Gorican	1072
Anonymous, In the mountains	750	Hyde, Mary Kendall, Girl's book of the Red Cross	666	Sundqvist, Dr. Alma, New Swedish law	1008
Anonymous, Women	614	International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Nationality of married women	1072	Swinerton, Frank, September	113
Anthony, Katharine, Margaret Fuller	804	Report of the 8th Congress	1008	Tchobanian, Archag, La Roseraie d'Arménie, by Bertha Sullivan Papazian	432
(Ark. L. W. V.), Twelve lessons in good citizenship	492	Jewish tales	668	Thomas, David Y., Course in Citizenship	722
Atherton, Mrs. Gertrude, The sister-in-law	1052	Johnson, Clifton, The pied piper	668	Tracy, Louis, The Sirdar's sister	751
Banning, Margaret Cushman, This marrying	780	Jordan, Elizabeth, Girl in the mirror	141	Trevena, John, By violence	1133
Bates, Katherine Lee, Sigurd, our golden collier	114	Judson, Clara Ingram, Cooking without mother's help	669	Untermeyer, Louis, The new Adam	268
Beard, Dan, American Boys' handy book of camplore and woodcraft	669	Karlina, Ruden, From darkness into light	1028	Vorse, Mary Heaton, Growing up	614
Bennett, Arnold, Our women	1094	Kenealy, Arabella, Feminism and sex extinction	780	Walsh, Mr., Hispanic anthology	614
Bernstorff, Count von, My three years in America	1072	Kephart, Horace, Camping and woodcraft	1133	Weeks, Arland D., Squaw Point	667
Biographical cyclopaedia of American women	757	Langford, George Pic, The weapon-maker	666	Wharton, Edith, The age of innocence	642
Bishop, Joseph Bucklin, Theodore Roosevelt and his time	731	Lawrence, D. H., Lost girl	1172	White, Stewart Edward, The rose dawn	642
Bispham, David, A Quaker singer's recollections	754	Lawrence, D. H., Touch and go	1172	Whiteley, Opal, Story of Opal	876
Black, Henry Campbell, Relation of the executive power to legislation	112	Lawrence, D. H., Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd	1172	Wilkinson, Marguerite, Bluestone	853
Bloomfield, Daniel, Modern industrial movements	269	Leonard, Nellie M., Uncle Squeaky's country store	668	Wilson, Mrs., Cookbook	142
Problems of labor	269	Level, Maurice, Tales of mystery and horror	751	Wolf, William Almon, The path of gold	751
Borden, Mary, The romantic woman	750	Lewis, Sinclair, Main Street	940	Wood, Mrs. Edith Elmer, The housing famine	1173
Brazier, Marion Howard, Stage and screen	1072	Loeb, Sophie Irene, Everyman's child	920	Wood, Mrs. Edith Elmer, Housing of the unskilled wage earner	1173
Bryant, Alice, Treasury of hero tales	668	Luehrmann, Adele, The triple mystery	141	Woodbury, Robert Morse, The industrial instability of child workers	729
Buell, Raymond Leslie, Contemporary French politics	740	Macdonald, Zillah, Eileen's adventures in underland	668	Booth, Mrs. Florence Bramwell, justice of peace in London	670
Carnegie Corporation, Schooling of the immigrant	1173	McFee, Inez N., Boy heroes in fiction	667	Bosler, Mrs. Frank C. (Wyo.)	54
Carpenter, J. Harold, Fairy grammar	877	McFee, William, Captain Macdonald's daughter	736	Boston: See Mass.	
Carwell, Catherine, Open the door	269	McFee, Inez N., Girl heroines in fiction	667	Boston Globe, a chair for the lady	151
Castle, Agnes and Egerton, Little hours in great days	269	McPheters, George A. and Cleveland, Grace J. A., Citizenship dramatized	698	Bowron, Mrs. A. J. (Ala.), photograph	1138
Chapman, Frank M., What bird is that?	751	McSpadden, J. Walker, Famous psychic stories	751	Boyd, Mary Summer: work with women of the U. S. Department of agriculture	1158
Chekhov, Anton, The chorus girl and other stories	753	Martin, George Madden, Children of the mist	743	enabling acts	496
Chenery, Ruth Baldwin, At vesper time	189	Marx, Magdelaine, Woman	780	women preachers	794
Child, Richard Washburn, The vanishing men	492	Masked woman	741	Boyd, Mary Summer, see also B., M. S.	
College Equal Suffrage League, Manual for Massachusetts Voters	492	Mass, Primer of Citizenship and government	322	Boyer, Mrs. Ida Porter	476, 520
Comerford, Frank, The new world	1028	Masters, Edgar Lee, Starved Rock	853	Brady, William A.	112
Coolidge, Governor, Have faith in Massachusetts, (speeches)	112	Maule, Mrs. Mary Katherine, A prairie-schooner princess	1052	Brandegge, Sen. (Conn.): stand on ratification	263, 421, 574, 634
correction, see Shaw, Alice Clarke	437	Maxwell, W. B., For better for worse	756	Brandon, Carrie W. Ormsbee (Vt.), photograph	1149
Corwin, Edward S., The constitution and what it means to-day	189	Mayran, Camille, Forgotten	753	Bread: for Women's International League of Peace and Freedom	1233
Cotter, Winifred, Sheila and Shers	1133	Mayran, Camille, The story of Gotton Connixloo	753	Breckinridge, Madeline McDowell (Mrs. Desha)	729, 1402
Cox, Marion, Dry rot of society	614	Meigs, ornelia, The poet of stars	740	Brehm, Miss Marie C. (Cal.)	529
Crockett, Albert S., Revelations of Louise	758	Merrick, Leonard, The house of stars	751	Brent, Margaret	829
Crowell, Joshua F., Outdoors and in	113	Merrick, Leonard, The man who understood women	752	Breshkovsky, Catherine: address at I. W. S. A. congress	47
Cull, John Augustine, The bride of Mission San José	1052	Merrick, Leonard, When love flies out of the window	751	illness of (A. S. B.)	930
Davies, E. C., A boy in Serbia	667	Merrick, Mrs. Leonard, Mary-Girl	294	letter of (A. S. B.)	286, 635
Decameron, the new	751	Middleton, George, Masks	140	"Bring your rake"	150
Delaware League of Women Voters Handbook	615	Miller, Alice Duer, The beauty and the bolshevik	643	Bringing the victors home	382
Dell, Floyd, Moon-Calf	750	Mills, Enos A., Adventures of a nature guide	629	British cabinet, make-up of	861
Dobbs, Mary E., Kansas voters' manual	492	N. L. W. V., Woman's platform presented to the political parties	112	British Columbia	1043
Dodd, Lee Wilson, The book of Susan	294	Nellans, Miss, The necessity for an equal moral standard in combating venereal disease	1008	Bronaugh, Miss Mary (Ky.), photograph	1101
Dodge, Louis, Whispers	141	Odum, Dr. Howard W., Constructive ventures in government	698	Brotherton, Mrs. Belle (Mich.), photograph	1101
Douglas, Dorothy W., American minimum wage laws at work	1009	Oemler, Marie Conway, The purple heights	743	Brown, Dorothy, Birchway	907
Draper, George O., Community recreation	189	Oglebay, Kate, List of plays for children	754	Sheppard-Towner, Bill lobby	922
DuBois, W. E. B., Darkwater	166	On music	754	state child labor laws	922
Dunn, William Arthur, Civic training through service	614	Oregon Trail Commission, Report	940	Brown, Mrs. Raymond: managing director the Women Citizen	1141
Eaves, Lucille, American Child	877	O'Shaughnessy, Mrs. Edith, Intimate pages of Mexican history	734	photograph	1142
editorial on	729	Paton, Lucy Allen, Biography of Elizabeth Cary Agassiz	737	politics and the home	97
Evans, C. S., The sleeping beauty	876	Perry, Bliss, A study of poetry	852	succeeds Mrs. Livermore in Woman Citizen	940
Faris, John F., Seeing the far west	730	Perry, Stella G., Palmetto	743	will you help?	1210
Ferber, Edna and Levy, Newman, \$1200 a year	642	Plaminkova, Madame, The political rights of women in the Czechoslovak republic	698	Brown, Mrs. Walter S. (Iowa), photograph	1101
Ferguson, A. Foxton, Schubert fantasies	876	Potter, Miriam Clark, Rhymes of a child's world	669	Brussels, university of: Rockefeller donation	1107
Filene, Catherine, Careers for women	988	Poulson, Emily, What happened to Inger	739	Bryant, W. J.	578
Fisher, Irving, Stabilizing the dollar	30	Rhodes, Harrison, American towns and people	730	Bryn Mawr: course for working women	1249
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, This side of Paradise	1094	Rhodes, Harrison, High life	752	Bulgaria	1100
Fraser, Chelsea Curtis, Boys' book of sea fights	666	Richardson, Dorothy, Backwater (Pilgrimage set.)	268	Bullock, Mrs. Bibb (N. C.): elected alderman in Red Springs	1248
Fraser, Chelsea Curtis, The young citizen's own book	669	Rinehart, Mrs. Mary Roberts, A poor wise man	643	Burbank, Luther	908
Freeman, Mary E. Wilkins, The shadows on the wall	751	Rockefeller Foundation, Review of public health	722	Burdette, Mrs. Robert J. (Cal.), photograph	1150
Friends, The children's story garden	31	Roof, Katherine Metcalf, The great demonstration	756	Bureau of Standards	953
Fronthingham, Mrs. Eugenia Brooks, Senate Bill	375, 383, 698	Romero, Mrs. Swain, Educational tours of railroad trains and motor vehicles	615	Burks, R. Ferrell	1133
Gaines, Ruth, The ladies of Greecourt	877			Burma	1104
Gale, Zona, Miss Lulu Bett	113			Burn, Harry (Tenn.)	552, 682
Galsworthy, John, Awakening	875			Burrough, Mary A. (N. J.)	988
Galvin, George W. and Thompson, Florence Seyler, A thousand faces	750				
Gay, Agnes Godfrey, Chansons, poesies et jeux	88				

Burton, Mrs. W. M.	53
Business and Professional Women of U. S. convention	161
Bussey, Adele Johnston	157
Butterfield, Katherine (Idaho)	1197

C

C. C. C.	
See Catt, Carrie Chapman.	
Cabinet (U. S.):	
Harding's new	861, 1017
parties and	905
woman and the	984
Cahill, Elizabeth (Pa.)	214
Calhoun, Mrs. C. C. (Washington), president of Women's National Foundation	1248
Calif.:	
community property law	613
effect of woman suffrage	223
Fresno Republican on woman suffrage	259
Gov. Stephens on effect of woman suffrage in state	175
law on kindergartens	616
L. W. V. ratification	556
Los Angeles Club committee L. W. V.	617
minimum wage in	294
women legislators	1043
women public officials	1043
work for children	267
work of League of Women Voters	1159
Cambridge University (Gt. Britain)	930
Cammack, Key	685
Campbell-Kenyon bill	71
Canada:	
labor standards	962
minister of parenthood, planned	679
Mrs. Smith president of British Columbia Council	1248
progress of woman suffrage	202
prohibition in Ontario	1284
repeal of married women's citizenship	1196
women of New Brunswick vote	613
See also British Columbia.	
Candidates:	
N. L. W. V. will question	478
women	542
Candler, Martha	665
Canfield, Dorothy:	
on Vermont State Board of Education	1248
our big job	1220
Capper-Volstead bill	887
Carey, Gov. Robert D. (Wyo.)	379
Carlyle	755
Carpathia	286, 655
Carrie Chapman Catt citizenship course:	
Lesson IX, Town government	25
U. S. Taxation, (Prof. Secrist's lecture)	56
Lesson X, Taxation, Lecture, Prof. Secrist	82
summary promised	71
Lesson XI, practice to theory	106
U. S. Treasury Department, Lesson XII	136
Lesson XIII, Department of State	162
Lesson XIV, federal executive, Army and Navy	186
Lesson XV, federal executive departments, Interior and Agriculture	208
Lesson XVI, federal executive departments of Justice, Labor, Commerce, Post Office	230
functions of the Federal Legislature, by Maud Wood Park	264
Lesson XVIII, Congress and its work, by Maud Wood Park	268
Dependencies of U. S.	312
Dependencies, U. S., lecture by Prof. Garner	340
Americanization Lectures by Miss Grace Abbott and Miss Frances Wetmore	378
The nation and world politics, lecture by Prof. J. W. Garner	404
The Monroe Doctrine, lecture by Prof. J. W. Garner	430
Citizenship, lecture by Prof. James A. James, (American History)	456
Trial by jury, lecture by Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch	488
Political parties, lecture by Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer	520
National dangers and defenses, lecture by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead	552
How to conduct citizenship schools, by Carrie Chapman Catt	580
How the vote came to men, lecture by Carrie Chapman Catt	610
How the vote came to men, by Carrie Chapman Catt, Part II	638
Federal departments, Department of Agriculture by Charles E. Gage	662
Federal departments, low cost of markets, by George Livingston	690
Federal Departments, Food Supply, by Fred B. Linton	714
announcement	751
Federal Departments, Bureau of Standards, by S. W. Stratton	774
Federal Departments, (U. S.), inside stories rural districts, by Wm. E. Smythe	798
Federal departments, U. S., Bureau of Internal Revenue, by Lillian S. Ruddick	822
Federal departments, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Tax Unit, James M. Baker	846
Federal departments, women's work in the income tax unit, by Catherine D. McGrew	870
Information women want, national affairs as shown by federal reports	892
Federal Departments, Children's Bureau, work of	916
Federal Departments: Prohibition Unit of the Treasury Department, R. Edwin Joyce, Jr.	936
Federal Departments, what the government is doing for soldiers and sailors, by R. W. Emerson	960
Federal Departments: a woman and the cabinet, (U. S.), Marjorie Shuler	984

Federal Departments: Americanization, by Raymond F. Crist	1004
Citizenship course of L. W. V.	1024
Federal Departments: the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, by Mary Anderson	1048
Federal Departments: Department of Commerce, by P. J. Crogan	1068
Federal Departments: Department of Commerce, by P. J. Crogan	1086
Schools to make American citizens, the moonlight schools of Kentucky, by A. S. B.	1108
States Relation Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, extension work with women, by Mary Sumner Boyd	1128
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead's series of studies	1128
Money, by Lucia Ames Mead, Lesson I, Part I	1170
Money, by Lucia Ames Mead, Lesson I, Part II	1200
Cartoon:	
acceptable offering! cover, July 31, 1920	
are you blind politically? As a voter do you know your way about? cover, Sept. 4, 1920.	
"are you politically blind?" Mrs. Gellhorn's comment on	594
"do you mean to say I've got to raise the family on this?"	1213
election news—interest in common, cover, November 6, 1920.	
here's wishing you well! cover, February, 1921.	
interested watchers, cover, June 26, 1920.	
"love me, love me not," cover, back, August 21, 1920.	
"our appropriation pie"	1218
stumbling blocks	1185
suffrage won—forward, march! cover, December 4, 1920.	
two kinds of defense: cover, Jan. 22, 1921.	
will he get away with it? well, the elephant has Vermont and Connecticut in his trunk, cover, July 10, 1920.	
women at the ballot box, artists' exhibition	772-3
to be used in Woman Citizen	1243
Cassidy, Mrs. Gerald (N. M.)	1007
Castello, Miss Ray. see Strachey, Mrs. Oliver.	
Catt, Carrie Chapman:	
address to I. W. S. A. congress	48
ambassadorial plotter (picture)	768
amendment to be watched	1189
answer to Mrs. Livermore on Wadsworth	474
answers Governor Miller	959
articles planned	837
biggest thing in 1921	829
by way of a new beginning	829
call for Executive Council N. A. W. S. A.	1123
call to action [on disarmament]	1184
casting vote (picture)	656
colored troops (Rhine)	1038
on Curie radium fund	1142
the direct primary under fire	1210
on disarmament	1188
do you want to build a house?	631
first test	658
fitted to the moment (poem)	829
flies in the ointment	423
futile gesture	421
German woman counsellor to her government	889
helping Madame Curie	1062
how the vote came to men	610, 638
how to conduct citizenship schools	580
Indiana, proposed legislation	1091
I. W. S. A. appoints Mrs. Wicksell for League of Nations	1101
League of Nations	438
League of Women Voters	1188
legal tangle	393
Leser case	1142
let the people know	507
letter to Alice Paul	975
letter to Chairman of Nat. Dem. Committee	422
Lloyd George—a comment	1082, 1125
mass meeting in London	815
message from Birmingham (Ala.)	665
next contest	677
Observer (London) on	814
on oil	1240
open letter to Gov. Clement (Vt.)	198
open letter to Mrs. Arthur Livermore	474
plans of Woman Citizen	1142
the pot and the kettle	1216
Pres. Wilson appoints her to committee on China	789
primaries	707
ratification appeal to Nat. Dem. Committee	197
ratification in Tennessee	277
re-elected president I. W. S. A.	70
replies to Governor Miller	949
return from Tennessee (picture)	362
returns from I. W. S. A. congress	126
review of Mrs. Oreola Williams Haskell's Banner Fears	853
rights of women in the Moslem world	1082
sails for board meeting I. W. S. A.	678
Sheppard-Towner Bill	1081
status of women jurors in Great Britain	1061
teapot in a tempest, (Gov. Miller's speech)	949
Tennessee triumphs	329
toast by Texas L. W. V.	1090
two greetings	357
U. S. Government, departments of	885
the urge of oil	1240
victory voyage, A. S. B.	707
Wadsworth among the progressives	1217
wanted: a new department	861
Censorship:	
motion pictures	1150, 1152, 1190
See also motion pictures.	
Central America	257
certificate of arrival, see naturalization.	
Ceylon	199
Chambers, on books	740
Chapman, Mrs. Woodallen	982

charts on U. S. Government appropriations	49
Cheesman, Helen King (R. I.)	1111
(Cheney, Mrs. Henry R. (Ill.), photograph.	1160
Chicago, see Illinois.	
Chicago Woman's City Club	1198
Child:	
unborn, injuries to	1062
Child labor:	
Children's Bureau physical standards	917
Delaware system of binding out ended	1155
in agriculture (with map)	816
in Conn.	617
in D. C., status of	281, 939
juvenile court laws (U. S.)	616
laws, the enforcement of	912
rural	911
state laws	922
Child welfare:	
Children's Bureau publications on	644
Congressman's joke	1191
editorials on	905
in Great Britain	108
issue Woman Citizen Jan. 22, 1921.	
Kentucky legislation	209
resolutions of Missouri L. W. V.	86
state leagues of women voters for	819
suggested legislative programs	816
Childbirth, see maternity.	
Children's bookshops	759
Children's Bureau (U. S. Department of Labor):	
appropriations for	49
conference on physical standards	616
play standards	251
protection of maternity	644
suggested changes	729
summary of juvenile court legislation (U. S.)	616
work of, in C. C. C. course	916
Children's code commissions	498
Chile	395
China:	
famine committee (U. S.)	789, 1222
Church:	
position of women in, Mary Doane Shelby	1250
woman enters Hebrew theological school	679
See also ministry.	
Church bells:	
fund for France	1234
Cigarettes, smoked by women	1155
Citizenship:	
Amer. School Citizenship League	165
correspondence course of N. Y. S. L. W. V.	165
Citizenship, see Carrie Chapman Catt Course.	
See also married women.	
Citizenship day:	
General Federation of Women's Clubs	1082
Citizenship schools (Ark.)	105
Conn.	139, 211
drama—(Boston)	388
handbooks	615
how to conduct	580
manuals	402
Mass.	108, 164, 241
Missouri	492
Nebraska	34
N. J.	109, 492
N. C.	164, 291
S. C.	212
value of, A. S. B.	25
Virginia	187
Wis.	164
Worcester (Mass) schools	572
work in states	492
See also Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course.	
City Councils:	
all-woman governments	104, 106
City government, (New York City)	558
Civics:	
Association of American Colleges on	1005
Council of Church Boards of Education on	1005
See also Citizenship Schools.	
Civil service (Ill.)	765, 819, 1026
Civil service:	
sex discrimination in	279
Civil Service (U. S.):	
bill for minimum wage	24
criticism of	138
discrimination against Women's Bureau	1038
retirement bill	75
women in	1209
Civil Service Commission (U. S.):	
status of women	80
Clark, Miss Adele (Va.) photograph	1171
Clark, Counsellor (Gt. Britain)	966
Clark, Keith	477
Clark, Olive S.	111, 496
Clark, Judge Walter (N. C.)	1601, 304
Clarke, Grace Julian	59, 908
Clyden, Gov. (Vt.)	177
Cleveland, Grace	15
Cleveland convention:	
See N. L. W. V.	
Cleveland (Ohio)	829
Clock, Sarah A. (Persia)	207
Clopper, Dr. Edward N.	912
Clothing Information Bureau (Boston)	1246
Coal	475, 869, 915
Coddington, Hester	1003
Colby, Bainbridge (Secretary of State)	358
College girls of the far East	801
Colored troops (Rhine)	1038
Colton, on books	757
Columbia University	9, 600
Commerce, Dept. of (U. S.)	1068, 1086
Committee of 48 adopts L. W. V. planks	160, 175
Common cause, see Woman's leader.	
Common law handicaps on women's citizenship.	
M. S. B.	909
Community property law	613
Compensations	566
Congratulations on ratification	334

Congress:	
appropriations	49, 1039
changes in personnel	817
danger of rush legislation	1089
filibustering in	1124
first week of 6th	1187
hearings before	1102
inside out, (Marjorie Shuler)	767, 791, 817, 864
L. W. V. legislation, status of	697
passes civil service retirement bill	75
Republican machine in	791
results of women's work	1063
rural homes bill (Senator Smoot)	789, 799
66th, significance to women	765
summary of last session, 66th	1063
survey of prospects	767
threat to good legislation	1039
week in, Marjorie Shuler	887, 914, 977, 1000
women candidates	156, 270
work of	288
Congressional committee, joint, (N. L. W. V.)	748
Congressional investigation, value of	840
Conn.:	
campaign against Brandegee	263, 522, 574, 634
campaign for ratification	70
child labor in	617
citizenship course	130, 211
Conn. on Tenn. ratification	349
Democratic women	5
Gov. Holcomb on ratification	177
last annual convention W. S. A.	718
L. W. V., by R. W. Dadourian	938
L. W. V., progress	1159
Miss Ludington on ratification	224, 278
questions to candidates, W. S. A.	117
ratification by wire	455
ratifies	421
Republican women and party funds	232, 279
Republicans oppose ratification	224
37th state to ratify	447
Walton, A. G. on ratification	201
W. S. A. opposes Walsh	242
women in election activities	61
women protest to Republicans	214
Connolly, Louise:	
making the plaything fit the child	366
on motion pictures	1041, 1065
wanted—a political miracle	568
Constitution, N. Y. State:	
proposed amendments to	465
Constitution, U. S.:	
amendments	380
Continuation schools	617
Convention, N. L. W. V.:	
photograph	1183
pitfalls in politics	1147
pledges at	1185
story of	1181
See also N. L. W. V.	
Conventions:	
Business and Professional Women of U. S.	161, 182
in several fenses	138
Women's Association of Commerce,	152
See also States.	
Co-operation, the peaceful revolution	370, 396, 428
Co-operative League of America	370
Co-operative marketing	387
Co-operative movement:	
Great Britain	568
N. Y.	631
Corea	185
Cornell boys resent girl editors	765, 838
Coroner, Georgia woman	693
Corporations, and women, A. S. B.	448
Correspondence	1225
Corrupt politics, N. L. W. V. against	1181
Cost, Anna F. D.:	
appreciation of <i>Woman Citizen</i>	1225
Cost of living	213, 766, 1229
Costigan, Mrs. Edward P., see Costigan, Mabel	
Cory:	
Costigan, Mabel C.:	
Fess Bill for home economics	599
lectures in Texas	24
on middlemen	766
prices you pay	10
replies to Armour & Company	987
reply by Weld to	213
report of Food Supply and Demand Committee	1146
N. L. W. V. (photograph)	1146
Cotnam, Florence B. (Ark.)	851, 1158
Council of Jewish Women	1010
Courts of domestic relations	693
Cowles, Edith Clarke (Va.)	449, 850
Cox, Gov. (Ohio)	177, 221, 881
Credit legislation	778
Crimes	1082
Criminal Bar Association (New York City)	686
Criminality and health	1241
Crist, Raymond P.	1004
Crittenden, Mrs. Dora K.	337
Croghan, P. J.	1068
Cromwell, Mrs. Seymour L. (N. J.) on State	
Board of Education	1248
Crop reports	662
Cruz, Sor Juana Inez de la, see Asbaje y Ramirez de Castillana, Juana Inez de.	
Cuba	568
Cullis, Dr. Winifred	54
Cummings, H. S. (Chm. Nat. Dem. Comm.)	150
Curie, Mme.:	
picture, in her laboratory	1284
radium fund	1062, 1142, 1234
visit to U. S.	1234
work of, A. S. B.	1240
Curtis:	
states which have	89
Curtis-Gard bill	986
Czechoslovakia	202, 251, 296, 680, 684, 698

D

Dadourian, Ruth McIntyre (Conn.)	988
Damages to married women	1084
Daniels, Mrs. Josephus	46, 47
Daugherty, Attorney General, on prices	1241
Daugherty, Mrs. Katharine (Mich.)	84
Daughters of the American Revolution	1190
Delaware:	
binding out system ended	1155
defeats ratification	69
direct primary in	1234
Equal Suffrage Association becomes L. W. V.	1159
legislative committee	1030, 1088
Methodists urge ratification	79
Mrs. Park before legislature	1155
Mrs. Ridgely's speech	509
Pierre Dupont offers money for education	929
Republican failure to ratify	41
women defeat anti-suffrage candidates	682
Democratic convention (Mich.), woman presides	88
Democratic Nat. Committee:	
endorses ratification	176
Williams, Miss Charl., vice-chairman	223
women present memorial	197
Democratic Nat. Convention:	
Connecticut women delegates	5
Missouri woman opposes Senator Reed	178
N. L. W. V. planks	152
Olesen, Mrs. Peter, delegate	88
responsibility for ratification	150, 176
suffrage plank adopted—1920	150, 176
women delegates from Mich.	88
women delegates from Wash.	88
Democrats:	
and the women at National Convention	126
Indiana women to National convention	25
nominate Harriet May Mills	277
party leaders, on ratification	177
party responsible for ratification	41, 69
ratification plank	126
West Virginia women delegates	9
women of New York State advertise candi-	
date for president	52
Denmark	127, 202
Department Education and Public Welfare	
(U. S.) proposed	862, 885, 929, 977
Sen. Kenyon to introduce bill	1212
Department of the Interior (U. S.)	892
Departmental re-organization, proposed	1286
Dependents:	
of women workers	819
Detectives, Uncle Sam's girl	23
Dickering, political, on ratification	175
Dietrich, Mrs. Charles H. (Nebr.)	1150, 1166
Dilnot, Frank (Gt. Britain)	788
Diner, Dr. Irene	253
Direct primary	1189
Disarmament:	
attitude of Congress	
915, 977, 1017, 1071, 1184, 1197, 1209	
Congress on	1212
discussion in Congress	1237
forces for	1241
Dorothy Canfield on, (picture)	1220
James G. McDonald on	1213
Discrimination, sex, in civil service	279, 765, 819
District of Columbia	862, 875, 921
Divorce	207, 954
Doe, Miss Jessie (N. H.), (picture)	891
Domestic relations, courts of	8
Domestic service, problem of the home	190, 284
Domestic workers' club (England)	1248
Doran, Miss Katherine (Mich.)	522
Double standard, in morals	1008
Douglas, Miss Allie C. (Can.)	87
Dower:	
states which have	59, 89
Downing, Estelle (Mich.), alderwoman in Ypsil-	
anti	1240
Drake, Mrs. John A.	643
Drama, "Senate Bill 573"	883
Drama League, N. Y.	978, 983
Dramatization of the Federal Convention (N. J.)	966
Dreier, Mary E.	814
Driver, Miss Bessie (Mass.)	400
Drysdale, Euphemia	1132
Dudley, Carl H.	112
Dudley, Mrs. Guilford (Tenn.)	126
Duncan, Frances	793
Dupont, Pierre (Del.)	929
Dutch:	
See Holland.	

E

Edey, Birdsall Otis	232
Edey, Mrs. Frederick:	
See Edey, Birdsall Otis.	
Editorials:	
against those who are against suffrage	70
alliance will continue	69
all together, V. R.	1189
amazing, amusing, appalling	506
America must do it	473
amusing!	173
another blow to tradition	600
anti child labor	281
aristocracy of brown	303
atrocities against women	6
biggest thing in 1921, C. C. C.	839
blessed are the bolters	365
bogies	174
born again, M. S.	598
"brains are sexless"	1043
Bunker Hill, A. S. B.	199
by way of a new beginning, C. C. C.	329
can he do as he pleases	71
cautiously	281

Connecticut insists	278
consider the whole truth	197
convention itself hears planks	174
criminal or ill?	1241
crisis	277
crusade begins	221
dickering	175
do women vote when they can?	127
"enemy of the state"	565
family conscience	597
Federal Department of Education	929
felicitations to Tennessee	126
finish the job	5
first test	658
fitted to the moment, C. C. C.	329
flies in the ointment, C. C. C.	423
for secretary of state	277
futile gesture, C. C. C.	421
getting ready	251
good-by everybody and good luck, Rose Young	1121
great finis	330
hamstringing a party	587
Harding's Senator	506
president-elect Harding's cabinet	1917
help the new administration, A. S. B.	1188
in Tennessee	249
infant mortality	175
insuring an interesting election	37
into which parlor?	69
is mystery a defense?	98
jury duty in Great Britain	1101
keeping up with the girl scouts, G. F. B.	1188
labor and other things	7
league of women voters, C. C. C.	1188
legal tangle, C. C. C.	368
a lesson from Madeline Curie, A. S. B.	1240
let the dead rest, A. S. B.	511
let us take courage, A. S. B.	511
Lloyd George—a comment, C. C. C.	1122
load to carry	149
load to carry	199
Mexico's women of to-morrow	473
militarism	905
more precious than radium, A. S. B.	1217
Mrs. Wickell, C. C. C.	1101
"nervous prognostication," A. S. B.	1241
next contest, C. C. C.	677
1920 election	623
no equity	201
"no vote no money"	279
noble Duke of York	421
not so very blind	394
on book reviews	729
pitfalls	231
play standards	228
Portia argues her own case	706
pot and the kettle, C. C. C.	1216
present moment	705, 729, 813
quiet change, A. S. B.	679
ratification round-up	197
refusing state rights to women	236
register as an act of gratitude	395
reminiscences	855
retrospect and prospect	887
righteous crusade	475
Senator Hoar's belated credit, A. S. B.	99
Senator Reed is shown	173
serving the devil cheap, A. S. B.	301
sex discrimination	279
Spanish women	1241
speak out for disarmament	175
stale stuff	693
suffrage honor roll	303
Supreme Court rules	5
sweeping victory	174
teapot in a tempest, C. C. C.	949
tempus fugit, A. S. B.	209
Tennessee prospect	221
Tennessee triumphs, C. C. C.	329
those planks	68
"three housewives" protest	1241
to get out the vote	201
to set your mind at rest	69
to the Democrats, C. C. C.	197
two greetings, C. C. C.	357
two greetings, Maud Wood Park	357
unemotional male	7
unique Thanksgiving, A. S. B.	679
U. S. Government, departments of, C. C. C.	885
urge of oil, Carrie Chapman Catt	1240
Vermont or Tennessee	149
victory notes, A. S. B.	333
Wadsworth among the progressives, C. C. C.	1217
wanted: a new department	861
wanted: women police	278
was it partisan	679
we match on	173
what about Vermont?	67
what Congress did, A. S. B.	706
what is your child worth?	125
what's the matter with Tennessee?	333
when the news came home	249
when you get into the parties	149
where the end is	5
whose governor is he?	1216
will you help? G. F. B.	707
woman and the primary	707
<i>Woman Citizen</i> , cover, December 4, 1920	729
woman suffragists and parties, A. S. B.	445
woman's Thanksgiving proclamation	653
women and coal	475
women and the Democrats	136
world today	765, 789
you get more for your money where women	127
vote	59
Editorial woes and world uncertainties	544
Edmunds, Miss M. Morton (Va.)	854
Education:	
continuation schools	617
crisis in	17
moonlight schools in Kentucky	1109
out-door school, (picture)	384
rating of Montana	116
secretary of (U. S.) proposed	18, 861

Smith-Towner Bill	18
store school (R. I.)	1109
Woman Citizen's educational number	357
Educational bill (U. S.):	
re-introduced	1212
Edwards, Mrs. Richard (Ind.)	1146, 1185
Eichelberger:	
See Tennessee	
Eight-hour day for wage earning women	1215
Eleazer, Robert B.	22
Election, (Nov. 1920):	
incidents of	687
officers to be elected	222
newspapers on women	574
Election scene	255
Electoral vote, proposed change	1018
Elliot, Martha Helen	1025
Emerson, R. W.	960
Enabling acts:	
Alabama	617
Texas	617
various states	496
England:	
domestic workers' club	1248
Equal guardianship law in Vermont	1083
Equal opportunity	283
Espionage act (U. S.):	
Bartlett, Arthur H., on	606, 894, 1026
Blackwell, A. S., on	633
Roe, G. E., on	681, 1050
should be repealed	516
Ethiopia	126, 202
Eugenie, Empress of France as a feminist	280
Europe:	
fund for starving	906
Fairchild, Charles S.	579
Family and the heroine, (Edna Kenton)	867
Famine, various countries	830
Far East	101, 801
Farm tenancy	911
Farm women:	
General Federation of Women's Clubs on	546
hardships	203
home demonstration work	1128
in Massachusetts	546
Farmer	150, 897
Farmers:	
measures in Congress to relieve them	1223
Farnham, Mrs. Sally James, sculptor of statue of Bolivar	1222
Faulkner, Nena M.	1025
Fawcett, Mrs. Millicent Garrett	42, 181, 814
Fay, Miss Rose Helen	777
Fearing, Mrs. George R., Jr., (Mass.)	60, 1162
Federal:	
See U. S.	
Federal amendment (W. S.):	
constitutional (Leser vs. Garnet)	862, 958, 985, 1142
Odyssey of the	358
rational calendar	167, 271, 323, 351, 425
ratified by Vermont	973
U. S. Supreme Court	5
U. S. Supreme Court injunction suit	579
See also ratification	
Federal Convention dramatized (N. J.)	806
Federal departments (U. S.):	
Bureau of Internal Revenue	822, 846
Bureau of Standards	774
income tax	870
prospects of re-organization by 69th Congress	779
See also U. S. government	
Federal executive departments, 186, 208, 236, 69, 682, 690, 798, 1004	
Federal Government	138
Federal Trade Commission, (U. S.), report, 893, 932	
Federation of Women's Clubs, see General Federation of Women's Clubs	
Fess bill	399, 939
Field, Mrs. Pauline O.	686
Fifth wheel is the steering wheel	602
Fillibustering in Congress	701, 960, 1124
Finance, U. S.	136
Fisher, Mrs. J. R.:	
See Canfield, Dorothy	
Flume	126, 202
Florida:	
attempt to prevent women voting	603
registration of women	516
women on town council in Carabelle	530
Food:	
bills before Congress	11
committee (League of Women Voters), 11, 12, 1142	
committee Missouri L. W. V., work of	86
protecting the supply, F. B. Linton	714
suggested legislative programs of state L. W. V.'s	816
waste by profiteering	11
Force, government by	803
Forchhammer, Miss Henri (Denmark)	886
Ford, Miss Anne B. (Ind.)	1071
Foreney Emergency Tariff bill	887
Foreign trade service, U. S., woman secretary	664
Foremothers:	
pageant of	1092
Forest Protection Week	1233
Forests (national):	
bill relating to	965
Foster, Minnie Douglas	1104
Foster, Warren Dunham, (picture)	363
Fourth of July:	
Citizenship Day (G. F. W. C.)	1082
France:	
Academy declines to administer bequest	646
atrocities against German women	6

Beaux Arts School opened to women	643
church bells for	1234
Empress Eugenie on women's position	280
Madame De Witt Schlumberger at I. W. S. A. congress	101
man represents France at I. W. S. A. congress	78
memorial to American war nurses	202
Paris Bourse closed to women	965
physical training bill	1196
politics	740
poppies to be sold for	1225
proportional representation	765
Senate debate on bachelor tax	7
woman suffrage bill	765
Fraser, Miss Helen (Great Britain)	886
Frauds, election:	
charges against Chicago women	322
Friends:	
North Carolina	805
From farm to forum	991
From Ireland to South Africa	685
fruit growers' express	937
Fur-wearing	694

G

G. F. M.:	
the unbosomed contingent	683
Gage, Charles E.:	
man Catt Citizenship Course	662
Galleher, Marie Grace Clark (Ohio)	1196
Gannett, Mrs. Guy P. (Me.)	88
Garden schools of England, (pictures)	1103
Gardens	1103, 1104, 1105, 1113
Gardener, Mrs. Helen	80, 517
Garner, Prof. J. W. (Univ. Chicago)	340, 404, 430
Garritt, John P.	203
Gelhorn, Mrs. George	394, 770, 478, 1144
General Federation of Women's Clubs:	
Golden Prairie Biennial	76, 153
legislative work with Congress	478
on farm woman	546
Women's National Club	1107
work in rural communities	1066
Georgia:	
Atlanta experience of woman suffrage	85
election anecdote, Cora A. Anderson	854
L. W. V. to have curb market	632
Mrs. Janet White only woman who registered in time to vote	693
organization L. W. V.	1160
registration problem	446
women could not vote in 1920	598
women elected to office	693
women on Democratic Executive Committee	869
Georgia (Asia):	
suffrage for women	637
German indemnity:	
reconstruction problem	1209
Germany:	
number of women voters	338
progress of woman suffrage	202
woman in Ministry of Labor	880
women in Reichstag	175
women since revolution	226
women's new rights	71
Gibbons, Charles E.	911
Gibson, Nannie B. (R. I.)	1019
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins	72, 953
Girl Scouts	582, 1188, 1192, 1202
Glass, Senator (Va.)	174
Glenn, John M.	258
God's own country for women	188
Golden Prairie Biennial:	
See General Federation of Women's Clubs	
Goldwyn, Samuel	1125
Gompers, Mrs. Samuel, life of	14
Goucher College (Md.)	517
Gould, Mrs. Catherine Clemens	863
Gould, Esther Lee	1197
Gourd, Mlle. Emilie (Switzerland)	287
Government appropriations (U. S.)	40, 892, 1148
Government by injunction, a correction	529
Government departments:	
reorganization of	1212
Government expenses (U. S.)	892, 1148
Governors:	
call special sessions	425
on ratification	151
states to elect in 1920	222
Grant, Ethel Watts-Mumford:	
do your own thinking	1244
Grant, Judge Robert	906
Gray, Mrs. Margaret S. (Penn.), superintendent of the Bureau of Recreations	1222
Great Britain:	
assaults upon children (meaning not clear)	1222
equal guardianship	1222
equal pay	1222
equality in civil service	1222
government child welfare	103
Helen Fraser commissioner National Savings	886
injuries, women on	233
Lady Rhonda petitions King George for right to enter House of Lords	614
Lady Rhonda's problem	1222
Miss Maude Royden on women in international politics	251
mothers' pensions	1222
Mrs. Florence Bramwell Booth justice of peace in London	670
Mrs. Philip Snowden may run for Parliament	257, 1196
Oxford gives B.A. to women	80, 600
Pilgrim mothers' celebration	209
progress of woman suffrage	202
status of children of unmarried parents	1222
women election orators	1222

women engineers	630
women jurors	257, 1101
women justices of the peace	629
women lawyers	77
women's institutes	281
women's progress under woman suffrage	768
Greece:	
bill on civil discriminations against women	227
laws and the married woman	684
new constitution	1222
suffrage in	9, 108
woman's congress	1196
"Greycoat", Sayville, L. I., (picture)	1104
Griffith, D. W.	1071
Grinstead, Minnie J. (Kans.)	1084
Gronna Bill	11, 767, 791, 865, 977
Gronna-Anderson bill passes Senate	933
Grulich, Madame (Serbia) Senate	600
Guardianship:	
See Equal Guardianship	
Gumption, Hindoo story of	566
Guy, Judge Charles L. (N. Y. Supreme Court) (picture)	932

H

H. N. (A reader)	778
Hale, Beatrice Forbes-Robertson	568
Half hours with interesting women, (Marjorie Shuler)	568, 658, 694, 841, 866, 934
Hall of Fame	697
Hamilton, Margaret Porch (N. Y.)	769, 806
Harding, Florence Kling	767
Harding, Warren G.	
comment on cabinet	1017
favors ratification	151
message to women	767
N. L. W. V. delegation urges disarmament	1197
on child-bearing women in industry	813
on ratification in Tennessee	221
on woman suffrage	177, 258
plans for inauguration	1018
responsibility for Vermont ratification	173
Social Justice Day speech	506
women and the inauguration	1087, 1069
Hardy, Lulu Daniel	179
Hardy, Mrs. C. See Hardy, Lulu Daniel	
Hart, Mary Bronson	
all about clothes	1246
Harvard University	9, 600
Harvey, Colonel	
on League of Nations, C. C. C.	1216
Senators on appointment of	1216
Hauser, Elizabeth J. (Ohio)	1043
Haver, Jessie R.	
farmers' platform planks	169
on L. W. V. activity	478
packers' bill	24
why girls do not pine to be farmers' wives	203
word from Washington headquarters, N. L. W. V.	427
Hawaii	542, 842
Hay, Mary Garrett	
campaign against Wadsworth	221
casting first vote for president, picture	656
denies that she was to vote for Cox	635
on Republican responsibility	6
on women's position in parties	6
preserving the primary (picture)	1221
statement on her position	6
vice-chairman Republican National Committee	240
Haywood, Gertrude Winder	386
Haywood, Martha (N. C.)	305
Haywood, Mrs. Nellie A. (Ariz)	542
Health	1128, 1202
Health Bureau (U. S.)	861
Health Foundation Center	
Mary Ogden White on	1259
Hearings before Congress	
cost of	1102
Hebard, Dr. Grace Raymond (Wyo.)	940
short-handled shovels (sabotage)	1245
Hendley, Anna E.	
appreciation of Woman Citizen	1225
Heroism:	
Carnegie medals for two dead women	1249
Hibben, Dr. John Grier	98
Higgins, Mrs. Katharine Chapin (Mass.) (picture)	1044
High cost of living	872, 890
Hinaman, Julia M.	447, 718
Hoar, George F.	99
Holcomb, Governor. See Conn.	
Holland. See Netherlands.	
Holman, Russell	1190
Home:	
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins on	72
Murdoch, Marion, on	253
we must keep	179
without a kitchen	252
women in	577
Home Demonstration work	1128
Home economics:	
Fess bill	599
Homemakers' department (Boston L. W. V.)	869
Hooper, Mrs. Ben (Wis.) photograph	1171
Hoover, Herbert	644, 1233
Hours (Ind.) C. C. C.	1081
Hours, women	1215
Housekeeping:	
training in	251
Housewives:	
General Federation of Women's Clubs on	497
influence on prices	1241
Housework	577

Housing:	
co-operative	428
cost of building materials	7
Great Britain	931
Hampstead, England	841
problem	428, 929, 942, 1173
Hovey-Colby, Mrs. Julia A. (Mo.)	80
How it feels to be 35/36 of a voter	224
Howe, Mrs. Lillian (Ill.)	322
Howe, Marie Jenney	804
Hubbs, Harriet L. (Pa.)	514, 826, 1030
Hughes, Justice:	
on primary system	707
on ratification	69
on Tennessee ratification	125
Hughes, Mrs. Thomas B.	79
Hughson, Augusta	878
Hungary	6, 202, 257
Hunt, Augusta M. (Me.)	1070
Husbands, Julia M.	252
Hutchinson, Anne	183, 745, 890
Hutchinson, Mary E.	1105
Hutson, Ethel (La.)	849

I

Iceland	202
Illegitimacy	530
Illegitimate children:	
anti-suffragists on	1223
reform urged in Great Britain	1222
Senator Kenyon on	1223
Illinois:	
Chicago Woman's City Club	184, 1198
L. W. V. convention	357
ratification celebration in Chicago	476
registration of women	211
women in election frauds, discharged	322
Women Voters' School of Citizenship in Chicago	1024
work of L. W. V.	1160
Illiteracy, map of	876
Immigration:	
Council of Jewish Women on	1010
discussion in Congress	961
prospects of legislation in 66th Congress	778
to Hawaii	842
Immigration Bureau:	
Women inspectors	537
Inauguration	1018, 1069
Income tax statistics	705, 766
woman expert	1196
women's work in	870
India:	
Bombay women and councillors	913
British East	202
Lady Surma, ambassador	35
progress of women	81
Indian women	692, 1197
Indiana:	
appointments of women to office	717
first woman legislator	931
proposed hour legislation	1081
women delegates to National Democratic convention	25
work of L. W. V.	1161
Industry, women in (Women's Bureau)	817
infant mortality (U. S.)	175, 203, 257
Intellectual heroine in fiction, Edna Kenton	708
Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board (U. S.)	906
International changes	780
International Conference of Women Physicians	380
International Council of Women	287
International meetings (Women):	
Miriam G. Shepherd	293
International Woman Suffrage Alliance:	
adopts Woman's Charter	70
appeal for money	473
appoints Mrs. Anna Wicksell	1101
Paushka's appeal to Congress	47
Board meeting, transactions	815
Congress opens	7
countries represented	126
delegates urge Mrs. Catt	70
effect of congress on Switzerland	287
executive committee	101
far eastern representation	101
Creek delegate to	9
Helen Ring Robinson's address at congress	46
Lady Astor at	70
man represents France	78
Mrs. Catt's address to congress	43
Mrs. Catt re-elected president	70
Mrs. Catt sails for Board meeting, in London	678
Mrs. Daniels' address at Congress	47
Mrs. M. G. Fawcett on	42, 181
officers	154
personalities	70
platform	154
report of conference	818
reports on various countries	154
resolution on future objects of	69
Frau Stritt at	70
woman to report League of Nations	506
Woman's Charter	101
world-wide suffrage report, Marjorie Shuler	154
Investors, women	130
Investors, women	1017
Iowa:	
L. W. V. convention	549, 1161
Ireland	106
Italy:	
electoral reform bill	765
men replace women	1222

Mrs. John A. Drake decorated from Rome	643
position of women	182
progress of suffrage bill	541
proportional representation	765, 1196
proposed divorce law	207
suffrage bill	706
woman suffrage bill	765
women of, by Keith Clark	477

J

James, Prof. James A. (N. W. Univ.)	456
Japan:	
prohibition campaign	1248
recent progress of women	1061
representation at I. W. S. A. congress	101
women enter industry	257
Japanese in Hawaii	842
Java	1028
Javein, Dr. Ichiskina	766
Jessup, Miss Elsie M.	184
Jews	679
Joan of Arc	183, 1107
John Bull for healthy babies	105
Johnson-Nolan Bill	961
Joyce, R. Edwin, Jr.	936
Judge, woman	115
Junior Cinema Club	989
Jurors, women, arguments against	1017
Capper's Weekly on	645
Central Law Journal on	185
Delaware	645
Great Britain	233, 257, 1061, 1101
New Jersey	706
New Mexico	1006
Ohio	530
Pennsylvania	730
Judge Talley (Mass.) on, A. S. B.	1001
U. S.	608, 909
various states	865
Jury, trial by	488
Jus Suffragii:	
on ratification	544
Justice, Department of (U. S.)	893
Justice of the peace, women:	
in Great Britain	629
in Mich.	865
Juvenile court legislation:	
compilation on	645

K

Kaderly, Mary (Tenn.)	1196
Kanab: see Utah.	
Kans:	
age of women voters	292
damages for wives' services	1084
dower and curtesy	59
married women's rights	1123
Mrs. Grinstead's legislative work	1085
ruling on married women's right to vote	665
women will ask for dormitories	603
women's ticket in Tinsler	106
Keeney, Miss Belle (Miss.)	906
Keauver, Christine R. (N. Y.)	1123
Kelly, Mrs. Florence:	
on National Consumers' League	802
on protective laws	1194
on stage of maternity bill	99
wage-earning women and the reaction	1194
Kelly, Dr. Howard A.	262
Kendrick and Kenyon Senate bills	11
Kenton, Edna:	
the "lives" and "fiction" of women, 626, 708, 732, 820, 867, 958.	
Kentucky:	
child welfare legislation	209
death of Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	729
moonlight schools	1108
organization L. W. V.	1161
school voting restriction removed	550
woman sheriff, Mrs. John Renner	1222
Kindergarten	670, 1042
King, Florence	130
Kinney, Mrs. (Tenn.)	1191
Knox, Charles L.	414
Kramers, Martina G. (Holland)	101

L

Labor-Department of (U. S.)	892
heavy, effect on women	54
southern women's conference	590
Women's Bureau (U. S. Dept. of Labor)	71
See also child labor, minimum wage, wages, etc.	
Labor Party	174
Lady of the Lamp	628
Laffer, Mrs. Walter B. (Ohio):	
photograph	1146
La Fort, Dr. Marie	200
Lamb, Charles	743
Langford, on books	754
Latin-American countries	102
Laundry:	
Farmer's Bulletin	1099, 722
Lawyers, women:	
British	77, 706

Columbia University	706
Connecticut, Judge on	790
Dean Ellen Spencer Mussey	63
in Oxford and Cambridge	77, 706
minor officials	696
opening to women	9
plans of Washington College of Law	78
recently admitted to the bar	258
woman as counsel in murder trial	1091
League of Nations:	
and presidential elections	558
Article XXIII	506
bars women	1233
cross country with	712
Frau Anna Wicksell (Sweden)	711, 1101
I. W. S. A. will report	506
Mrs. Catt on	438
plebiscite for Poland	1233
Legal decisions for women voters	598
"Legally dead"	665
Legislation:	
protective, for women, attacks on	1194
women make study of	1037
Legislative councils:	
in states	1030
Legislative programs, state:	
of L. W. V.	816
Legislators, women:	
Doe, Jessie (N. H.)	891
elected in 1920	717
in California	1043
in Germany	175
in 1921	873
Lady Astor on	1211
Minnie J. Grinstead (Kans.)	1084
Mrs. Ralph Smith (B. C.)	1043
Mrs. Van Ness (N. J.)	1045
thumbnail sketches of	909, 931
Legislatures:	
parties in	128, 150, 229, 425
pressure of state L. W. V. on	1088
special sessions	178, 425
ratification record	100
women elected to	717
Leser, et al. vs. Garnet, et al.	862, 958, 985, 1142
Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission:	
Mrs. Arthur Livermore retires	934
Lettonia	202
Lewis, Nell Battle (N. C.)	605
Library information service	847
Lindeman, Anna	880
Linton, Fred E.	714
Lithuania	126, 202
Livermore, Mrs. Arthur L.	474, 506, 834, 949
Livermore, Mary A.	765, 792
"Lives" and "fiction" of women:	
see Kenton, Edna	
Livingston, George	690
Lloyd, George (N. Y.)	1027
Lloyd George, David	1082
Lobbies:	
66th Congress	864, 888
Lobbyists:	
proposed investigation of	1236
Locke, Bessie	267, 1042
Lodge, Sen. (Mass.)	607
Loines, Hilda	1103
Longwell, Mrs. Harry (N. J.)	458
Loomis, Alice B.	89
Louisiana:	
legislature refuses to ratify	177
women delegates	688
women no-aries in	618
women's registration	375
work of L. W. V.	848, 1161
Lovejoy, Dr. Esther Pohl, (Ore.)	542, 890
Luce, Fred I. (Vt.)	219
Ludington, Miss Katharine (Conn.)	224, 278, 455, 574, 1145
Luisi, Jo-e-rina G. (Montevideo)	103
Luxembourg	202

M

M. F.	264
M. K. T.	1001
Mee, Susanna C.	1107
McArthur, Mary (England)	906
McCarthy, Katharine Dexter	70, 473, 818
McCarthy, Mrs. Medill	240
McCarthy, Mrs. Stanley:	
See McCarthy, Katharine Dexter	
McCarthy	749
McCulloch, Catharine Waugh, civil service in	
Illinois	1026
Parties	
presents planks of N. L. W. V. to Labor	174
trial by jury	488
McDonald, James G.	
can we afford not to disarm?	1213
McDowell, Evelyn Cameron	777
McDowell, Mary E.	819
McGill University (Canada)	87
McGrew, Catherine D.	870
McKnight, Mrs. Sumner T. (Minn.)	1185
M London, Mary (Georgia)	446
McWhirter, Luella F.	376
Madison, Dolly	58
Magazine lady, the	21
Magill, Hugh	797
Maher, Miss Amy G. (Ohio):	
photograph	1146
Maine	512, 643
Maley, Mrs. Patrick Henry (N. J.)	1091
Mallette, Miss Elizabeth	209
Malnutrition	1027, 1093

Man and superman	238	Miner, Rena L.	577	resolution on Sen. Wadsworth	609
Manners, young people's:		Minimum standards	922	telegram to Tennessee governor	126
by Mary Gray Peck	1244	Minimum wage	49, 188, 294, 961, 1009	Thanksgiving proclamation	653
Manus, Miss Rosa (picture)	866, 999, 1028	study course	1214	Women to Repub. Nat. Conv.	41
Map:		Ministry, women in:		National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage opposes maternity bill	1212
after Tennessee ratification	361	Frances Willard on	802	National Congress Mothers'	1044
before Tennessee ratification	360	Great Britain	223	National Consumers' League	670, 710, 1009
Market:		Switzerland	721	National Council of Women	910
cost of	690	U. S.	794	National dangers and defenses (Lucia Ames Mead)	552
curb, in Georgia	632	Whittier, Miss Alice N.	107	National Federation Business and Professional Women's Clubs	182
suggestion that postoffice be used	854	Women Preachers' Association	794	National Girl Scouts Association:	
Marriage customs—see wedding customs		Ministry of motherhood (N. S. W.)	339	See girl scout.	
Marriage:		Minnesota:		National Kindergarten Association	616, 1042
federal law proposed	1222	citizenship work	233, 1025	National League of Women Voters and parties before Republican convention	931
proposed changes in England	847	L. W. V. work	212, 253, 512, 848, 1164	before state legislatures	1125
proposed discussion of	954	Mrs. Peter Olesen	556	bills in congress backed by	835
Married women:		wage survey	556	Board of Directors (picture)	85, 195, 1145
legally dead, in Kansas City elections	665	Wells, Miss Marguerite Milton	233	call to second annual convention	897
Michigan case	665	Missionary, women	267	challenge to corrupt politics	1181
rights of, in Kansas	1123	Mississippi	598	citizenship work	863, 1144
services, to whom do they belong?	865, 1084	Missouri:		Cleveland convention	283, 979, 1114, 1184, 1145
Married women's citizenship:		citizenship classes	492	committees of	8
in Australia	222	Food Committee (L. W. V.)	86	conference in Missouri	86
decision in Mass.	598	League of Women Voters' records	644	conference of the third region at Atlanta	1006
naturalization judges on	203	ratification celebration	478	Congressmen's opinion of lobby	864
Rogers Bill	939	registration of women	582	convention, arrangements for	1093
test in Pennsylvania	885	Saint Louis Citizenship Sunday	609	convention conferences	1182
under naturalization bill	118	Saint Louis Citizenship Sunday	609	convention, lessons of, C. C. C.	1188
Marshall Islands	178	woman mayor, (St. James)	1196	delegation to President Harding	1197
Martin, Mrs. W. W. (Mo.)	178	Woman's Legislative Committee	897	Democratic planks of	152
Maryland:		Mitchell, Hannah:		do you know?	1158
Baltimore Women's Civic League	1247	on policewomen	1238	first regional conference	76, 133, 557, 570, 770
citizenship schools	602	Mohammedan women voters	800, 1082	Food Supply and Demand Com.	12, 1146
college girls will study politics	517	Money	1170, 1200	future of, C. C. C.	677
Court of Common Pleas dismisses case against 19th Amendment	658	Monroe doctrine	430, 713	getting acquainted with state leagues	1109
League of Women Voters, board	602, 942	Montana:		influence on states	1088
legislative council	1030	L. W. V. convention	153	is it needed? C. C. C.	677
organization	1161	public education in	116	joint Congressional committee	748
record of women voters	602	work of L. W. V.	1163	lobby, 66th Congress	782
ruling of attorney general on residence in	575	Montevideo	103	Ludington, Katharine, on	1145
status of Leser case	1142	Morehead, John H. (Nebr.)	609	Miller, Governor on	1009
Massachusetts:		Morley, Christopher:		national organizers	34
Attorney General rules against women in public office	790	on cost of war	1219	1921 convention to be at Cleveland	153
Boston citizenship school	109	Morrison, Mrs. James (Ill.)	770	nonpartisanship	677, 679
Boston L. W. V. and City Council	1116	Mortality statistics (U. S.)	906	officers	198
citizenship classes	492	Mother and Child:		open letter to Gov. Clement (Vt.)	15
citizenship primer	722	new periodical	180	organizing in western states	201, 1144, 174
Coolidge helps women celebrate ratification	747	Motherhood:		planks in Democratic platform	152, 174, 510
drama in citizenship school	291	British plan to encourage	966	planks in Republican platform	98, 174, 510
enabling legislation	209	injuries to unborn child	1062	program	11
L. W. V. bazaar	697	R. Ferrell Burks on	1132	programs of study	1202
L. W. V., board meeting	85	Mothers and babies, by Irene Osgood Andrews	1224	progress of Federal program	24
League of Women Voters formed	59	Mothers' pension movement	872	questionnaire to candidates	478
L. W. V. gift	60	Motion pictures:		regional conferences	694, 703, 770
L. W. V., meeting	631	an advertising manager on	1040, 1152	relation to parties	1104
L. W. V., organize legislative chamber	1024	arrangement with International Reform Bureau	1081	relation to <i>Woman Citizen</i>	837
L. W. V., pageant	1063	censorship bills, Anne Harbottle Whittie	1250	report of seventh region	1145
L. W. V., report	1090	censorship forum	1023	report of Social Hygiene Com.	1147
Lt. Gov. Cox congratulates Miss Blackwell	131	censorship of, by Russell Holman	1190	report of third region	1145
M. W. S. A. holds 51st annual convention and becomes League of Women Voters	60	children killed in	706	resolutions at Cleveland Convention	1186
poll tax not required	475	Connolly, Louise, on	1041, 1065	second annual conv.	1110, 1181
preparation for registration	251	Elliott, Martha Helen on	1025	second regional meeting	570
ratification celebration	476	fine for loss of life in fire	1197	six bills in Congress	697, 797
suffrage victory pageant	187	for social service	1106	state conventions	548
suffragist rings chimes for ratification	400	Foster, Warren Dunham	365	state leagues' reports	1159
work of L. W. V.	1162	Junior Cinema Club	989	"we are coming"	1144
Maternity	813, 908, 919	licensing	1021	who's who and who's where	1114
Maternity bill:		movies—glance across the nation	1152	working program	816
anti-suffragists oppose	1212	National League, work of	1020	work for ratification in Tenn.	125
House hearing on Sheppard-Towner Bill	840	new light on the movies, by Margretta S. Dietrich	1150	See also under states and under various committees.	
Florence Kelley on	99	Nutting, Dorothy B. on	659	National Motion Picture League	1020, 1025, 1029
passes Senate	814	O tempora, O mores, O motion pictures, 1065, 1041	1064	National Municipal Review	190
re-introduced	1212	Peck, Mary Gray on regulation of	1064	National Suffrage News	837
Senate Committee report on Sheppard-Towner Bill	75	power of producers to censor	1125	National Women's Trade Union League	590, 896
status of	1039	small town exhibitor on	1085	Naturalization:	
Maternity Center Association, (N. Y.)	1224	spirograph	465	certificate of arrival	16, 309, 310, 686, 885, 939
Maternity protection		state censorship	997, 998, 1019, 1071	Navy (U. S.)	915
legislation for, E. O. Andrews	979	Uncle Remus in	1070	Navy Club, New York City	663
See also Sheppard-Towner Bill		value to the deaf person	1070	Neal, John	569
Matrilineage:		what women do with them	976, 982	Nebraska:	
in Marshall Islands	118	Woman Citizen on improvement of	973	L. W. V. legislative plans	696
Matrimonial happiness, the port of missing, M. O. W.	8	women's work	803	Omaha citizenship school	34
Matthews, Sadie S.	1131	Mount Holyoke College:		suffrage convention	60
Mothers women:		President Woolley's anniversary	1234	women protest against candidate	609
in Milford, Ohio, Mrs. Dollie Spencer	1197	Municipal office:		women study sociology	292
in Oregon	692	(W. Va.)	1010	work of L. W. V.	1166
in St. James, Mo., Mrs. Ousley	1196	Municipal suffrage:	126	Negro	174, 305
Mead, Mrs. Lucia Ames:		Munsell, Mrs. F. S. (S. C.):	1168	Negronetti, Madame (Greece)	9
course	552, 712, 1128, 1170, 1200	Munson, Magdalen B.	59, 89	Nelson, Mrs. Julia D.	931
Meat packers see packers.		Murdock, Marion	55, 253	Nervous prognostication", A. S. B.	1241
Meek, Mrs. John L.	87	Murray, Mary A. (N. Y.)	1007	Netherlands	202
Mental tests:		Mussey, Dean Ellen Spencer	62	Nevada	1166
(N. Y.) prostitutes	1248	Mutton chop, cost of	890	Nevinson, Henry W.	103
Methodists	79	Mutz, Helen A.	963	"New America Shops"	1199
Mexico	227, 473			New Jersey:	
Miech:				citizenship schools	109, 492, 1199
older woman in, Estelle Downing	1249			Cranford, silver anniversary	1189
Mrs. Katherine Daugherty, oldest voter	34			Democratic women defeat liquor	550
Miss Katherine Doran nominee	522			L. W. V. (Plainfield)	84
woman presides at state Democratic convention	88			Ledger, Newark	250
women candidates for congress	270			Leonie, Woman's Forum	769, 806
work of L. W. V.	608, 1163			nuns cast vote	687
Middlemen	766			primaries	413
Militarism, Gen. Pershing on	905			Van Ness, Mrs.	1045
Military appropriations:				welfare bills	645
sixty-seventh Congress	1212			woman for city commissioner	1222
Miller, Governor (N. Y.), 949, 951, 958, 959, 1009	89			woman on State Board of Education	1248
Miller, Helen Guthrie	89			woman (Mrs. Donnes) for State Board of Health, not approved by Legislature	1248
Miller, Mrs. John O. (Pa.)	974, 1168			work of L. W. V.	1166
Miller, Mrs. Nathan L. (N. Y.)	891			New Mexico	1006, 1248
Miller, Helen Lowell (Mo.)	288, 854			New South Wales	188, 339
Millionaires:				New woman and old man, Edna Kenton	956
in 1918	705			New women for old	19
Mills, Harriet May	277, 542, 776			N. Y. City	8, 608
Milton, on books	750				
Milton, Mrs. George Fort (Tenn.) photograph	1168				

New York City League of Women Voters membership drive	1248	League of Women Voters and parties	1194	Portugal	1
New York Health Bulletin	1123	on planks at party conventions	174	Postoffice	854, 893
N. Y. amendments to constitution to be voted on in Nov.	234, 315, 459, 583, 589, 603	on Sheppard-Towner Bill in Senate	814	Power, Miss Eileen Edna (England)	384
15th senatorial district (N. Y. C.)	692	speech at Repub. conv.	75	Preachers see ministry	
Labor Party candidate	486	two greetings	357	Presbyterians	79
League of Women Voters convention	950	urges registration	393	President (U. S.):	
L. W. V. correspondence course	165	at Virginia L. W. V.	427	proposed change of electoral method	1018
man superintendent of Bedford reformatory	1222	Parker, Dr. Valeria H.	878, 1147	Presidential election (1920):	
Harriet May Mills for Secretary of State	277	Parks, national	1126	analysis of vote	838
Pulaski Women's Club	1246	Parsons, Alice Lord	116	first reports on women's vote	653, 656
Social Hygiene Com.	254	Parties, political		Impression of women voters on	683
State Reformatory	196	League of Women Voters' planks	510	independent vote of women	683
Wadsworth's leadership	149, 359, 609	affiliation by women, R. Y.	678	non-partisan state movements	565
See also Wadsworth.		boy of twelve writes on	641	partisanship in	887
Women's Democratic League	58	Boyer, Mrs. Ida Porter on	520	reflections on, A. S. B.	655, 679
work of L. W. V.	1166	how to select	494	women in	625
New Zealand	127, 188	in legislation	229	women may not vote in Miss. and Ga.	598
Newspaper:		in ratifying legislatures	100, 128, 150, 178	Presidential electors:	
first daily	209	"machine" in	249	women	598
Nightingale, Florence:		responsibility for ratification	97, 422, 424	Presidential preference primary:	
"The Lady of the Lamp"	628	Ridgely, Mrs. Henry on	229	(Federal) proposed	914, 19
Nivelle, General (France)	828	Partisanship in presidential election	887	Presidential suffrage, origin	
Nixon, Lewis (N. Y.)	52	Patterson, Mrs. Phoebe, (Mich.)	865	Price, Lucia M.	
Non-partisan groups	565	Paul, Alice:		appreciation of <i>Woman Citizen</i>	1225
Non-Partisan Senatorial Committee, (N. Y.)	475, 565, 609	letter from Mrs. Catt	975	Prices	10, 103, 1241
Non-partisanship	152, 677	Payne, George Henry	314, 199	Primaries	394
Norges Kvinder (Norway)	1017	Peace	910, 1209, 1233, 1287	see also presidential preference primaries	
Norris, Judge Jean	8	Peaches, price of, A. S. B.	872	Primary, direct:	
North Carolina:		Peck, Mary Gray	1064, 1244	Carrie Chapman Catt on	1210
citizenship school	291	Penfield, Mrs. E. Jean	873	efforts to abolish in Washington	1037
unecesan school for woman suffrage	177	Pennsylvania:		Mary Garrett Hay on	1221
Gov. Bickett on ratification	42	citizenship school in Sunbury	558	in Delaware	1209
L. W. V.	604, 1167	Easton L. W. V. rally	777	states not having	707
ratification cartoon, back cover, Aug. 21, 1920		Gov. Sprout on duties of citizenship	1249	woman and the	1087
ratification sentiment	804	L. W. V.'s convention	376, 826	Profiteering	11
Tarhella, for the honor of	805	Phila. League of Women Voters	87, 696	Progressives—then and now, A. S. B.	843
woman sheriff	558	prepares for women's registration	292	Prohibition (U. S.) enforcement	936
women voters saved school tax	641	ratification celebration	514	Prohibition Party	339, 480, 490
North Dakota	600, 1168	woman superintendent of the Bureau of Re- creation in Pittsburgh, (Mrs. Margaret S. Gray)	1222	Pro-League Independents	712
Norway	287, 1017	women on school boards	1168	"Prophylaxis," Dr. Howard A. Kelly on	262
Notaries, women	618	at L. W. V.	799	Proportional representation	765, 854
Notes on the news	1209	Pennybaker, Mrs. Percy V.	569	Prostitutes (N. Y.) and mental defects	1248
Nugent, James R. (N. J.)	530	Penrose, Senator	905, 977	Public Housekeeping	1198, 1224, 1246
See also N. J.		Pershing, Gen.	905, 977	Public office, women in:	
Nun feminist (Mexico)	241	Personal allowances:		Attorney General (Ark.) against	697
Nurse, war:		by Key Cammack	685	Attorney General (Mass.) on	790
memorial to	292	Peters, Kate M. (Mo.)	494	Atty. General (N. M.) against	1006
Mother Bickerdyke	114	Petroleum see Oil		for women, Nashville, (Tenn.)	1025
rank for	376, 875	Philippine Islands	283	general	692, 693, 717
Nursing, public health:		Physical standards:		in California	1043
(Mich.)	716	for working children	917	in Georgia	869
Nutting, Dorothy B.	659	Physicians:		Missouri against	598
		Elizabeth Blackwell, A. S. B.	986	Pease, Senator on	569
		Edna Kenton on	626	states excluding	909
		in Harvard Medical School, New York Univ.	609	Public officials, women:	
		in London University	886	Mrs. John Renner, candidate for sheriff in	
		Pierce, Mrs. Charlotte, pioneer	777	Kentucky	1222
		Pinckney, J. H.	377	Mrs. Margaret S. Gray, superintendent of the	
		Pine Tree prophet	569	Bureau of Recreations of Pittsburgh	1222
		Pioneer, woman suffrage	89	woman for city commissioner in N. J., Mrs.	
		Planks, party:		Ropes	1222
		at L. W. V. planks	98, 174, 180, 510	Public service:	
		Playing the classics:		Federal	915
		by A. E. Thompson	397	Public welfare, department of (U. S.)	729, 861, 1236
		Plays for children, bibliography	383	Putnam, Mrs. William Lowell (Mass.)	414
		Playthings (Louise Connolly)	366	Pyke, Mrs. A. B. (Ohio):	
		Poems:			1147
		Allen, Edith B., The cycle	668		
		Allen, Edith B., Feminist fancies	129		
		Arnold, Anne, Enough	874		
		Arnold, Anne, Sophistry	874		
		C. C. C., Fitted to the moment	829		
		Chenery, Ruth Baldwin, Julia Ward Howe	189		
		Chenery, Ruth Baldwin, Lucy Stone	189		
		Davis-Dubois, Rachel, This sight remains	844		
		Madge (Ida M. Harner) the good time coming	114		
		Jenkins, Corinne, Fulfillment	117		
		Mahee, Susanna C., On Joan of Arc	1107		
		Miholland, Inez, Verses on	868, 898		
		Milton, Abby Crawford, Minding our knitting	1073		
		Noves, Alfred, Christmas	829		
		Pickthall, M. L. C., Mary shemardess	910		
		Prote, Mabel R., To Inez Miholland	930		
		Scollard, Clinton, Books about cookery	19		
		Scollard, Clinton, New women for old	19		
		Sharp, Katherine Doorsis, A song for all women	854		
		Shroveshire, Mrs. Clyde, The mosaic	615		
		Stoddard, Yetta Kay, America that is to be	330		
		Stoddard, Yetta Kay, Thanksgiving morning	712		
		Tietjens, Eunice, A plaint of complexity	874		
		Poindexter bill:			
		anti-strike	914		
		Poland	292, 530, 641		
		Police commissioner, woman (N. D.):			
		first in U. S., Mrs. Kate Wilder	1248		
		Policewoman,			
		colored, Va.	1197		
		Policewomen:			
		Hannah Mitchell on	1238		
		Political campaign, first, S. S. Matthews	1131		
		Politicians on women's votes	1241		
		Politics:			
		women in, Senator Lodge on	607		
		Politics, and the home:			
		Brown, Mrs. R.	27		
		Politics, study of:			
		Prof. P. O. Ray	305		
		Politics, world	404		
		Poll tax	475, 550, 1089		
		Polynesia	118		
		Pope, the:			
		on woman's sphere	1101		
		Popple, sold for France	1225		
		Population:			
		center in 1920	1061		
		Porter, Charles H.	854		
		Porto Rico	102		

end in sight	140	Robertson, Alice (Okla.)	1069	woman in the cabinet	984
figures	301	Robinson, C. A. (Penn.)	1071	women and the new administration	1063
final, in Tennessee	329	Robinson, Helen Ring (Colo.)	46	women at the inauguration	1069
flies in the ointment, C. C. C.	423	Rockefeller Foundation	1107	world-wide suffrage report	134
Florida for 36th state	150	Rockwood, Edith	1198	Shuster, Jane (Pa.)	34
Governor Bickett (N. C.) on	177	Roderick, Virginia	1141, 1189	Siculus, Dioscorus, on books	738
Governor Clement (Vt.) on	177	Roe, Gilbert E.	681, 1050	Sierra, Mr. Martinez (Spain)	1101
Governor Cox on	177, 881	Rogers bill	938	Simmons, Mrs. C. B.	1145
Governor Holcomb (Conn.) on	177	Roosevelt, Franklin	731, 916	Single standard	878
Governor Roberts (Tenn.)	177	Roosevelt, Theodore	731, 916	Skilling, Franklin	214
Harding on	177	Ropes, Mrs. (N. J.):		Slachta, Sister Margit (Hungary)	237
hidden forces against	177	candidate for city commissioner	1222	Slade, Mrs. F. Louis	934, 949
in Chicago (picture)	476	Rosa, E. B.	919	Smith, Miss A. Viola	664
injunction in Tenn., A. S. B.	359	Roumania	126, 202	Smith, E. Hel M.	166
international congratulations	381	Rourke, Mrs. John (Conn.)	934	Smith, Gov. (N. Y.):	
Judge Hughes on	69	Royden, Miss Maude (Great Britain)	251	on treatment of criminals	1241
Lady Astor's message to Tenn.	277	Rubber	253	Smith, Mrs. Ida B. Wise (Iowa)	496
Louisiana defeats	177	Ruddick, Lillian S.	822	Smith, Miss Marguerite (N. Y.)	542
Ludington, Miss Katharine, on Conn.	224	Ruhl, Mrs. John W. (W. Va.):		Smith, Mrs. Mary Ellen (Canada), 886, 1043, 1248	
Mass., celebration in	476	photograph	1171	Smith, Mrs. Ralph (B. C.):	
Methodists urge	79	Rural child labor	911	See Smith, Mrs. Mary Ellen	
N. A. W. S. A. appeals to party committee	197	Rural civilization, new	789	Smith college	116
N. C., cartoon	150, 301, 304	Rural districts	798	Smith-Towner Bill	18, 797, 112
N. C., cartoon back cover, Aug. 21, 1920	304	Rural school, problem of	18	Smoot, Senator	749, 799
Park, Mrs., on completion of	357	Russell, Charles Edward	174	Smythe, William E.	789, 798
parties in legislatures	69, 100, 179, 293, 422	Russia:		Snell, Representative (N. Y.)	965
plank adopted by Republicans	41, 176	career of Dr. I. Javein	766	Snowden, Mrs. Philip (Gt. Britain)	237
proclamation of	329, 358	Catherine Breshkovsky in	886	Social Hygiene Committee N. L. W. V. report	1147
progress	197	Empress Eugenie on women	687	suggested programs	817
proposed injunction	173, 201	Georgia (Asia) has woman suffrage	861	work in New York state	234
prospects for 36th state	150	progress of women	292	Social Justice Day	861
prospects in Tennessee	149	reconstruction problem	1209	Social service film, the	861
prospects in Vermont	149	women under old régime	281	Social welfare, department of proposed	729, 861
record of	100			Soldiers, women	530
refusal in Vermont	329			Somerser, Lady Henry:	
registration of women	125			death of	1153
relative to Tennessee constitution	125			South Africa	256, 713
Republican National Committee	5, 176			South Australia	257, 713
Republicans	97, 232, 278			South Carolina:	
responsibility for, record	41, 97, 150			age of consent bill	1088
schedule	128, 178, 229			at the polls, Eulalie Salley	721
significance of	494			citizenship school	212
status of	69			L. W. V. work	212, 696
story of completion (M. Shuler)	300			South Dakota	84, 709
Tenn., 150, 221, 301, 330, 333, 445				Southard, M. Madeleine	1132
"unholy alliance" against	207			Spain:	
U. S. Supreme Court decides	69			campaign for suffrage	706
Vermont	4, 130, 939, 973			Empress Eugenie on women	280
victory celebration in Mass.	400			Martinez, Mr. on women	1101
Walton, A. G., regrets Conn.	201			Ter, Marchesa del, suffrage leader	251
President Wilson on	151, 177			women's education	1196
Ray, P. Orman, Prof.	306			Spencer, Mrs. Dollie (Ohio)	1197
Reader, a	293			Spiritualism	206
Reconstruction:				Sproul, Gov. (Penn.):	
problems of	1209			on duties of citizenship for women	1249
Red Cross. See Hyde, Mary Kendall, in Book				Sage coaches, and suffrage, A. S. B.	42
reviews				Stambach, Ida V.:	
Reed, Senator (Mo.)	126, 237			appreciation of Woman Citizen	1225
Real facts and real facts	1053			Starrett, Helen Ekin:	
Referendum:				career of	906
on Federal Amendment, Supreme Court	5			State, Department of (U. S.)	162
See also ratification.				States:	
Registration, women:				legislative programs of L. W. V.	816
additional days	507			Statler, Mrs. Helen (Mich.)	156, 716
Ala., women	436, 646, 670			Stead, W. T.	200
Georgia	446			Stephens, Gov. William D. (Calif.)	173
girl scouts care for babies (N. Y.)	582			Sterling, Adaline W.	735
Louisiana	573			Sterling-Leibach Retirement Bill	75
Mo., St. Louis	582			Stoerner, Miss Grace (Calif.)	1043
New York City	541			Stone, Lucy	336, 1017
Oklahoma	573			Strachey, Mrs. Oliver (Gt. Britain)	931
Park, Mrs., urges	393			Stratton, S. W.	774
Rhode Island	436			Straus, Dr. Rosa Welt	166
Tennessee	617			Street cleaners, women	641
to follow ratification	359			Stritt, Frau Marie	70
various states	452, 496, 598			Study courses' for outlines	1214
Vermont	426			Suffrage honor roll (in Tenn.)	303
Virginia	400			intelligence service	127
Reid, Harriett (Ill.)	763, 1020			issue, where it counted	682
Reid, Hugh	309			male (U. S.)	610, 638
Renner, Mrs. John (Kentucky):				Suffragist in fiction, Edna Kenton	732
candidate for sheriff	1222			Suicides:	
Republicans:				child	285
in Connecticut oppose ratification	22, 224			Summers, Miss Bernice (Ala.)	536
Delaware, and ratification	41			Sumner, Miss Ruth V. (Iowa)	542
leaders on Wadsworth	149			Sunflower:	
L. W. V. planks in platform	98, 180			emblem of woman suffrage	766
Miss Hay's statement	176, 279			Supreme Court (U. S.):	
National Committee, women members (pictures)	513			decision on referendum on W. S. F. A., 5, 69, 125, 579.	
National Convention and ratification	41, 150			Surma, Lady d'Near Shuiui (India)	55
National Convention has three women secretaries	88			Swartz, Maud	202, 973
ratification policy	5, 6, 69, 97, 176, 214			Swift & Company	213
suffragists in Conn. against	70			Switzerland	287, 721, 1222
Woman's Division, Nat. Com.	240			Syria	801
women answer Gov. Miller	248				
women hold responsible for ratification	278				
"Residence" for voting	556				
Resolutions:					
Cleveland convention, N. L. W. V.	1186				
Rheims:					
reconstruction in	507				
Rhode Island:					
Fed. of Women's Clubs	1019				
history of suffrage association	109				
registration of women	242, 436				
the store school of Providence, L. W. V.	1109				
United League of Women Voters	1111				
Rhodesia	202				
Rhonda, Lady (Great Britain)	644, 719				
Rice, Mrs. A. F. (Mont.):					
photograph	1164				
Richard, Florence D.	494				
Ricker, Bessie Tinner (D. C.)	59				
Ridgely, Mrs. Henry (Del.)	509, 1160				
Robbins, John H.	377				
Roberts, Gov. (Tenn.)	177, 335				

S

T

chairman Food Supply and Demand Committee	87	Vermont:		War risk insurance	23, 960
comment on ratification	333	anti-suffragist refused nomination	643	Warbasse, Mrs. A. D.	370, 396, 428
completion of ratification (Miss Shuler on)	360	convention E. S. A.	210	Warbasse, Agnes see Warbasse, Mrs. A. D.	
Eichelberger, J. S.	335	equal guardianship law	1083	Ward, Miss Florence E.	203
Lady Astor's message	277	Gov. Clement on ratification	177	Ward, Hortense (Texas)	115
L. W. V. for ratification	125	Harding's responsibility for ratification	173	Ward, Mary A. (Brooklyn)	1029
N. A. W. S. A., telegram to governor	126	L. W. V. work	636, 1169	Warren, Maude Radford	1195
official notice to Secretary Colby	329	Luce, Fred I. regrets action of governor	213	Washburn, Miss Mabel C. (Conn.) photograph	1159
poll tax in	559	Olizendam, Mrs. Lillian H. resigns	1007	Washington	88, 578
power to ratify session	135	open letter to Gov. Clement, Carrie Chapman	198	Washington College of Law	78, 519
preparations for session	249	Catt	6, 71, 149, 214, 250, 959, 973	Washington (D. C.)	632
ratification proclamation of mayor of Chattanooga	484	ratification	426	the Public Welfare Department	1236
ratification work	149, 221, 277, 329	women register	1224	Waste	11
ratifies	301	work of Montpelier Civics Committee	878	Water Mill (L. I.) N. Y.	1199
Roberts, Gov. to call extra session	177	Vice:		Waterways Association:	
Shuler, Marjorie on	351	single standard	301	women delegates	512
sick men vote	303	See also venereal disease	1109	Wealth	152, 760
special session	125	Victory at last!	165, 267	Wedding customs in the Far East	134
story about ratification	1191	Videtto, Sylvia S.	1187	Weil, Miss Gertrude (N. C.) photograph	1167
Taft, ex-President, on ratification	358	Village improvement (N. Y.)	1171	Weiss, Miriam	1021
Tennesseean, Nashville	301	Virginia:		Welfare bills (N. J.)	645
Williams, Miss Charl	223	citizenship courses	187	Welfare Bills, (N. Y.)	1007
woman tax expert, Miss Mary Kaderly	1106	Civics Division of Roanoke	449	Welfare legislation	720, 779
women citizenship ignored	1025	convention jubilee	400	Weller, Frank	954
W. S. A. victory convention	84	delay in women's registration	848, 1171	Wells, Miss Marguerite (Minn.)	849, 1164
women re-elect Harry Burn	682	how the N. L. W. V. works	427	Werlein, Mrs. Philip (La.) photograph	1162
work of L. W. V.	1169	University open to women	600	West Virginia:	
Ter, Marchesa del (Spain)	251	women may control election	603	joint legislative committee	1088
Texas:		Vocational training	578, 939	L. W. V.	548, 1171
all-woman government of Jewett	106	Volstead, Miss Laura (Minn.)	542	women delegates to Dem. Nat. Conv.	9
campaign against Bailey	61	Voter, (N. Y.) letter	211	women elected to office	1010
L. W. V.	549, 1089, 1169	Voters, women.		work of L. W. V.	1171
poll tax in	1089	cannot vote in Miss. and Ga.	508	Wettmore, Miss Frances (Ill.)	378
ratification celebration	445	challenge to	329, 386	What the American woman thinks:	
Thanksgiving, a unique, A. S. B.	679	duties, C. C. C.	329	department of Woman Citizen	1194, 1220, 1244
Thanksgiving, woman's proclamation	653	Eleanor, Robert E. on	22	White, Mrs. Jarrett (Ga.)	693
"They came to serve, not to seek honors"	542	in California	1123	White, Martha E. D. (Mass.)	1024
Thinking, do your own:		in Iowa	917	White, Mary Ogden:	
by Ethel Watts-Mumford Grant	1244	in New Zealand	127	the Pine Tree prophet	569
Thomas, M. Carey	589	in Nov. 1920, election	625	Health Foundation Center	1239
Thomason, Mrs. R. E. (Texas)	1090	of U. S. A.	75, 222, 309, 398, 608	See also W. M. O.	
Thompson, Alta E.	397	proportion of vote cast	337	White slave trade	206
Thorpe, Vivian Stanley (Minn.)	212	register in Arkansas	242	White, William Allen	1021
Thrift see savings		register in R. I.	242	Whittie, Anne Harbottle. (picture):	
Thumbnail sketches of women lawmakers, 891, 909, 1045.		Seattle Record on	1037	shall the government censor?	1220
Tiffany, Alice T.:		task before E. Hauser on	1045	Wicksell, Frau Anna (Sweden) picture, 711, 896, 1101, 1222.	
more dollar-a-year work	1247	Voting age in Maine	389	Wien, Dr. Brunhilda	713
Timme, Mrs. Walter:		Voting, dramatized demonstration	253	Wilder, Mrs. Kate (N. D.):	
on voting machines	1235	Voting machines:		first woman police commissioner	1248
Town government	25	Mrs. Timme on	1235	photograph	1168
Tracy, Mrs. Howard Van S. (Ill.)	116	picture	1235	Willfong, Mrs. Gordon (N. C.)	1070
Trade practices, injurious	893			Willard, Mary A.:	
Treasury Department	892			appreciation of Miss Young	1225
Tridon, André	19			Williams, Miss Charl (Tenn.)	223
Troxel, Edna	494			Wilson, Agnes Hart (Pa.)	542
Trumbull, Mrs. Millie R. (Ore.)	1191			Wilson, Mary Lena	800
Trumbull, Mrs. Victoria (Wash.)	1087			Wilson, Pres. Woodrow:	
Tuberculosis.				appoints Mrs. Catt member of committee on	780
Christmas seals	707			famine	151, 177
Turkey	134			cooperation on ratification	789
articles:				last message to Congress	364
anecdote	886			suffragists express appreciation	1249
Two & Two equal Five	157			Winship, Mrs. Amy Davis (Wis.):	
Tyler, Miss Alice L.	99			takes degrees	1082

Woman suffrage:			
Neal, John on	569	work of, Mary Anderson	1048
progress in world	202	Women's Christian Temperance Union	706
wealth of suffrage states	152	Women's Club (Pulaski, N. Y.):	
record of	127	work of	1246
woman's thanksgiving proclamation	653	Women's Committee for World Disarmament	1197
Woman Voter	837	Women's International Chamber of	
Woman's City Club (New York City)	869	Commerce	863
Woman's Council of National Defense	434	Women's International League for Peace and	
Woman's Democratic League (New York)	58	Freedom	1233
Woman's Journal	837	Women's National Club	1197
Woman's Land Army	1113	Women's National Foundation	
Woman's Leader and Common Cause (Great		club house	1248
Britain)	88	Women's organizations:	
Woman's movement	102	platforms and work	896
Woman's Party	975	Women's Oversea Hospitals	200, 507
Women—anti-feminist studies of	780	Wood, Mrs. Mary I. (N. H.)	896
Hibben, Dr. John Grier on	98	Wood, Gen. Leonard	71
in industry	188	Woods, Amy (Mass.)	998
physicians, International Conference	380	Woolley, President (picture):	
should employment be restricted?	1027	twenty years president of Mount Holyoke	
voters of the world	117	College	1234
workers on men's work	878	Workers, women:	
see also discrimination against		dependents of	819
and various occupations, etc.		Working women:	
Women's abilities, A. S. B.	1217	Bryn Mawr course for	1249
Women's Association of Commerce:		World News about Women:	
convention	182	department of <i>Woman Citizen</i>	1196, 1222
Women's Bureau:		Wright, Miss Annie G. (Ga.) photograph	1160
U. S. Dept. of Labor appropriation for, 24, 49, 71		Wyatt, Euphemia Van Rensselaer	989
established permanently	71	Wyoming:	
heavy salary cuts	1037	L. W. V. convention and officers	187
motion pictures of	803	suffrage in history	579
on women in men's work	878	suffrage memorial at South Pass	394
second annual report of	963		
		woman's government at Jackson's Hole	136
		women officials	717
		women's administration in Jackson	1249

Y

Yard, Robert Sterling	1126
Yates, Miss Elizabeth Upham (R. I.)	166, 542
Yea and nay paragraphs	574
Youmans, Mrs. Theodora W. (Wis.)	830
Young, Hattie C.	494
Young, Rose	21, 678, 1121, 1141
Y. W. C. A.:	
information on legislation	590
international confer. of women physicians	380
overseas work	695
sending cafeteria to Syria	801
study of wages	118
work of physical education	519

Z

Zionists (Palestine):	
women have full suffrage and eligibility	202